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# PS

**Spring 1985**  
Volume XVIII Number 2



*In this issue . . .*

**Business and Politics**

David Menninger  
Gary J. Andres

*Also . . .*

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Do American Politics Texts Cover FBI Abuses?  
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**1985 Annual Meeting Preview**

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Please indicate in which section submitted material should be placed. Also, items for *PS* should be submitted in *PS* format, whenever possible.

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## Editor's Corner

### A Pluralistic Discipline

In the report, "Political Science and the Humanities," in this issue of *PS* the Ad Hoc NEH Liaison Committee delineates the long-standing but sometimes unacknowledged connection between the humanities and political science. As the committee demonstrates, there is no field in political science that is untouched by humanistic concerns.

This point bears repeating for several reasons. In the zeal to be scientific, political scientists may have overstated and overestimated the degree to which fruitful political inquiry can be or ought to be divorced from humanistic traditions. At the same time, however, we seem to have managed to convince others that political science is largely separate from the humanities. The announcement of fellowships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation or the American Council of

Learned Societies, for example, rarely includes more than one or two political scientists among the award recipients. Yet, as the NEH Liaison Committee documents, much of the work of political scientists is rooted in the humanities.

John Agresto, acting director of the National Endowment for the Humanities, has said in these pages (Summer 1983, pp. 543-545) that what distinguishes the humanities from other disciplines is not methodology but subject matter. I suspect, however, that the methods scholars employ are used as a short-hand way to identify which disciplines fall within the scope of the humanities. As the profession has become more rigorous and systematic in its inquiry and its methods more sophisticated, political science outside the fields of traditional political theory and jurisprudence looks less and less like one of the traditional humanities. To use the mode of inquiry in this way, however, is to misread political science. The discipline is pluralistic in every sense, as are individual political scientists, and it is useful to remind ourselves and others of this fact, as the committee has ably done.



Gary J. Andres

### Business and Politics

The articles on business and politics in this issue of *PS* underscore this point. David Menninger argues that political scientists ought systematically to study the large corporation. To make his case he raises the kinds of normative questions that should inspire and inform this kind of research: What impact does concentration of corporate wealth have on the ability of a democracy to function? Can dominant corporations "pursue their private interests without forcing significant redefinitions of the public interest"? What are the consequences when private

management is exercised on a public scale, but apart from public values?

Gary Andres reports on his research on corporate political action committees (PACs). He follows Menninger's advice, goes inside the corporation, and looks at decisions made by businesses. Unlike other PAC research, Andres asks why some businesses decide to form PACs and others do not. The key correlates are firm size, industry concentration, and degree of regulation, coupled with perceptions of senior management concerning the usefulness of PACs. Andres concludes by discussing some of the implications, again rooted in humanistic concerns.

### **Annual Meeting**

Annual Meeting Program Chair Joe Cooper of Rice University reported recently to the Council on plans for the annual meeting in New Orleans, Thursday, August 29, through Sunday, September 1. More than 2,000 participants will be serving on 480 panels. The plenary sessions, which will be covered in the Summer issue of *PS*, include the presentation of awards and Richard Fenno's presidential address, a session on reform of the American political system, and one



**David Menninger**

on arms control. The third plenary session will be followed by a jazz concert that promises to knock your socks off.

The concert, organized by Martin Shapiro and Richard Allen, will feature clarinetist Michael White and French jazz musician Jacques Gauthe. To make reservations see the advertisement in the back of this issue of *PS*. See you in New Orleans!

Catherine Rudder

## Letters

### Relative Deprivation of the Affluent

To the Editor:

The remarkable success of Senator Gary Hart's 1984 campaign for the presidency and his efforts to appeal to young adults of the Vietnam generation through "new ideas" has raised anew the issue of generational effects in American politics. Paul Allen Beck's recent essay on the relative importance of generational and life cycle factors in presidential politics is a timely contribution to this debate ("Young vs. Old," *PS*, Summer 1984).

Unfortunately, Beck holds an excessively pessimistic view of the potential impact of generations in politics and one, moreover, which his own examples appear to contradict. These comments will be directed toward two issues which his article raises: first, the usefulness of presidential politics for differentiating generational from life cycle explanations of political behavior; and, second, the unique generational politics of the baby boom cohort.

I argue that the role of voters from the Vietnam generation is largely hidden by the broadly based appeal of presidential candidacies which must attract a range of age, ethnic, and class categories. To the extent that such appeals do engage today's young, they do so for reasons peculiar to their generational experience rather than out of a youthful rebelliousness which they will presumably outgrow. Second, the peculiar nature of the younger cohorts' complaints, which cluster around their economic vulnerability, makes it likely that they will persist into the future. This is especially true of those born immediately after World War II, for whom sheer numbers constitute a

serious obstacle to economic advancement.

### The Relevance of Presidential Politics

A crucial assumption in Beck's analysis is the greater responsiveness of younger voters to anti-establishment appeals. While the rejection of traditional authority is certainly an aspect of the postwar generation's political response, it hardly represents the essence of their political contributions. As Russel Dalton has demonstrated (*Journal of Politics*, February 1984, pp. 264-284), two important categories of contemporary voters are cognitive partisans, party identifiers who display high levels of ideological consistency, and apartisans, political independents who also possess high levels of political information and cognitive sophistication. Both groups appear to be disproportionately recruited from the well-educated, postwar cohort.

This finding leads us to expect more ideological content in the younger generation's politics than simply a vague dissatisfaction with the ins. Indeed, two examples which Beck cites as exemplifying insurgent politics, the McCarthy and McGovern candidacies, were also about very specific problems such as the Vietnam War and the representativeness of the Democratic Party. In the same way, the key issue in the 1984 presidential primary season was not "ins" vs. "outs" or "establishment" vs. "insurgents" but rather the appeal of "new ideas" to a generation for whom old answers are inadequate. Gary Hart's star faded somewhat in the later primaries not because he had become the establishment candidate but rather because Mr. Mondale's celebrated "Where's the



beef?" remark raised questions about the merits of his new issues.

By the same token, much of the youthful appeal of Mr. Reagan, hardly a symbol of youth, is attributable to the perceived effectiveness of his ideas. He may well be as attractive to younger voters, and particularly young men, as Hart because he represents "new ideas" which work in a policy arena of some relevance to the postwar generation—the economy. If this state of affairs is an ironic comment on the alleged subversiveness of the baby boom generation, it also points up the limitations of presidential politics for distinguishing the effects of political generations.

Just as our winner-take-all, plurality system of elections encourages the aggregation of diverse ethnic, class and regional interests within two centrist, coalition parties, so presidential candidates are prevented by pragmatic considerations from appealing too openly to specific political generations. Moreover, the growing importance of television in presidential politics insures that campaigns will dwell on personality and media images rather than substantive, generation-related issues. If this analysis is sound, there may well be a distinctive, generational contribution to our political process which, paradoxically, an examination of presidential politics fails to uncover.

### **The Politics of the Postwar Generation**

The foregoing discussion implies that the reason we have misunderstood the effects of political generations is that we look in the wrong places. The nonpartisan, local arena in which economic and migrational factors produce temporary demographic imbalances, thereby magnifying the importance of a particular age group, may be more suitable for examining the role of political generations. I would argue that the distinctive generational experience of the postwar cohorts expresses itself at the local level in a number of issues tapping anti-growth sentiments—rent control, population growth control, opposition to nuclear power.

The politics of the postwar generation is

economically conservative and reflects a sense of relative deprivation over the recent performance of the economic system. The size and high educational qualifications of the "baby boom" generation have severely weakened its prospects in the economic marketplace. The uneven performance of the American economy in the seventies and eighties accentuates the effects of a labor market surplus.

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*Reagan may well be as attractive to younger voters, and particularly young men, as Hart because he represents "new ideas" which work in a policy arena of some relevance to the postwar generation—the economy.*

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In this situation, young adults who grew up with the favorable economic conditions of the fifties and sixties feel justifiably betrayed by the growth process. At the same time, they can draw upon their collective memory of sixties protests to fashion conservative social movements based upon the growth issue. These movement activities will not be goal-oriented attempts to restrict economic growth, which would contradict this generation's fundamental objectives, but rather diffuse expressions of subconscious anger and anxiety over the economic future.

Such behavior, moreover, is not inconsistent with a vote for Ronald Reagan. The bottom line for the postwar generation is effectiveness. As long as President Reagan's economic policies work, many young people are inclined to support him. At the same time, they reserve the right to oppose unacceptable forms of growth at the local level.

Finally, Beck's analysis raises the question of the permanence of generational conflict. Without a doubt, certain generations (or crucial social groups within them) have unique formative experiences which subsequently set them apart polit-

## Letters

ically from their predecessors or successors. The Civil War and New Deal generations seem to fit this category. The postwar generation may be another. However, the likelihood that these differences will persist is open to debate.

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*The politics of the postwar generation is economically conservative and reflects a sense of relative deprivation over the recent performance of the economic system.*

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Although he hedges his predictions, Beck appears to discount the sustainability of generational conflict because postwar cohorts will gradually displace preceding age groups, thereby rendering the electorate more monolithic. To the extent that insurgent politics persists, it should become more muted as the numerically inferior post-baby boom generation enters adulthood. Thus he casts doubt on the long-term rebelliousness of baby boom young adults, implying that they will either become the numerically dominant portion of the electorate or will grow more conservative as they pass through the life cycle.

This argument assumes that the decisive events which produce a political generation occur at a single point in time. However, when assessing the unique impact of the postwar cohort, we must make allowance for a crucial difference: the Civil War and New Deal generations responded to discrete political or economic events; the baby boom generation, on the other hand, carries its formative experience with it in the form of congestion effects. Whether competing for good schools, job placement, job promotion, or housing, the postwar generation will confront crowding effects due to their excessive numbers. It is entirely possible that they will remain discontented with their conditions of life well beyond the period of youthful rebellion. Hence passage out of the electorate rather than movement through the life cycle may be the only

effective way of ending their distinctive political contributions.

Donald Rosdil  
University of Chicago

### Beck replies:

Donald Rosdil's letter to the editor challenges my hypothesis that young voters in the Democratic primaries may have preferred Hart to Mondale because of the normal anti-establishment postures of youth rather than their distinct generational perspective. In so doing, Rosdil also presents an alternative view about how generations in politics develop. Both the challenge and the alternative view, as well as some of his other points, warrant my reply.

My objective in "Young vs. Old in 1984" was to present alternative life cycle and generational explanations for the contrasting preferences of young and old voters in the 1984 Democratic primaries. I tried to give equal time to each explanation and definitely did not suggest that the life cycle explanation was preferable to the generational explanation. Rather, because the life cycle explanation has been ignored in most analyses of age differences in voting, my intention was to caution against overlooking the possibility of rather conventional life cycle effects in pursuit of probably more glamorous generational explanations. I regret that Rosdil has misinterpreted my caution flag as a brief for the life cycle explanation or as pessimism about the possibility of generational effects—especially since my own research has favored generational explanations of voting behavior.

Because there is insufficient empirical evidence to decide between the two explanations (not to mention period effects), there is ample room for disagreement. Rosdil has made a strong argument for generational effects based on a novel view of how the postwar generation's distinctive outlooks have been shaped. The conventional view among electoral politics scholars, to which I have contributed, is that distinctive generational perspectives are developed during the so-

called formative years—a time in late adolescence and early adulthood when people are unusually open to influence from prevailing political forces.

Rosdil argues that distinct generational viewpoints also may be molded by the *continuing* conditions a particular generation faces as it moves through the life cycle. For the postwar generation, these conditions are constant economic vulnerability due to the crowding effects of the large number of baby boomers and the uneven performance of the economy they entered as adults. To move this interesting hypothesis beyond mere assertion, however, requires empirical analysis of the attitudes and opportunities of this generation, especially relative to previous and subsequent age cohorts. More specifically, Rosdil's hypothesis must be tested against Ronald Inglehart's prevailing theory that the conditions of societal affluence during the early years of this generation's life, not the restricted opportunities they faced later on, have shaped their political views.

On another point, I strongly disagree with Rosdil that presidential politics is the *wrong* place to look for age differences. The facts and Rosdil's own choice of examples belie this supposition. During the nomination process, where mobilizing core constituencies of intensely-committed voters can play a critical role in a candidate's fortunes, some candidates have great incentive to play to age

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***Rosdil's hypothesis must be tested against Ronald Inglehart's prevailing theory that the conditions of societal affluence during the early years of this generation's life, not the restricted opportunities they faced later on, have shaped their political views.***

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differences. To varying degrees Gary Hart, Jesse Jackson, and even Walter Mondale pursued such a strategy in the

1984 Democratic nomination contest, and the subsequent electoral strength of each was sharply differentiated by age. I would venture to say that we have not seen the end of these age-differentiated appeals. Generational effects also can be

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***Young voters favoring rent controls and opposing nuclear power at the local level may not be the same young voters who have joined social or economic conservative movements or have favored Ronald Reagan for president.***

---

manifested in the general election (e.g., the 1930s), although Rosdil is correct in arguing that they usually are buried under the aggregative, winner-take-all pressures of a larger political arena. Indeed, contra Rosdil, it is in the local arena that generational effects may be most submerged, because of the typically low involvement levels of young adults in local elections and politics.

Finally, I have serious reservations about Rosdil's attempt to combine a variety of seemingly contradictory policy views into a distinctive "belief system" of the postwar generation. How can demands for greater economic opportunity through economic growth be easily reconciled with desires to restrict and constrain growth in the name of quality of life? What common thread ties together support for rent control and population growth control, opposition to nuclear power, and economic and social conservatism? Perhaps this age cohort is not a generational unit at all but rather is highly polarized on the major issues of the day. Young voters favoring rent controls and opposing nuclear power at the local level may not be the same young voters who have joined social or economic conservative movements or have favored Ronald Reagan for president. Or perhaps what we witness is the ambivalence of a generation still groping towards a satisfac-

## Letters

tory trade-off between cherished goals such as quality of life and economic growth.

Whether due to disagreement or ambivalence, it is not clear that a distinctive postwar generation belief system has yet emerged. The postwar generation still may be open to influence, well beyond the conventional "formative" years for many of its members. What happens in politics, especially how it defines the political agenda, may play a larger role in determining this generation's political orientations than social or economic conditions per se. Viewed from this perspective, the 1984 presidential contest may prove to have been a significant watershed. Present signs are that it has brought about a pro-Republican surge in the partisan preferences of the electorate, led by the postwar generation. If this surge endures and partisan preferences are translated into deep seated party loyalties, then many of the current uncertainties about the political postures of the different age groups within the American electorate, especially the young, may be resolved by partisan realignment.

Paul Allen Beck  
Florida State University

## Black Enrollment

To the Editor:

This is a letter in response to the Preston-Woodard article on the decline of black political scientists (Fall 1984).

This article is timely and most commendable given the alarming fact that black enrollment in the profession is on the wane. There may be several reasons why this trend has become a phenomenon recently. Some of the problems that blacks face in the profession are historically obvious. Many blacks have been misled with an erroneous assumption that political science has no material rewards to offer and that salvation lies in business schools, where they find it even harder to make it, as the article suggests.

Another problem, as the article points out, is with the types of tests or exams, both verbal and quantitative, which many minorities, including blacks, cannot comprehend or grasp adequately. Unfortunately, most colleges or places of work religiously follow, and base their decisions almost solely on, these tests/exams which do not adequately reflect a student's worth.

There is also the problem of anomie in non-black-dominated colleges. This state of affairs arises when the black student feels too distinct in a class. Although nothing may be happening to him, he feels some sort of alienation when he is the only person of his race in a class. This may psychologically affect his performance. Therefore, it is of no surprise that blacks in black-dominated colleges tend to perform far better than those in non-black-dominated institutions. It has been found that if two or three blacks end up in a class in a non-black-dominated college, each one tends to perform better.

Therefore, the APSA should use its good offices, first, to ensure that enrollment of blacks in non-black institutions of learning gathers more momentum. Not only will the blacks in these institutions improve their performance, but also more cordial inter-racial relations will be facilitated. Second, there should be efforts to shatter the myth that political science and graduate school are less rewarding than, for example, business school. It may be that the fault is in the techniques employed to attract more blacks to the profession rather than the presumed inherent dislike of the subject. Third, the APSA should convince political science departments to use alternative criteria to judge the merit of minorities who for many reasons cannot cope with the contemporary mode of aptitudinal and methodological testing.

The APSA will have done a great service if it addresses these pertinent problems that have precluded many blacks from entering and succeeding in this profession. Many of us in the profession are willing to assist the APSA in achieving these goals and objectives.

Stephen Isabirye  
Northern Arizona University

## Empowering Women

To the Editor:

A group of women from several countries has formed a new International Women's Political Participation Network (IWPPN), which plans to hold a roundtable discussion on "Women's Studies: Educating Women for Political Participation Worldwide" at the NGO Forum in Nairobi this summer. The discussion will be geared to complement the UN Decade for Women goals of equality, peace and development, through an emphasis on women's empowerment through education and training.

We have four discussion organizers: Mrs. Bong-Scuk Ahn, a sociologist at Ehwa Women's University in the Republic of Korea; Dr. Najma Chowdhury, a political scientist at Dhaka University, Bangladesh; Ms. Daphna Sharfman, a political scientist at Haifa University in Israel; and myself. In addition, we have contacted scholars, public officials and activists from many other countries. All of us are part of the women's studies areas in our universities or institutions, or are political activists in our countries with backgrounds in women's studies.

We are interested in receiving the names of people interested in these same issues, people in the U.S. and other countries who will be going to Nairobi, and names of other possible discussion participants to contact. Future activities of the IWPPN will depend on participants' interests.

Barbara J. Nelson  
University of Minnesota

## Journal Back Copies

To the Editor:

As a retired professor of political science, I have on my shelves about ten years of *PS*, the APSA quarterly, which are excess to my needs.

These are: Volume I, No. 1, through Volume XII, No. 2. These are in good shape, suitable for binding and are complete except for one issue, Volume IX, No. 2.

If you know of any library or institution which would be interested, I will be glad to donate these including shipping charges.

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To the Editor:

Could you please mention in the next issue of *PS* that I have the following periodicals for sale to the highest bidder:

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*World Politics*, October 1975-October 1982.

Thank you for your cooperation.

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# Political Science and the Corporation

**David Menninger**

University of California, Los Angeles

In 1977, Charles Lindblom concluded his study of *Politics and Markets* with the assertion that "the large private corporation fits oddly into democratic theory and vision. Indeed, it does not fit."<sup>1</sup> In 1983, Robert Reich envisioned *The Next American Frontier* as the eradication of the distinction between business culture and civic culture in the United States and the full integration of the corporation into the country's key political and social processes. Failure to achieve such a new political-economic compact could mean, Reich asserted, the end of democracy's progress in America.<sup>2</sup> Between Lindblom and Reich lie six short years in time and one vast gulf in political theory and policy perspective. Their positions set the framework for a whole series of political choices confronting American politics today. They also set an agenda for political science as a discipline that studies power, authority, and social change—an agenda calling for an expansion of both intellectual focus and analytical paradigms.

Differences between the purposes and contents of Lindblom's and Reich's studies can be cited, of course. *Politics and Markets* presents itself as a scholarly work in the theory of political economy, whereas *The Next American Frontier* has a definite prescriptive flavor designed to influence current political debate. But such differences do not obscure the important element shared by the two books: recognition of the power and position of large corporations as the determining factor in the political-economic future of liberal democracy. Generated from this are several critical questions both authors confront: What is the purpose of public power and that of private economic power in advanced industrial societies today? What should be the relationship between the two as regards the preservation of liberal democracy? What *is* that relationship when the large corporation is taken into account? What redirection of corporate power is necessary or possible? What blending of corporate institutions and political institutions does liberal democracy allow—or demand?

These questions receive particular answers from Lindblom and Reich, but they remain large enough and important enough to merit much more examination. I believe they are key questions for political science more than for any other social science. At the same time, however, political science more than any other social science needs to enlarge its scope to confront directly the large corporation, whose "private" character as an enterprise is mainly a matter of ideology or convenience, a thin veil thrown over the public dimensions of its economic activity and its social influence.

Now, it would be neither fair nor accurate to suggest that the discipline has been ignorant of the problem of the corporation. The study of public policy is replete with discussions of governmental regulation of corporations necessitated by their concentrated economic power, and a fair amount of research has been critical of corporations for the disproportionate influence they can bring to bear on political decisions and social policy, biasing these processes towards the needs of private production and profit. But after this, how many students or practitioners of political science have gone into an analysis of the corporation itself—its history, organization, operation,

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<sup>1</sup>Charles Lindblom, *Politics and Markets* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 356.

<sup>2</sup>Robert B. Reich, *The Next American Frontier* (New York: Times Books, 1983).

management, and change? How often are courses on the politics of corporations found in political science curricula? How much research is devoted to the comparative study of corporations in relation to traditional disciplinary concerns such as political beliefs and behavior, interest group organization, community politics, and policy agenda-setting?

The answer to all these questions must be very few or very little in comparison to the bulk of research in political science. Direct study of the corporation has been mainly left to other social sciences—economics, sociology, psychology—and the hybrid called management science. At a formal level, political science adheres to a distinction between political and non-political phenomena that strongly qualifies “political” as “governmental” or otherwise avowedly public. *Too* extensive a foray into the nature of private power has thus been discouraged. But as the corporation’s impact upon and importance to American society continue to intensify, the limitations of this focus become more apparent and—for the discipline’s future—more disabling. Political science must study the political phenomena of power and authority where they happen to be found, and their loci in American society and elsewhere are simply no longer bounded by public institutions and public processes of participation and decision-making. In a *permanent* sense, explicitly admitted to or not, public power has become deeply rooted in private soil.

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*Political scientists are likely to judge the large corporation's concentration of resources and wealth to be an anomaly that upsets the balance between democracy and capitalism.*

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At this point, objections to what I am suggesting are surely taking shape in the minds of many readers. I cannot begin to anticipate and deal with all of them here, but I feel it is important at least to acknowledge the central objection that I believe would come from the mainstream of the discipline. This objection would start with the question: Apart from citing the occasional book such as Lindblom’s or Reich’s, what coherent argument really exists for bringing the large corporation explicitly into the scope of contemporary political science? Many other social institutions outside government and related political phenomena have both internal politics and external political effects: organized religion, educational institutions, professional associations, and so forth. Where these institutions have had significant political impact, political science has paid them attention—as it has the corporation. But since none has political authority and power as its *primary* institutional goals, it has been neither necessary nor desirable that political science regard them as equivalent to avowedly political institutions or organizations. The elements of politics may be found everywhere, but everything is not always political. The corporation’s primary goals are *economic* production and profit, not political power and authority, and this is in spite of the power and authority some corporations may have in fact. Political science can take note of the corporation as an important actor in selected scenes of the political drama, but to go further and develop a comprehensive theory of the corporation would confound the intellectual boundaries and methodological rationale of the discipline.

This is a reasonable objection, and I believe a reasonable response is necessary for presenting my thesis on political science and the corporation. As it turns out, mainstream political science’s own history provides the material for such a response, for the corporation’s economic purposes have *not* sufficed to keep this institution from being a recurrent source of concern, frustration, and even anxiety for political scientists in the post-war years. However much research and theory have been focused on indisputably political institutions and processes, the corporation and its influence have always been in the discipline’s peripheral vision, forcing its way clearly into view at

several significant junctures. Lindblom's discussion of the "privileged position" of business in politics and society, for example, is partly an elaboration of E. E. Schattschneider's earlier analysis of business bias in the American political pressure system.<sup>3</sup> Michael Reagan showed that such bias is not just a consequence of business's traditional importance in American life, but coincidental in its growth with the growth of business organization, i.e., the modern corporation.<sup>4</sup> Business's influence was a fundamental example in Grant McConnell's classic study of private power in America's liberal democracy.<sup>5</sup> And, since Lindblom's work, further investigation has suggested still more about the depth and scope of business's impact on American society, as in Jeffrey Lustig's recent study connecting the rise of the corporation to the evolution of American liberal political thought.<sup>6</sup> These studies may constitute a series of discrete confrontations with the issue of the corporation rather than an integrated set of concepts and propositions, but they nevertheless give compelling testimony that the corporation's economic goals have not allowed political science to dispose of the institution neatly and finally as a secondary or tertiary political phenomenon. It continues to stalk the edges of both the formal public arena and the study of that arena as an abiding problem of power and influence, one with implications that appear mostly sinister to political scientists who take the time to examine them.

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*It is impossible for institutions as large as those dominating the American economy to pursue their private interests without forcing significant redefinitions of the public interest.*

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My point is made evident, I believe, by the wariness and hostility toward the corporation that emerges from most of the work cited above, attitudes that I sense to be generally held throughout the profession. While they may not reject outright the American formula of popular government and private enterprise that has prevailed thus far, political scientists are likely to judge the large corporation's concentration of resources and wealth to be an anomaly that upsets the balance between democracy and capitalism.

More specifically, I believe political scientists regard the corporation as an invasion by the private sector of the public sector's prerogatives, for the corporation is economic activity through the establishment of systematic, organized rule of the many by the few. Employees are ruled by supervisors and managers, stockholders' assets are ruled by corporate directors, customers and suppliers are ruled by an industrial sector's entrenched giants. This occurs with no formal rationale or social contract that explicitly legitimizes such rule, and individuals seem to have little choice about accepting or rejecting the situation in a meaningful fashion.

Countervailing forces such as government regulation of industry, subject to changes in administration and policy perspective, are insignificant checks to corporate power when compared to the regular and intensive review to which public rule must submit itself. Corporate rule originates in and continues to evolve in the free-fire zone of

<sup>3</sup>E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).

<sup>4</sup>Michael D. Reagan, *The Managed Economy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).

<sup>5</sup>Grant McConnell, *Private Power and American Democracy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966).

<sup>6</sup>R. Jeffrey Lustig, *Corporate Liberalism: The Origins of American Political Theory 1890-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).



market competition and economic domination that has been capitalism's history. As such, it is easily perceived as rule which poses to the American political system an enormous threat of unaccountable power distorting interest representation (Schattschneider and McConnell), raises the possibility of a new fascism (Reagan), or just simply does not belong in the democratic vision (Lindblom).

Is this a proper judgment to make about the corporation? The issue is of primary importance and plainly cannot be settled by insisting that the corporation's status for political science must be defined by its economic purposes. If the corporation poses a chronic and grave danger to democratic politics, this needs to be demonstrated completely and dispassionately as a *solely* political problem. If the corporation does not necessarily pose such a danger, but does complicate the balanced integration of political and economic institutions in society, this needs to be evaluated as a *primarily* political problem. Both problems make the corporation the inevitable object of political science's intentions. Tackling the issue head on and beginning to construct a comprehensive theory of the corporation is thus exactly the course upon which the discipline should embark.

The construction of this theory may readily proceed by situating the problem of the corporation within the framework of perennial topics important to the discipline. I have alluded to these topics already; I would state them fully as follows:

### **Private Interests vs. the Public Interest**

This is probably the most obvious topic to be thought of in connection with the corporation. It is impossible for institutions as large as those dominating the American economy to pursue their private interests without forcing significant redefinitions of the public interest. Everything from the complex structure of corporate law enforced by the courts, to the evolution of government regulation, to the promotional purposes of fiscal and monetary policies, to the competition between states for corporate relocation plainly attests to this fact. No other social institution—church, family, school, etc.—has necessitated so great a response by the public to its growth and prosperity. The large corporation has been a virtual genetic component of the public interest's development in industrial America. To study it would be to probe directly at the heart of American political culture.

### **Democracy's Social Bases**

The fortunes of democracy as a political system are well known to depend on the presence of social reinforcements and the relative absence of social impediments. Some social phenomena can reinforce democracy at times, then impede it at other times—a class into which the corporation easily fits. The tremendous economic growth of the United States in the post-Civil War and post-Second World War eras, based on the organizing energy and productive capabilities of corporate industry, certainly contributed much to popular satisfaction with and loyalty to American democratic values. The side effects of corporate entrenchment accompanying such growth, however, just as certainly have not been so welcome from the democratic perspective: the provocation of class division and conflict; the regimentation of private life; the creation of a military-industrial complex; the increased potential for and incidence of abuse of market power. The future of this balance between the benefits of economic growth and the costs of corporate entrenchment presents itself as a paramount issue for contemporary democratic theory as American society enters new phases of technological and industrial development.

### **The Structure of Power and Authority**

This may be the topic where the corporation poses its biggest challenge. The bifurcation of power in society between two functionally independent authorities (something

## **Political Science and the Corporation**

which Hobbes had argued in *Leviathan* to be impermissible, if not impossible) has taken place with the establishment of the managed corporation beside the centralized state. The results are experienced by individuals holding parallel, separate sets of obligations and loyalties—one responding to public law, another to private command—and by society as a whole in relation to the determination of its future. For example, no industrial policy of any ideological stripe can be expected to work on the strength of government action alone. The power of private management, exercised in the large corporation on a public scale, but apart from public values, is the most important element that will affect any new direction in the American economy. How management responds to the incentives put before it, how it defines or redefines corporate success, how it relates private goods to the public good—these things will determine industrial policy's implementation, if not always its design. It is a case of political choice being barren without the concurrence of managerial authority.

Still other topics could be raised—I have not touched on the area of international politics, for example—but I believe these examples sufficiently demonstrate that the corporation is a legitimate object for intensive scrutiny by political science today. However, in making this argument, I realize I must address another question that surely would be raised by many colleagues: Does the discipline have the means to carry out a competent, thorough investigation of the corporation? I think so. Following are some brief examples of where I believe the methodological orientation of political science is well prepared to analyze private economic power.

## **Values and Beliefs**

The measurement of attitudes and perceptions has been a methodology of incalculable worth to political science's investigation of the institutions and processes of public life. It would be a primary tool again for studying corporations, which require for their survival explicit value and belief commitments—a corporate culture—shared by managers and subordinates alike.<sup>7</sup> Many of these values and beliefs deal on the surface with increasing a corporation's competitive stature and its employees' productivity, but their roots reach down into the more complex thicket of economic creed, social standards, and political ideology, with almost certain consequences for public life. The scope, intensity, and direction of corporate public involvement and sense of social responsibility plainly must originate in attitudes and perceptions concerning the primacy of corporate goals, the hierarchy of individual loyalties, the dictates of economic necessity, and the meaning of the American system. Research into the broad patterns of values and beliefs within the corporation has already been initiated outside of political science.<sup>8</sup> Projects geared to the discipline's interests could be undertaken with little difficulty.

## **Organizational Structure and Behavior**

Regarding the presidency, public bureaucracies, political parties, and the like, political scientists have recognized the critical role of organization and have developed a variety of methodologies to study it: administrative studies, case studies, comparative organizational analysis. With appropriate adjustments, these methodologies could be applied readily to the corporation, whose organization is fundamental to current discussion about improving American industrial performance. Increased productivity will have to come from employees who feel enabled as well as motivated to use their skills most efficiently, and many of the organizational innovations being proposed and implemented—more decentralization, flexible manufacturing processes, employee

<sup>7</sup>Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, *In Search of Excellence* (New York: Harper and Row, 1982).

<sup>8</sup>Allan Cox, *The Cox Report on the American Corporation* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1982).

participation in operational management—could transform the corporation from a strictly hierarchical venture to a more cooperative one. This in turn might affect the “fit” between corporations and liberal democracy in the United States. The problem should give political scientists a stimulating exercise in explanation, first, and then possibly in prescriptions for democratic theory.

### **Policy and Decisionmaking**

Choice theory, systems theory, and policy studies are among the techniques political science has used to study the management practices of government at all levels. The current period in American business history may be the most opportune time for the discipline to extend these techniques to the study of private management. Though its general purposes are not the same as those of its public counterpart, the basic problems of private management have long been similar: developing effective leadership, effective strategy, and effective control. American management was once thought to be unsurpassed in solving these problems, but the difficulties being experienced by many American industries now, as well as the industrial challenge being posed by other nations, have forced a broad reassessment of the “rational” management model which was established orthodoxy in the 1950s and 1960s. Management which is more proactive, more involved in basic operations of production, and more humanly sensitive now appears to be more effective.

In other words, a major transformation of the theory and practice of corporate government seems to be occurring. Political scientists have observed and recorded a number of transformations in public agency management. Applying what has been learned from those analyses to private management could add to the content of management theory as well as to political science’s methodological expertise in and understanding of policy determinants in industrial political economies.

These short examples do not pretend to outline a complete and coherent methodological agenda for analysis of the corporation by political science. This will require much more professional insight and advice. My objective has been to introduce what I believe are real possibilities for development by the discipline. Case studies, comparative studies, policy studies, opinion studies—political scientists are highly skilled in these techniques, and the corporation is perfectly suited to be a target for their application. The establishment of a firm connection between the discipline and the corporation, if intentionally and actively pursued, would appear to have excellent prospects for success.

This suggestion of a “corporate connection” has nuances which are intentional. As a primarily scholarly enterprise, political science’s purpose is to add to political knowledge and theory, something which I have been arguing will be served by studying the corporation. At the same time, political science has always had implicit pragmatic purposes, seeking to give its students basic information for understanding and living in civil society. This too will be greatly advanced by having the discipline focus more closely on the corporate mesh of contemporary civil society’s boundaries. Undergraduates who pass through a portion of the political science curriculum on their way to careers in the corporate sector should be receiving exposure to fundamental facts about the corporation’s political and social influence—facts that could assist them in their corporate careers as well as contributing to the sophistication of their civic knowledge. In other words, political science should give its undergraduate students a full and realistic appreciation of the institutional matrix in which they will pursue their careers, and an analytical foundation with which they can sensibly relate that matrix to their public and private lives.

For graduate students in political science, the “corporate connection” has further nuances still, both scholarly and practical. Encouraging graduate students to participate in the discipline’s development of a political theory of the corporation will put them in contact with a broader range of issues and problems having current, immedi-

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ate significance. It will give them new opportunities for original research activity, grant proposals, and dissertation projects. And it will contribute to the preparation of political scientists who may look further than the academy for employment prospects. I need not emphasize, I am sure, the importance of this last point in particular to the discipline as a whole and to its individual members. The academy cannot provide adequate employment for all new political science Ph.D.s—that fact is plain.

What is perhaps less plain is that the discipline must provide its advanced graduates with skills that can be marketed in non-academic professions. Training in public policy analysis is one attempt to meet this responsibility. The extension of this training into the policy problems of corporations should be the thrust of a wider effort. Political scientists knowledgeable about the fundamentals of policy planning and implementation, and about the special requirements of corporate policy—in strategic planning, issues management, overseas operations, risk analysis<sup>9</sup>—can offer unique talent to many a large business in America today. They can also offer to the discipline a new, stronger foundation of knowledge about and insight into the contemporary web of power and authority.

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For, whether regarded with a mistrustful eye or a tolerant one, the corporation reveals itself inevitably as part of the essential core of modern society. It stands next to the state as an institutional anchor of industrial political economy, and shares with the state, for better or worse, the rule and direction of social development. In this sense, Marxists are correct when they imply that investigation of the corporation is merely one more form of investigating the state, since one is taken into the same *problématique* of power and authority. Whether the results of such an investigation carried out by political scientists would necessarily point to Marxist conclusions in all cases is another issue. The corporation in Marx's time had nothing like its present composition, and that composition today, I believe, has much more to do with other, more powerful dynamics than the class struggle. Or it may not. I don't think the proposition is either unreasonable or dishonest. Rather, it is a central proposition for testing and explanation by political science, central for both intellectual and historical reasons. It is, simply, the kind of proposition that political science should be gravitating towards in fulfillment of its traditional role as the master science.

<sup>9</sup>Joseph LaPalombara, "Assessing the Political Environment for Business: A New Role for Political Scientists?" *PS*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (Spring, 1982), pp. 180-186.

# Business Involvement in Campaign Finance: Factors Influencing the Decision to Form a Corporate PAC

**Gary J. Andres**

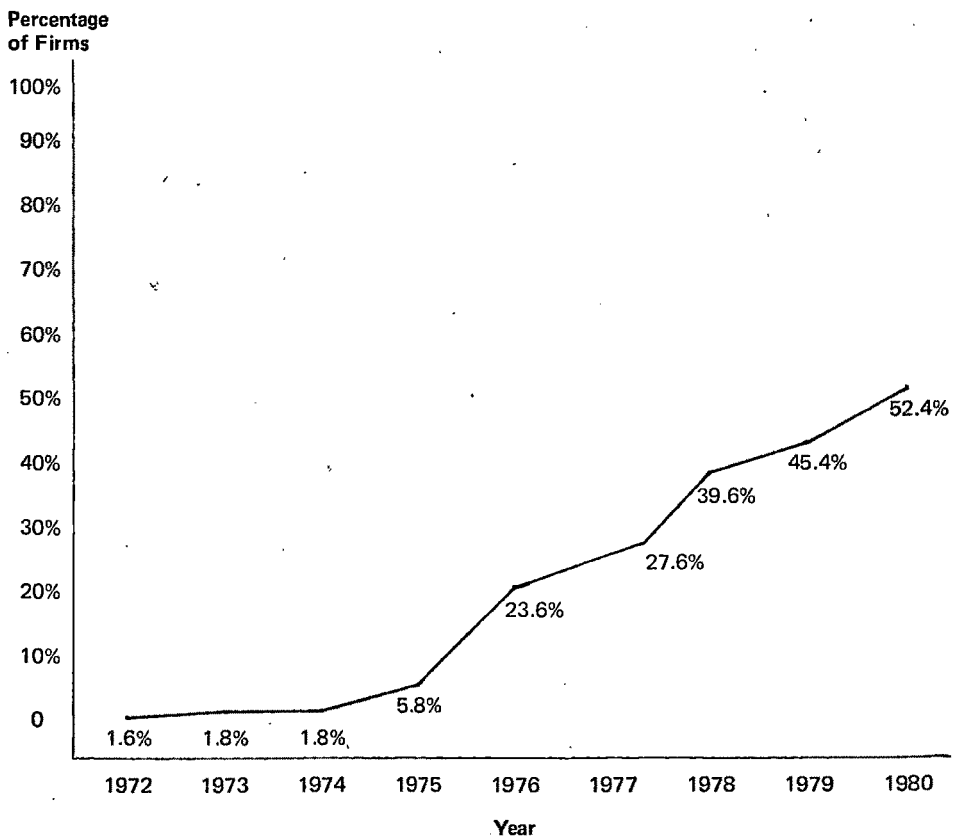
Prudential-Bache Securities

When Justin Dart, Chairman of Dart Industries, said in 1978, "talking with politicians is a fine thing, but with a little money they hear you better," his colleagues apparently concurred.<sup>1</sup> As Figure 1 indicates, subsequent to several congressional, Federal Elec-

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 1978, p. 1.

**FIGURE 1**  
**Percentage of FORTUNE 500 Companies with PACs, 1972-1980**



Source: Adapted by the author from F.E.C. data.

**TABLE 1**  
**PAC Formation by FORTUNE 500 Firms by Industry as of 1980**

Industry	Percent with PACs	Number Firms FORTUNE 500 From This Industry
Pharmaceuticals	88.2	(17)
Rubber, Plastic Products	85.7	( 7)
Mining, Crude Oil Production	83.3	(12)
Motor Vehicles	80.9	(21)
Petroleum Refining	75.0	(36)
Aerospace	75.0	(12)
Textiles	69.2	(13)
Metal Manufacturing	63.4	(41)
Chemicals	61.5	(39)
Paper, Fiber, Wood Products	60.0	(30)
Beverages	58.3	(12)
Shipbuilding, Railroad, Transportation	57.1	( 7)
Glass, Concrete, Gypsum	53.3	(15)
Electronics, Appliances	47.0	(34)
Food	44.0	(54)
Tobacco	40.0	( 5)
Industrial, Farm Equipment	38.6	(44)
Metal Products	37.9	(29)
Measuring, Scientific Equipment	35.2	(17)
Office Equipment	33.3	(12)
Musical Instruments, Toys	33.3	( 6)
Jewelry	25.0	( 4)
Soaps, Cosmetics	25.0	( 8)
Publishing, Printing	23.0	(13)
Apparel	22.2	( 9)

Source: Adapted by the author from F.E.C. data.

tion Commission and Supreme Court decisions which clarified some ambiguity concerning their legality, the surge in corporate PAC growth was extremely impressive.<sup>2</sup> The advent of the growth in corporate PACs represented a fundamental shift in the way business money is funneled into electoral politics. Prior to the 1970s, business executives contributed to politicians in an unsystematic, ad hoc manner. Traditionally, corporate executives got together and bankrolled candidates of their choice with little pressure or need to disclose the recipients of their largess.

Gone are those days when the so-called "corporate bag-men" would pass out envelopes filled with cash on the 17th green of some exclusive country club. Today, computerized records of congressmen's roll-call votes and lists of potential PAC contributors have replaced the nine iron as an effective corporate political tool.

<sup>2</sup>The use of corporate treasury funds to contribute directly to politicians has been illegal since the passage of the Tillman Act in 1907. But during the 1970s, a series of developments including the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA), the 1974 FECA amendments, the Federal Election Commission's Sun-PAC decision in 1975, and the Supreme Court's decision in *Buckley v. Valeo* in 1976, all reinforced the point that corporations could use treasury funds to administer political action committees. It was these changes and clarifications in the legal environment which contributed to the rapid growth of PACs during the 1970s. For a good review of these developments see Edwin M. Epstein, "Business and Labor Under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971," in Michael Malbin (Ed.), *Parties, Interest Groups and Campaign Finance Laws* (Washington, D.C.: The American Enterprise Institute, 1980), pp. 107-151.

The emergence of corporate political action committees represents an institutionalization of business involvement in campaign finance. Business campaign giving is now a much more systematic and strategic operation.

Some observers feel the growth of business PACs is evidence of burgeoning corporate power in American electoral politics. David Jessup, of the AFL-CIO, maintains for example that "business PACs serve as just one additional vehicle for promoting the interests of a relatively small number of wealthy individuals who can also influence policy in countless other ways."<sup>3</sup>

A fact that rarely gets mentioned, however, is that despite the tremendous growth of PACs during the 1970s, by 1980 only slightly more than half the firms in the FORTUNE 500 had formed PACs. Instead of the proliferation of PACs being viewed as another grab for power by monolithic corporate America, a closer look suggests a tremendous amount of variation among firms and industries on the basic question of whether or not to form such an entity.

Firms like Standard Oil of Indiana, United Airlines, International Harvester and McDonalds rushed to form PACs as soon as their legality was clarified. However, other major U.S. companies like American Airlines, Gulf Oil, Caterpillar Tractor, Xerox and Commonwealth Edison, bucked the PAC formation trend during the 1970s and deliberately chose not to form one.

### **Corporate PACs during the 1970s—A Closer Look**

As Table 1 illustrates, the variation among the nation's industries in terms of the percent of firms that had formed a PAC by 1980 is striking.<sup>4</sup>

Industries such as pharmaceuticals, oils and aerospace have a relatively high percentage of firms that have formed PACs; others like publishing, apparel and office equipment post a significantly lower share of PAC participants. Even among those industries that have a high percentage of PACs, the concept of forming one was not universally accepted.

### **Corporate Political Styles and Interests Vary**

What explains why some corporations formed PACs during the 1970s and others did not? Government relations managers of several large corporations interviewed for this study had some insights into this question.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>David Jessup, "Can Political Influence Be Democratized?" in Michael Malbin, *Parties, Interest Groups and Campaign Finance Laws* (Washington, D.C.: The American Enterprise Institute, 1980), p. 43.

<sup>4</sup>While the number of PACs has continued to grow since 1980, the rate has slowed down dramatically and the amount of variation among industry groups has remained relatively constant. Over 40 percent of the firms in the FORTUNE 500 had not formed PACs by 1984. For a good survey of post-1980 PAC formation activities see Larry J. Sabato, *PAC Power: Inside the World of Political Action Committees* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), pp. 12-13, 164).

<sup>5</sup>The interviews for this study were conducted during 1981 and 1982. Twenty-five government relations representatives of FORTUNE 500 companies were interviewed in-person for about an hour each. The firms selected to be interviewed were divided between companies with PACs and those without one. The interview was conducted by using a semi-structured, open-ended interview schedule. Most of the quotations were responses to a question asked of all the firms: "Why do you think only slightly more than half of the FORTUNE 500 companies have decided to form a PAC?" Those with a PAC were also asked: "What are some specific reasons your company formed a PAC?" Those without one were asked: "What are some specific reasons your company has not formed a PAC?"

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Like a symphony composed of variations on a single theme, their explanations kept reemphasizing a central point: business firms only formed PACs when they had a political incentive to do so. Factors such as firm size, industry concentration and regulation, seem to correlate with such an incentive. Consider the following illustrations.

### **Firm Size**

The government relations managers interviewed suggested that the bigger the firm, the more incentive it had to form a PAC. One who works for a major oil company commented:

A company of our size, we're going to be picked on and we know it. We therefore take a very positive active approach to influencing government. Only a company of our size can afford to take such an approach. A PAC provides us with one needed and aggressive way to influence public policy.

The management of major corporations perceive themselves as the big targets at the shooting gallery. If, for example, a large energy company is involved in the exploration and production of oil and natural gas, geothermal and solar energy, coal mining, refining of petroleum products and marketing, the potential tax, environmental and anti-trust actions of the government are almost limitless. It pays for a large corporation to invest its resources in a staff of people who can monitor and influence government policy—and a large, well financed PAC apparently makes these people's job a lot easier.

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*The emergence of corporate political action committees represents an institutionalization of business involvement in campaign finance. Business campaign giving is now a much more systematic and strategic operation.*

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Sometimes just being big creates political problems for a company. As one person interviewed remarked, "A large company like IBM always runs the risk of the government stepping in and turning it into 500 little soldering companies just because it's big." This view is not just hypothetical corporation paranoia. In fact, a former Justice Department antitrust official said recently that IBM is clearly viewed by the (Justice) Department staff as the "one that got away." IBM's competitors, he said, are "always over at the Department complaining to just about anyone who will listen about a whole host of alleged abuses on antitrust rules."

How big a company has to be before its management begins to perceive government as a significant daily threat to the bottom line and therefore take appropriate steps to respond in the political arena is difficult to pinpoint.

As a general rule, however, the bigger the firm the greater the perceived threat. And starting a PAC becomes like purchasing insurance—paying the high premium may not be enjoyed, but it is not seen as a bad investment.

### **Industry Concentration**

Industry concentration—considered high when four or fewer firms dominate a given sales area—also correlates well with the decision to form a PAC. When one company in a concentrated industry wants to make its views known on Capitol Hill, it is not like a voice from a throng of competitors in an unconcentrated market. Each of the firms in a concentrated market speaks for the industry, because each is the industry.



As one of the people interviewed said, "When G.M. talks, Congressmen listen! When ACME Screw talks, because there are a hundred others like them all saying something a little different, Congressmen say 'so what?'"

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*A fact that rarely gets mentioned . . . is that despite the tremendous growth of PACs during the 1970s, by 1980 only slightly more than half the firms in the FORTUNE 500 had formed PACs.*

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Firms in concentrated industries need to get involved in the legislative process at a highly individualized level primarily because legislation or regulations affecting these firms can help or hurt them in very specific ways.

A given provision in a tax bill will usually affect the companies in an unconcentrated industry equally. In contrast, a significant governmental change in an industry composed of only three or four large firms can have a vastly different impact on one than on the others. Consider the auto industry, where each of the major producers regularly lobbies for industry-wide regulations on a host of issues ranging from safety devices to import restrictions that would significantly change the competitive position of one versus the other. To a large degree, firms in unconcentrated industries can much more safely rely on their trade association to speak for them. In a concentrated industry like autos, most feel that a firm had better have its own person in town with a PAC behind them.

Furthermore, in a concentrated industry the trade group representing that industry more often than not comes to be dominated by one or more of the large firms, often paralyzing its effectiveness as a spokesman for the whole industry. One executive in a concentrated industry put it this way: "We felt that our industry trade groups were not doing a good job. They were clearly being controlled by one company that doesn't represent our interests. We decided to get involved politically on our own—that's why we formed a PAC."

Like firm size, the precise relationship between market concentration and PAC formation is difficult to define. But, based on our interviews, government relations managers seem uniformly to believe that companies in concentrated industries have a strong incentive to get involved in campaign financing in a very individualized way, and therefore are more likely to form a PAC than those in less concentrated industries.

### **Regulation**

A heavy dose of regulation is perhaps the most straightforward explanation of why some firms are more likely than others to form a PAC. One government relations manager put it this way: "Highly regulated businesses were among the first to become involved in PACs because they had the most at stake. Their employees were aware of the firm's exposure and could easily make the connection between the impact of government and how it affected them."

Obviously a computer chip manufacturer in the Silicon Valley, even a relatively big one, is going to be less concerned about the actions of government than a natural gas pipeline, for example, that has to notify the regulators every time it wants to change its prices.

### **Moving Beyond Conjecture**

While these three ideas concerning why some companies are more likely than others to form a PAC are suggestive, conjecture by industry professionals can be dangerously misguided.

**TABLE 2**  
**LOGIT Regression Analysis Predicting PAC Formation**

	Parameters	Chi-Square
Constant	-14.9 (1.96)	57.7
Market Concentration	.01 (.007)**	2.9
Regulation	.85 (.30)*	7.7
Sales	.96 (.13)*	48.3

N = 426

% Predicted Correctly = 71.8

Model Chi-Square = 94.7

\*p < .01

\*\*p < .10

(Standard error in parentheses)

How do these explanations square with the facts?

Fairly well, according to the tests performed using the FORTUNE 500 as a data base. Each company was categorized as either having or not having formed a PAC by 1980; their size, level of regulation and market concentration were also collected.<sup>6</sup>

The results of a LOGIT regression analysis are reported in Table 2. Each of the ideas offered by the government relations managers receives independent statistical confirmation.

Firm size as measured by sales volume clearly is the most dominant variable in the model, based on the chi-square parameter. Regulation is next. And, while market concentration has the smallest effect in the model, it is still statistically significant at  $p < .10$  controlling for the other variables in the equation. Size and regulation are statistically significant at  $p < .01$ . Knowing these three variables about a company, we can predict whether or not it had formed a PAC in over 70 percent of the cases.<sup>7</sup>

The problem of a high level of correlation among the three independent variables was also considered and dismissed. An inter-item correlational test among the three variables shows a relatively low level interrelationship (all correlate between .19 and .27).

<sup>6</sup>The regulation coding methodology was the same as Russell Pittman (1976, 1977) used in his articles. The market concentration numbers were provided by Geoffrey Shephard, Department of Economics, The University of Michigan. The author is grateful to both Pittman and Shephard for their helpful comments in the preparation and analysis of the data.

<sup>7</sup>LOGIT regression analysis is an appropriate technique to use when the dependent variable (in this case whether or not the firm has a PAC) is dichotomous. The parameters are interpreted technically as "logged probabilities" of the firm having a PAC versus not having one. Therefore, a .96 sales parameter means that for every 1 unit change in a company's sales, there is a .96 change in the logged probability of having a PAC. Probably an easier way of comparing the individual parameters, however, is the chi-square. This parameter can be used as an ordinal measure of how well the independent variable (sales, regulation or concentration) predict whether or not the firm has a PAC. By ordinal we mean a 10.0 chi square is bigger (and a more important predictor) than a 5.0 chi square, but we don't know how much better. For a more detailed discussion of this statistical technique see Robert S. Pindyck and Daniel L. Rubinfeld, *Econometric Models and Economic Forecasts*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981), pp. 274-315.

## Implications for the Study of Business and Politics

Several implications for the study of business and politics can be gleaned from this research. First, the results contradict the idea that business behaves as a monolith in the political arena. Corporate behavior and interests are as diverse as the products they produce. These varied interests—caused by factors such as firm size, market concentration and regulation—lead corporations to choose quite different campaign finance strategies.

One question raised by these findings concerns the relative power of corporations within the business community. Does the malapportionment of PACs mean some firms are politically more powerful than others? Is there a bias in the pressure group system that favors some corporations—those with PACs—over others?

Clearly, large companies are more involved in campaign finance than their smaller counterparts. The findings concerning PAC formation support this point; additionally, some other studies, such as that of Salamon and Siegfried (1977), have found large companies to be more successful at avoiding paying taxes than smaller ones. But are large companies more politically successful because they have PACs, or do they have PACs because they have more ability or reason to do so?

We do know that corporations do not form PACs for the same reasons. Some do it because they are big; others because they are heavily regulated; still others do it because they do not trust their trade association to represent their political interests; some do it because their competitors in the industry formed one; and many form PACs for some combination of the above.

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*One question raised by these findings concerns the relative power of corporations within the business community. Does the malapportionment of PACs mean some firms are politically more powerful than others?*

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On the other hand, the study raises the question of why some large companies in regulated and concentrated industries did not form PACs when they had all of the political incentives to do so. The answer to this question can be traced to the senior management's perception of what is a politically effective use of corporate resources. One government relations manager of a large oil company that did not form a PAC comments:

With all the public relations problems in our industry, the management of this company believes the PR costs of having a PAC outweigh the benefits. We compensate for not having a PAC by getting involved politically in other ways. We have a strong grass-roots program to get our employees involved on their own; we have an effective lobbying effort in our government relations department; and our senior managers make a lot of personal contributions.

Indeed, firms are not necessarily politically effective just because they have formed a PAC. Some companies are aggressive and successful in their attempts to influence public policy without a PAC, while others that have one may be getting harsh treatment in the legislative and regulatory arena. In the words of a government relations manager of a large food chain:

A PAC simply makes my lobbying job easier; it's a tool, and only as good as my skill in using it. I'd rather have a couple of lobbyists who know how to work Capitol Hill or the state legislatures and no PAC, than a PAC with no lobbyists to do the follow up work. I know of companies with a PAC that are worthless in terms of getting things done in legis-

## Business Involvement in Campaign Finance

latures and those without one that know which buttons to push and really get things done.

Corporations have a multitude of potential avenues of influence open to them, such as lobbying efforts in Washington and state capitals, grass-roots campaigns to get employees and shareholders involved in letter writing lobbying campaigns, direct visits to legislators and regulators, and issues management departments which analyze the impact of legislation and regulation and offer alternatives.

All of these and others, including PACs, are part of a revolution in the way corporations are influencing public policy outcomes. True, corporations have always been involved in lobbying and campaign finance, but their style of involvement has fundamentally changed.

The emergence of corporate PACs and the enlarged role of government relations divisions within business firms suggest campaign finance and lobbying activities more generally are carried out much more systematically than in the past. Rather than the relatively ad hoc approach, such as the president of a company deciding to write personal checks to some of his favorite politicians, companies can choose to become highly organized political organizations. Which companies decide to use PACs to influence elected officials can be predicted by company size, industry concentration and degree of regulation of the industry, as this paper shows.

Unfortunately, however, because of the dearth of recent studies on business involvement in politics, little is known about how the PAC phenomenon and other changes in the organization of lobbying have affected corporate political power.

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## Forum

### The New Cultural Politics

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American political history can—indeed it must—be separated into eras according to the grand issue around which politics revolved. Needless to say, there have been few such issues, able to mark off an entire political era. Constitutionalism and governmental structure at the beginning of an independent American history, regionalism and geographic development during much of the nineteenth century, social class and economic welfare during much of the twentieth—this would probably exhaust the list. Now, there is a fourth grand issue. Now, as a result, there is a new political era as well. This underlying concern is not widely identified, much less celebrated. Yet it has been the energizing force in national party politics for some time. And it will shape the subsequent course of that politics, glacially and ineluctably, for many years to come.

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William Claggett provided helpful perspective on many of the issues addressed in this paper. And Robert K. Merton invested in its development with a generosity that certainly entitles him to be absolved of all blame for its contents.

### The Great Cultural Divide

The issue is culture, in the anthropological sense, that is, the basic values and patterns of preference by which individual citizens organize their daily lives. Despite its emerging consequence, the issue is rarely acknowledged at all, except in public attitudes toward family, church, community, and country, where it is treated as an isolated and tangential aspect of political life. Yet the cultural issue now surfaces in and informs—and ultimately subsumes—public attitudes in such disparate (and apparently distant) realms as economic welfare and foreign relations. Institutionally, the issue has come closest to a fully articulated, composite expression at national party conventions, so that the best way to see this grand new issue at work is to recast the national conventions of 1984, where culture, rather than economics, was the key to making sense of convention developments. But from there, it is really only one more step to a projection about the more general political future—or at least about the available alternative futures—in an era of cultural politics.

The alternative visions of an appropriate *American* culture—of an appropriate, modal pattern of American life—have become remarkably clear-cut in our time, given the possibilities for melding, mixture, and ambiguity inherent in any choice among patterns of living and styles of life. The presence of a handful of showy but peripheral sub-aspects of this division—on abortion, capital punishment, school prayer, or military intervention—may have prevented political analysts from focusing on these modal patterns. And there are, in truth, as many ways to describe the underlying (and in-

creasingly stereotyped) alternatives as there are partisans of a particular American lifestyle. But at base, the distinction is between traditionalistic and rationalistic values, between an inherited culture and a progressive one.

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In a traditional culture, the emphasis is on family, neighborhood, and community, as those notions are traditionally understood. The policies appropriate to them, in turn, emphasize the articulation of indigenous values through the social institutions most immediately at hand, usually the school, the church, and the (local) government. In a progressive culture, by contrast, the emphasis is on individual choice, free of the constraints imposed by traditional institutions, and on the liberty even to redesign those institutions, so that they facilitate other values central to this alternative vision. These values emphasize, especially, the enlightened self-construction of collective social life—the conscious (re)creation of basic patterns of living.

For those brought up on a different brand of political warfare, this distinction—between a traditional and a progressive cultural orientation—must seem an abstruse (even an outrightly strange) basis on which to organize political conflict. Many aspects of this distinction lie beyond the reach of any democratic government; many others seem to unite nearly all the members of a given society; most aspects seem to fit quite badly with the constitutional, geographical, and economic questions which are the usual

stuff of political ideology. Nevertheless, the culture issue is loose on the American political landscape. It has colored American politics in the immediate past and shows no sign of disappearing in the foreseeable future. And it retains the potential, still incipient but ever more concrete, for a reshaping of American political life.

### **The Emergence of Cultural Politics**

American politics has in fact been characterized by a succession of pivotal divisions, each sufficiently broad, deep, and all-encompassing to serve as the organizing principle for a political era. Often, the underlying grand concern, rather than being the perpetual object of explicit debate, has found expression through a series of more focused and concrete political conflicts. Yet the primary division behind this series of conflicts has still reliably reflected the grand issue—the great divide—of that political era. Sometimes, positions on this grand issue were attached directly to one or the other of the two political parties, so that stable patterns of party domination resulted. Sometimes, however, the issue fell across the parties, so that neither was successful in defining a “right” position all its own, and so that the fundamental concern behind the issue unhorsed first one party and then the other, occasionally in rapid succession.

The first great cluster of issues for an incipient American politics, as befits a nation born through democratic revolution, was essentially constitutional, involving the basic outlines of an American national government. From 1775 through 1824, much of national politics reflected these constitutional concerns, as the basic institutional arrangements for an American polity were established. By 1824, however, with fundamental forms of government in place but with society changing rapidly around them, the heart of American politics became essentially geographic instead. From 1828 through 1892, the question of the promotion of various regional interests moved to the center of national politics, and conflict was at bottom over the geographic order, over regional development.

By 1892, this basic division, too, was

about to be supplanted. From 1896 through 1964, the great cluster of issues in American politics, the ones which constituted the third great divide, were essentially economic. A national economy which stretched across regional lines, and a class structure which began to stretch across those lines with it, gave rise to a different set of concerns, about industrial growth and social welfare, and hence to a different, continuing national politics. Then, in 1968, the break came again. The fourth great cluster of issues, essentially cultural, came to the foreground—though not necessarily to the focus of contemporary analysts. Another new era was upon us.

It is popular, in casual conversation, to trace the emergence of this new, cultural politics to the presidential contest of 1968, or, even more specifically, to the Democratic national convention of that year, when a national party blew apart in the clash between an alleged "dominant culture" and a self-conscious "counter cultural" alternative. That date is in fact a reasonable benchmark. But the continuing elements of the resulting division—between a traditionalistic and a rationalistic culture, between evolutionary and analytic ways of handling social policy—cannot be isolated (or understood) through the events of that year. For the issue continued, more vital than ever, in the presidential politics of 1984. Yet those politics, with their more subdued but far more comprehensive incarnation of the cultural issue, bore only the vaguest resemblance to the pointed, dramatic introduction of 1968.

### **The Cultural Issue and the Republican Party**

A jump from the full sweep of American history since 1775 to the internal detail of two national party conventions in 1984 may well be the best way to illuminate this otherwise unremarked arrival of the contemporary era in American political life and to isolate the very ambiguous signals for the political future which that new era offers. For the 1984 conventions still testified to the presence of the major issue from the preceding era, social class and economic policy. Just as they confirmed the arrival, halting but omni-

present and apparently irreversible, of the major issue of the new era, cultural values and social policy. And they did so by presenting both issues in the most concrete way possible, in the persons of the delegates and alternates themselves.

The Republican National Convention of 1984 was in fact divided, in a fashion unnoticed by some and misreported by others, not just between economic moderates and economic conservatives or between cultural moderates and cultural conservatives. Instead, and much more fundamentally, it was divided between those whose approach to politics was organized around the old defining issues, that is, around economics, and those whose approach was organized around the new, emerging, replacement issues, that is, around culture. In fairness to the commentators, it must be noted that the presence of this more fundamental division—wide, deep, and diagnostic though it was—was nevertheless obscured by the support of all the delegates for the renomination of President Ronald Reagan. Without candidates representing the major defining issues of the old and new political eras, much less the alternative positions within those issues, this fundamental fault line in Republican politics remained, in truth, difficult to sort out.

On the other hand, to the extent that this fault line was noticed and reported, the resulting published observations were almost uniformly inaccurate. Instead of focusing on the conflict between grand

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issues inherent in this division—a conflict rarely granted to observers of any sort, a conflict which may have testified to the passing of one version of the national Republican party and to the arrival of another—reporters insisted on seeing a clash between “moderates” and “conservatives,” and on converting that (alleged, misperceived) clash into one of the few continuing stories of the Republican convention. If they had focused instead on the continuing shift in the organizing issues for politics in our time, a shift occurring right before their eyes, they would have treated even their existing story very differently—and they would have had another story of far greater portent.

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*Those whom reporters were dubbing “the conservatives,” based on an implicit use of the new cultural division, were not unusually conservative on economic matters.*

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What they would have seen, in a nutshell, was that those delegates who were clearly “conservative” on economic issues were not reliably “conservative” on cultural issues, while, conversely, those who were clearly “conservative” on cultural issues were not reliably “conservative” on economics. The difference, of course, was rooted in the presence of *two* organizing issues, economics *and* culture, within the politics of Republican convention delegates. And a focus on this difference, in turn, would have made the continuing reports about a division between “moderates” and “conservatives” either evidently inaccurate, or true but misleading.

A focus on the old grand issue in American politics, on economics, would have turned up an immediate anomaly: Those whom reporters were dubbing “the conservatives,” based on an implicit use of the new cultural division, were *not* unusually conservative on economic matters. They were hardly partisans of an expanding welfare state, but neither were

they opponents of its basic programs, and they *were* supporters of such things as closing tax loopholes, reforming tax structure, and stimulating the economy in disadvantaged areas—programs best described as “economic populism,” not traditional conservatism. It was left to the alleged “moderates” (as classified by most reporters) to uphold the traditional “conservative” economic positions.

Where the difference perceived by reporters was every bit as large as they suggested—and in the reported direction, to boot—was over cultural issues, and hence over social policy. Indeed, the tendency of reporters to classify delegates, implicitly but consistently, on the basis of cultural (rather than economic) predispositions, and then to go on to impute parallel moderate or conservative prejudices in the economic realm, is a powerful inadvertent tribute to the rise of a cultural division within the Republican party: Those charged with reporting the national convention of that party quickly adopted the obvious, key division within its midst; they simply failed to recognize that they had done so. As a result, and less happily, they failed to acknowledge the continuing shift in American politics, which was being confirmed there on the convention floor.

In any case, a focus on the new grand issue in American politics, on culture, did indeed make the alleged Republican “moderates” more moderate, and the alleged Republican “conservatives” more conservative. *These* moderates, cultural but not necessarily economic, were not prepared to go nearly as far as their conservative counterparts in affirming traditional values on family life, sex roles, child rearing, religious observance, educational standards, patriotism, crime and punishment, or international interventionism—and in developing public policies to further those values. *These* conservatives, conversely, were fully prepared to travel that road.

Moreover, if these distinctions had been taken a step farther back, back from the delegates who had been elected and back into the constituencies which had in fact elected those delegates, the resulting differences would have been even more striking. For the voters who backed



the "moderate" delegates to this particular convention—again, "moderate" on the new issues of culture and social policy—were in fact much more *conservative* on economic matters than were the voters who backed the "conservative" delegates. And, of course, vice versa: The voters who backed the "conservative" delegates to the 1984 Republican convention—as recognized by the press, and as recognized, implicitly, on the basis of cultural values—were really much more *moderate* on economic issues than were the voters who had selected "moderate" delegates.

At the mass level even more than at the elite level, then, the old grand issue and the new grand issue in American politics produced noticeably different classifications—and conclusions. Moreover, voters, like reporters, implicitly recognized that the new issue had overtaken the old: Cultural moderates were indeed the new moderates. Cultural conservatives now deserved to be called conservative. Labels, like the issues from which they sprang, had shifted. Economic positions, while often inconsistent with these labels, had already become quite secondary.

### **The Cultural Issue and the Democratic Party**

This same distinction, between those whose politics was organized around the old grand issue (economics) and those whose politics was organized around the new (culture), could have been used to characterize the Democratic National Convention of 1984 as well. Indeed, that distinction was only an abstract and pallid summary of what had been a concrete and virulent division within the Democratic party for almost a generation. But where the partisans of priority for one grand issue or the other were still fighting it out within the national Republican party, with the partisans of culture apparently gaining the upper hand, that same war had just as apparently *ended* within the national Democratic party—in the complete triumph of one issue, culture and its attendant social policy, and of one side within it, the progressive position on these concerns.

In 1984—hardly a banner year for cultural liberalism, hardly a Democratic convention with the manifest trappings of progressive social policy—Democratic *delegates* nevertheless overwhelmingly shared the basic premises of the progressive cultural position. Thus, for example, they believed that patriotism, while not intrinsically evil, was frequently a cloak for interventionist activities abroad, activities which often thwarted the legitimate aspirations of foreign nationals. As, to take another example, they believed that family and community values, while even farther from being intrinsically evil, were even more likely to serve as a means of restraining individual choices, of thwarting progressive social policies, and of imposing outmoded (if sometimes majoritarian) views upon all Americans. Or as, to take a final and ironic example, they believed that old-fashioned economic welfare programs, while hardly undesirable, were indeed "old-fashioned," in that they were of decreasing importance in the modern world and of decreasing attractiveness to the modern electorate.

Delegates from the plains, mountains, and west-coast states had been the first to move from economics to culture at Democratic national conventions, in part because the social welfare programs and governmental initiatives of economic (old-style) liberalism had never played well in their home areas, and because the groups associated with these policies (organized labor, racial and ethnic minorities, urbanites generally) had never been particularly strong there either. But delegates from the midwest, and even the northeast, had gradually joined them over the last dozen years, in large part because independent activists, who were

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*No issue—not even a grand issue "whose time has come"—can triumph without the support of some organized group or groups to serve as its carrier(s).*

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most responsive to cultural issues and social policy, had replaced party regulars, with their commitment to existing (economic) issues and policies, in doing the work of the local Democratic party.

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*While it may well be unprecedented for a party to remain the acknowledged preference of a majority of Americans while losing most presidential elections, that is nevertheless the system which appears to be solidifying in our time.*

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That left delegates from the southern and border states. Ironically, these areas, which had once provided the major resistance to a shift from geographic to economic issues, came to provide the major remaining resistance to the shift from economics to culture. A comparison with the mountain and western delegates was particularly instructive. Southern delegates preferred to focus party politics upon economic issues, where they might share in a "liberal" consensus, rather than upon cultural issues, where they were inevitably classed as "moderates"—or worse. Just as western delegates preferred to focus party politics around cultural issues, where *they* could be part of a "liberal" majority, rather than around economic issues, where they were invariably "moderates"—at best. But since cultural issues had displaced economic issues within the national Democratic party, these western delegates could legitimately claim to be the modern "liberals," just as southern delegates were inevitably stuck with being the modern "moderates."

Indeed, by 1984, the situation within the national Democratic party was so predictable, and so advanced, that cultural dissent within the national convention had largely evaporated. Moderate Democratic speakers—again, "moderate" in the cultural sense—did not even appear at the podium, despite the fact that many

in the Democratic rank and file surely shared their views. Partly, this absence reflected the preferences of those managing the convention, who knew the liberal views of the majority of their delegates, and who did not desire to have open conflicts with them or displays of hostility from them. Partly as well, the absence of moderates reflected the desire of potential moderate speakers to avoid being associated publicly, and hence in the minds of their own constituents, with the views of a majority of national convention delegates.

What this also meant, however, was that the main division in the national Democratic party was not among the delegates themselves, as it still was in the Republican party. Instead, it was *between* these delegates and the party rank and file. In other words, the main division within the national Democratic party was not a split between delegates who saluted the old organizing issues and delegates who supported the new. Rather, it was between those who attended the convention and those who still identified with the party, but who watched that convention on TV. These latter, the rank-and-file Democrats, still responded strongly to the *traditional* side of the cultural issue—to the themes of family, community, and country. But they were simply not present in any great numbers at "their own" national party convention.

### **The Spread of Cultural Politics**

What had happened, as attested by the Democratic and Republican conventions of 1984, was nothing less than the rise of a new organizing issue, cultural values and social policy, in American national politics. Among Democrats, the issue had entered with a bang, through the tumultuous convention of 1968. But even among Democrats, this initial tumult was less remarkable than the speed, thoroughness, and yet imperceptibility by which the issue then conquered the national party. Among Republicans, as remarkably, the same development had occurred—more quietly in its initial appearance, less thoroughly in its subsequent extension, more overtly in its

gradual progression, yet with every indication that it would follow the same general trajectory, to the same ultimate end.

Indeed, by 1984, the rise of culture as the organizing issue in American national politics was so fully realized that it did not so much dominate other issues as subsume them. In the 1960s, analysts still classified the specific concerns of individual voters into clusters of issues, i.e., a cluster on economic policy, one on foreign policy, and one on social policy. In the 1980s, those analysts might still go through the same formal exercise. But by then, while economic welfare and foreign affairs had hardly disappeared as concerns of the voting public, they *had* become mere extensions—mere expressions—of social policy, and especially of an outlook on the appropriate vision of an American way of life.

In foreign affairs, for example, the “problem” with Democratic isolationism for new-style Republicans (those organizing their politics around culture rather than economics) was not so much that it threatened our standard of living at home or our ability to trade throughout the globe. That was more commonly the complaint of old-style Republicans (those organizing their politics around economics instead of culture). Rather, the “problem” for new-style Republicans was that Democratic isolationism did not buttress the cultural values by which nations ought rightly to live and that it denigrated American accomplishments, to boot.

Not surprisingly, the situation was precisely parallel on the other side of the political aisle. Thus in foreign affairs, the “problem” with Republican interventionism for new-style Democrats (those organizing their politics around cultural issues) was not so much that it involved us in conflicts which could not be won and which wasted resources that could be used for other programs. That was more commonly the criticism from old-style Democrats (those still organizing their politics around economics). Rather, the “problem” for new-style Democrats was that Republican interventionism represented cultural imperialism, under which American values were to be im-

posed on other nations, while it simultaneously affirmed those values at home, where new-style Democrats were also committed to seeing them altered or constrained.

Much the same could be said for economic welfare, as a cluster of issues in the new—cultural—order. Thus the “problem” with Democratic welfare statism for new-style (cultural) Republicans was not so much that it demanded huge amounts of money, which might be better directed to creating jobs. That was the view of old-style (economic) Republicans. The “problem,” instead, was that Democratic welfare statism created a society which enshrined the values of dependency, rather than replacing them within the (temporarily) dependent population.

And from the other side, of course, the “problem” with Republican reliance on private incentives for new-style (cultural) Democrats was not so much that it lacked compassion and failed to take care of those who could not care for themselves. That was the primary concern of old-style (economic) Democrats. Instead, the “problem” was that Republican reliance on private incentives provided no leverage for addressing the demands of new, cultural claimants—especially feminists and homosexuals—who were not uniformly needy as a class, but who did need governmental action to pursue their group interest.

The advance of this new grand issue, to the point where it could reinterpret or subsume other continuing features of American politics, was doubly noteworthy because it had occurred without prediction and without announcement, without a party or even a candidate to declare that it was the wave of the future, or that it had come to pass. Even within the Democratic convention of 1968, where there *had* been explicit talk about a “new politics,” the emphasis was only tangentially on cultural values and social policy, and much more directly on (opposition to) the war in Vietnam. And within the half-hearted Republican insurgencies of that year, one from the left through Nelson Rockefeller and one from the right through Ronald Reagan, there had been few explicit issues at all—

and no apparent prospects for redirecting the party. Yet within 20 years, a challenge which was only episodic at the beginning, and which was never to be made explicit thereafter, had *triumphed*—or at least reached a position of pre-dominance—in both national parties.

### The Roots of the Change to Culture

What had happened was clear: The gradual but irresistible rise of a new organizing issue, cultural values and social policy, and the displacement of the old organizing issue, social class and economic policy, in the process. *Why* it had happened, so thoroughly, so forcefully, but so quietly, was necessarily a matter of more conjecture, since analysts living through the period of its emergence necessarily lacked the perspective which they could bring to other, similar, historical shifts. In part, inevitably, the change resulted from the mobilization of new groups, which were in turn energized by cultural, rather than economic, concerns. In part, as well, the change was facilitated by shifts—reforms—in the structural mechanics of national politics. And in part, the change was a response to even larger, more abstract, background forces, which could be only dimly perceived while those forces themselves were coming to fruition.

No issue, not even a grand issue “whose time has come” can triumph without the support of some organized group or groups to serve as its carrier(s). An individual or a small set of individuals can argue for the attractiveness of that issue. But a larger network of elite actors must press it forward in the political arena. And an organizational framework must then work to keep it ever-present, until it begins to make converts—and conquests. In American politics, this often means that the proponents of a new (allegedly grand) issue are independent activists, that is, individuals moved primarily by this new issue itself, along with existing ideological groups, who see in the new issue a way to propel some of their existing concerns. Those who are more attached to the existing political parties, on the other hand—the infamous “party regulars”—always tend to be more attached to the dominant, organiz-

ing concerns of the moment, and hence, inevitably, of the *prior* era.

So it was in the case of culture and social policy. On the Democratic side, the newly mobilized independent actors consisted of the newest party interest groups, especially feminists and homosexuals. They consisted of the newest party issue groups as well, especially environmental and peace groups. And they consisted of reform factions, old and new, which were based primarily in the white-collar suburbs, where life-style issues played particularly well, rather than in the blue-collar cities, where economic issues were still of central importance. On the Republican side, parallel groups were equally present, if very different in their specific identities. The newly mobilized independent actors also consisted of the newest party interest groups, the religious evangelicals. They consisted of the newest party issue groups, ranging from right-to-life organizations to groups concerned with “the high frontier.” And they consisted of the newest party factions, principally in the south, where the regular party was establishing itself by way of a new, conservative, *cultural* ideology.

In turn, the rise of all these groups was facilitated by changes in the structural mechanics of national politics, and especially in the mechanics of presidential politics during this period—hence their triumph, first, in national party conventions. When delegates to national party conventions were still chosen principally by regular-party officials, through the regular-party structure, and often from among regular-party devotees, the influence of newly mobilizing groups was necessarily constrained. But when the parties moved to participatory caucuses, open to anyone wishing to participate, and, especially, to presidential primaries, offering no institutional role for the regular party, the opportunity for newly mobilizing groups to focus their energies on presidential politics was suddenly and dramatically enlarged. When these groups then proved to be disproportionately likely to turn out, the situation among Democrats, or when they encountered few other broadly organized oppo-

nents, the situation among Republicans, the transformation was accelerated.

Institutional reform thus coincided with shifts in the organizational environment in a powerfully reinforcing fashion. Accordingly, superior mobilization within facilitative institutions may be sufficient to explain this particular displacement of basic organizing issues in American national politics. Beyond that, the larger social changes bracketing these developments—the change from an “industrial” to a “post-industrial” economy, for example, or the alleged completion of the “New Deal agenda”—may have played a role as well, although one cannot in principle confirm this without the passage of additional time. And beyond even that, a set of larger, more explicitly political changes surely ran in the same direction.

Thus, for example, there had been a gradual but strong drift in American society from a politics based on indirect participation via party-related intermediaries to a politics based on direct participation, more segmented intermediaries (usually interest groups rather than party units), and, of course, the mass media of information. In such a politics, perhaps, coalitions can no longer be built upon negotiations among relevant elites. If that is so, then the fundamental things which unite and divide people—as fundamental, even, as cultural values and social policy—may inevitably be driven to the fore.

### **Cultural Politics and Partisan Change**

All such larger explanations lack the precision, and concreteness, of current developments in American politics, currently observed. But if the arrival of cultural issues at the center of that politics can be concretely recognized and precisely described, and if the era of cultural politics can be set off and distinguished from preceding political eras, then the probable course of a politics based on this grand organizing issue can, in principle, be discussed. Or at least, a set of proximate alternative scenarios should, again in principle, present themselves.

Mercifully, there is at least an obvious means of short-run extrapolation. For each new organizing issue in American

politics has received its most direct expression through a relationship to the existing political parties. Sometimes, this has meant a pattern of one-party hegemony, as with Republican dominance of the early part of the era of economic issues (roughly 1896-1928) and Democratic dominance of the later part (roughly 1932-1964). Sometimes, on the other hand, this has meant the rapid alteration in power of the two political parties, as with the early (1828-1860) and late (1868-1892) parts of the era of geographic issues. In any case, if the rise of the cultural issue can reasonably be attached to the behavior—and fate—of one or the other (or both) political parties, then a reasonable projection is possible.

An undifferentiated application of this approach to the era of cultural issues would obviously predict a period of Republican hegemony. The reasoning is simple—indeed, over-simple: In 1968, and in all the presidential years to follow, with the ambiguous exception of 1976, the national Democratic party ceded the traditionalistic side of the cultural issue to the national Republican party. And in all those years (but 1976), it lost the presidential election. Yet contrary to such a shorthand prediction, the issue still does not seem to *belong* to one party or the other. Indeed, as 1984 unfolded, the alternative sides of this era-making issue—the traditionalistic and the progressive positions—continued to *divide* the two major parties, rather than to coincide neatly with one and the other.

Moreover, the cultural issue still seems fraught with inherent strategic difficulties for any political party trying to capitalize consciously on it. The dilemma for the Democrats may be more immediately apparent, since the division within their party appears to set the presidential party elite against the bulk of the party rank and file. But the dilemma is only a little less acute for the Republicans, who face a recurrent—major—division on this issue at every national party convention, and who have no obvious way of resolving that dispute which does not entail tremendous electoral risk. Beyond that, and finally, the real problems in prediction, and the real possibilities for the future, are not fully encompassed until

the two dilemmas are put back together, in the context of an evolving *two-party* system.

The Democrats have indeed found their way to a fourth loss in the last five presidential elections, with the one exception an obvious fluke, repudiated by the voters at their first opportunity. Yet party leaders continue to summon the courage to assert that they remain the "majority party" in the contemporary United States—and their claim appears to be essentially valid. Thus when ordinary citizens are asked whether they think of themselves as Democrats or Republicans, the Democratic option still wins. And if that were not enough, this apparent partisan majority then continues to *vote* Democratic, for offices below the presidential level, a tendency which gets *stronger* as these voters get closer to the local level, and thus closer to home.

It is the coming of cultural politics, of course, which makes such an otherwise anomalous outcome so comprehensible, and now so commonplace. For this pattern of voting for national and local party candidates follows directly from the pattern of division within and around modern Democratic party conventions. The delegates to these conventions have moved beyond economics to culture, and within culture, lock-step, to the progressive position. The rank and file, however, is split between economics and culture as an organizing issue, and its cultural preferences run heavily toward the traditionalistic pole. The simplest solution, far easier than changing party allegiance and far easier than deserting local candidates who do not violate their cultural preferences, is to bail out at the presidential level—which self-described Democrats have increasingly learned to do.

Accordingly, while it may well be unprecedented for a party to remain the acknowledged preference of a majority of Americans while losing most presidential elections, that is nevertheless the system which appears to be solidifying in our time. The tendency of newly mobilized, white-collar groups among Democratic party identifiers to turn out at a greater rate during the presidential nominating contest; participatory rules for delegate

selection which magnify the advantage of these groups there; and their insistence on progressive social policies as a product of their influence—these factors make it unlikely that the national convention will retreat from its contemporary position on cultural issues. On the other hand, the preference of many others in the Democratic body politic for the traditional position on these same central issues; the ability of local Democratic candidates to dissociate themselves from national cultural prejudices; and, finally, the increasing experience of Democratic voters in deserting their party at the national level while affirming its candidates locally—*these* factors make it equally unlikely that party fortunes will change at the local level.

All of this becomes considerably more complicated when the response of the national Republican party is added to the equation—as it must be added, in a two-party system. The optimal response by the minority party is itself a matter of far more debate than the recent success of that party might suggest; the ability to act on that optimum remains even more of an open question. In fact, while it may appear that the Republican party has a unique strategic opportunity, to capitalize on the new cultural issues and bring itself—by the proverbial bootstraps—to majority-party status, it is just as clearly the case that its successes to date, albeit in four of the last five presidential elections, were due primarily to developments within the Democratic party, and only secondarily to developments internal to itself.

Consider the problem in deciding which way the party should lean, to reap the greatest reward from its historic opportunity. It can go toward the social conservatives and away from the economic conservatives, emphasizing traditional cultural values and de-emphasizing orthodox conservative economics. It can go toward the economic conservatives and away from the social conservatives, returning to orthodox conservative economics and retreating from what some see as the "mine-field" of traditionalist social policy. Or it can try to fuzz—and thus fuse—both issues, thereby having the political cake and eating it, too. The

dilemma in each of these approaches, however, surfaces almost as soon as they are enunciated.

The first approach—social conservatism triumphant—attempts to build a majority coalition by adding socially conservative groups, including religious (largely Protestant) fundamentalists and traditionalistic (largely Catholic) urbanites, to the normal Republican vote. As a result, it requires emphasizing culture and laying off economics, since conservative economic doctrine runs counter to the economic interests of these lower-middle- and working-class individuals. Yet this approach simultaneously *drives away* the socially liberal members of the upper-middle class, who comprise the largest share of those self-styled “independents” who, in turn, bulk increasingly large in American politics.

The second approach, conversely—economic conservatism revisited—makes its primary appeal to this new and growing population of highly educated, comparatively wealthy, “independents,” who would logically be Republicans on the basis of the old organizing issue, that is, on the basis of economics. But to attract them, it is necessary to re-emphasize economics and at least to remain silent on social policy—thereby aborting the drift of religious evangelicals and traditional working folks to the Republican party. To make matters worse, finally, an attempt at moderation on both dimensions, rather than bringing both groups into the fold, may well fail to hold the upper-middle-class independents, while it fails to attract the lower-middle- and working-class traditionalists.

### **The Future of Cultural Politics**

Even then, caveats abound. Nothing guarantees that the Democrats will not find a candidate with such a blend of personal, ideological, and constituency attractions that he can overcome internal party dilemmas and recapture the presidency in the face of these (apparently intractable) strategic problems. Indeed, that is one view of what the Republicans have actually done. President Ronald Reagan may only have managed to camouflage the strategic choices which a

Republican candidate must apparently—inevitably—face, through just such a (unique) blend of personal assets and historical accident. A successor, however, if he cannot count on continued strategic errors by the Democratic party, also cannot necessarily plan to continue the same balancing act within the Republican party, since he will almost surely have to mobilize one side or the other of the cultural divide in order to seek the Republican nomination.

The possibility of yet another grand issue, or even of a return to some prior grand issue, must also be acknowledged. A severe economic downturn, a continuing crisis in foreign affairs, epidemiological, climatic, or genetic disaster, all might overshadow culture as rapidly as it appeared to overshadow economics. But in their absence, the genie of culture is out of the bottle and moving rapidly across the political landscape. Where it will appear, in what guise, and to what effect, may not yet be known. But its role at the center of American politics already seems assured. And that role will be no less significant for any current inability to divine the future in the detail with which we experience the present in the era of cultural politics.

## **The Runoff: The Case for Retention**

**Harold W. Stanley**  
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Alexander P. Lamis, without arguing for or against the runoff, recently called attention to the political situation elimination of the runoff would threaten.<sup>1</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup>“The Runoff Primary Controversy: Implications for Southern Politics,” *PS* 17 (Fall 1984), 782-787.

article follows up Lamis's account by analyzing the case for the elimination of the runoff. Since the runoff is not the cause of the electoral defeats of black candidates, ending the runoff will not provide the cure. Moreover, the removal of the runoff runs the risk of reducing black political influence. Consequently, those seeking to abolish the runoff may be better served by the retention of the runoff.

Nomination under the runoff rule requires the support of a majority of the voters.<sup>2</sup> If no one acquires majority support in the first primary, a runoff between the top two candidates is held. Since few election districts have black majorities, the runoff, some say, advantages white candidacies and disadvantages black. Jesse Jackson made this issue central to his 1984 presidential campaign, claiming, "The runoff has devastated the impact of the Voting Rights Act. . . ." and "We must end the second primary before it ends us."<sup>3</sup>

Advocates of the runoff's elimination envision the following scenario. Without the runoff's majority vote requirement, black candidates in minority black districts could gain the Democratic nomination by drawing on solid black voting support while two or more white candidates split the white vote. This would produce more black nominees and more black elected officials since these black Democratic nominees should enjoy—thanks to the party label—sufficient general election support from Democratic whites for victory. If this scenario would indeed result from elimination of the runoff, then the retention of the runoff promotes racial bias. Also, in the absence of black candidacies the runoff might depress the representation of minority interests by enabling white office-seekers and white

incumbents to serve primarily the interests of the majority white electorate. Examination of recent southern politics raises doubts about such possible racial biases of the runoff.

### **The Prospects for More Black Elected Officials**

Assume for the moment ending the runoff would mean more blacks secured the Democratic nomination. Could we then anticipate the election of more black officials? The appeal of Republicans to white southerners and the reluctance of southern whites to vote for black candidates suggest the answer is no. Gone are the days of the Solid South, the Democratic nomination is no longer tantamount to election. Even for electoral contests between white candidates, Democratic whites voting for Republicans have characterized the recent South. The added stimulus of race could make such defections even more common. The degree of racially polarized voting (particularly the reluctance of whites to vote for blacks) that makes it difficult for a black to gain a majority in a Democratic runoff in a nonblack majority district would work to favor Republican prospects, resulting in the defeat of the black candidate. Making southern whites choose between race and party when their party ties have loosened considerably might accelerate the decline of the Democrats, promoting Republican candidates to an extent Republicans themselves have not yet managed. Bert Lance, the Georgia State Democratic chairman, echoed the same thought: "I don't see how anyone who thinks this thing through could agree with Jesse. Quite simply, all it would do is help elect Republicans at every level."<sup>4</sup>

### **The Prospects for Black Nominees**

Removal of the runoff seems unlikely to produce more black elected officials, but would its removal produce more black nominees? To profess interest in such

<sup>2</sup>Eight states of the former Confederacy now have the runoff. The states presently without the runoff are Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia. Oklahoma also has a runoff but its relatively small black population sets it apart from the other eight states.

<sup>3</sup>*Newsweek*, 9 April 1984, 34; and Steven Roberts, "Ruining Jackson's Stand on Runoffs," *The New York Times*, 16 April 1984.

<sup>4</sup>Phil Gailey, "Runoff Issue Puts Democrats on Spot," *The New York Times*, 3 May 1984, b13.



losing causes may seem politically pointless—if blacks will not win general elections, why wonder if more blacks will gain the Democratic nomination? Yet, as with Jackson's presidential campaign, politically energizing effects of black candidacies on the black community can result from the candidacy itself, win or lose. The likelihood of black nominees gaining a plurality of the primary vote in a crowded field seems enticing enough to encourage some to argue for ending the runoff. However, in majority black districts, as supporters of the runoff point out, a single primary system might mean multiple black candidates split the black vote and allow a white candidate to gain a plurality nomination. Thus the runoff can protect and promote the prospects for black elected officials in majority black districts. After reapportionment produced an increase in single member districts, several with black majorities, the chairman of South Carolina's House black caucus noted, "Things have changed so that the runoff now can work in our favor."<sup>5</sup>

Such arguments depend upon more than two candidates seeking the nomination. If only two candidates seek the nomination, the winner must gain majority support, as in a runoff. Ending the runoff accomplishes little if political forces then tend to restrict contests to two candidates. Experience with single primary and runoff systems in the south and the border south indicates runoffs encourage multiple candidacies in the first primary but single primary systems work to limit the number of candidacies to two. Bradley Canon examined gubernatorial primaries, runoffs, and nominations in 16 southern and border south states between 1932 and 1977. Canon found that in the 10 states with runoffs, the top two candidates averaged 67 percent of the first primary vote, but in six states with single primaries, the top two candidates averaged 93 percent.<sup>6</sup> Under the

runoff, several candidates can enter the first primary striving to qualify for the runoff but, if failing in that quest, bargain productively with the first or second place finisher to deliver support in the runoff. Under a single primary system, such bargaining takes place before the primary as interested parties seek to line up behind a winner. The single primary system's tendency to limit contests to two serious candidates, in conjunction with the pressures provided by racially polarized voting, make it likely that a black candidate for the nomination would face a single white candidate. Under prevailing conditions this showdown would produce defeat for the black candidate in election districts not winnable by a black in a runoff.

### **The Prospects for Black Candidates Generally**

The willingness of Democratic white voters to back Republican candidates and their reluctance to vote for black candidates make the elimination of the runoff a recipe for reducing black political influence. Some may see such white voters as unfit shapers of the future of the Democratic party. Insofar as Democratic party leaders are motivated by a desire to win elections rather than mount losing crusades, current voter attitudes are to be worked with rather than assumed away. Southern blacks may be the most loyal Democratic group, but basing the party on that loyal but limited constituency is not promising for electoral success at the polls.<sup>7</sup> The prospects for general election

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C. Canon, "Factionalism in the South: A Test of Theory and a Revisitation of V. O. Key," *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 22, November 1978, 833-848.

<sup>7</sup>Advocates of abolition of the runoff have high estimates of the Democratic party's strength and resilience. For instance, Mickey Michaux, the most prominent victim of what some consider the runoff's racial bias, stated, "In North Carolina, Democrats outnumber Republicans 3-to-1. It'll take a long time for the Republican Party to catch up. So what if 400,000 or 500,000 whites defect?" (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, 5 May 1984,

<sup>5</sup>Jack Bass, "Democrats: Here's a 40% Solution," *Washington Post*, 22 April 1984, d1-d2.

<sup>6</sup>Such differences could not be explained by other considerations such as the degree of Republican competition in the state. Bradley

majorities based primarily on black votes are restricted to very few southern districts, indicating the election of black (or black-backed) candidates hinges on biracial coalition politics. Few southern Democratic elected officials have gained office without a sizable share of white votes; most Republican officeholders have gained office with very few black votes. For Democratic candidates, nomination rules encouraging the seeking of biracial support promote prospects for election. Retaining the runoff may lead to more black-white coalitions backing white Democratic candidates who can successfully make biracial appeals. Courting and composing these biracial coalitions requires a politics capable of reducing rather than reinforcing the politics of race. Such political cooperation between the races provides a more promising basis for collaboration leading to the eventual nomination and election of southern black candidates. On the other hand, eliminating the runoff in the face of strong racially polarized voting should mean continued racial polarization, lower Democratic chances of succeeding in the general election and an acceleration of the movement of southern whites into the Republican Party as white voters and politically ambitious whites find the GOP an increasingly attractive party.

#### **Recent Experience with the Runoff: White Responsiveness to Black Voters**

Black political influence is not restricted to the nomination and election of blacks. If black votes, even though a minority, can influence which white wins, candidates should respond to the minority. Yet if the runoff's majority requirement dilutes black votes by encouraging candi-

dates to favor the white majority and slight the black minority, candidate shifts in response to the black vote should not have occurred. Did such responsiveness occur?

Before blacks voted in large numbers throughout the South, runoff campaigns often consisted of one candidate charging the other had secured the black vote in the first primary, black support constituting "the kiss of death." Even as blacks gained an effective right to vote, some white officials hoped this would continue. The following speculation occurred shortly before passage of the Voting Rights Act and pointed to hopes the runoff would help minimize black political influence.

Eli Howell, director of the Sovereignty Commission, pointed out the comfort that politicians see in Alabama's two-primary system. They reckon that the Negroes will vote as a bloc in the first primary and it will quickly become visible which candidate they supported. If the Negro-supported candidate is in the runoff, most of the white voters will swing behind his opponent, Howell said. This has happened many times in Alabama in local as well as state elections. "There will always be at least one candidate who is strong on segregation," Howell said. "He may not win the election, but he will have a big voice in determining who does win it."<sup>8</sup>

Did the runoff meet such expectations in the post-Voting Rights Act south?

Southern gubernatorial candidates provide the best measure of electoral responsiveness. Until recently, few could seek reelection, removing the advantages of incumbency from contests for governor. The shifting racial and economic stances of Democratic gubernatorial runoff winners suggest without proving that since passage of the Voting Rights Act the runoff may have helped sensitize candidates to minority voters.

Earl Black analyzed the racial and economic stances of all southern guber-

1035). In North Carolina, Democrats have won 8 of 9 gubernatorial elections and 12 of 15 contests for the U.S. Senate since 1948, the Democratic plurality exceeded 500,000 only in the 1976 gubernatorial election (517,191). Democrats nonchalantly writing off one quarter of the entire electorate, and a formerly supportive quarter at that, is not and would not have been a winning strategy even with North Carolina's three-to-one registration edge.

<sup>8</sup>Tom Johnson, "In Alabama—State's White Voters Far Outnumber Negroes," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, 6 June 1965, section 5, 2 (*Facts on Film*, 1964/5, J9 5535).

natorial candidates from 1954 to 1973. Black notes that from 1954 to 1965 (a period in which the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision made race a prominent issue in southern campaigns) strong segregationists won 76 percent of the southern Democratic runoffs, but from 1966 to 1973 (the immediate aftermath of the Voting Rights Act) nonsegregationists won 73 percent. As racial stances changed, a marked shift also occurred on economic issues. Prior to the Voting Rights Act, 71 percent of the runoff winners did not call for substantially increased educational expenditures. After 1965, 87 percent of the runoff winners called for such expenditures. Prior to the Voting Rights Act, only 12 percent of the runoff winners championed the cause of the "have-nots" and saw their struggle with the "haves" as the essence of politics. After 1965, 47 percent of the runoff winners took such a position.<sup>9</sup> Assuming black voters favored increased educational spending and the "have-nots" rather than the "haves," the shifting economic stances of runoff winners match the movement one would expect in response to new black voters.

The runoff did not prevent responsiveness to the new black electorate; it may have helped promote it, making candidates faced with the necessity of marshalling a majority of the Democratic vote more sensitive to the new voters within the party. Prior to blacks' voting, staunchly segregationist whites could exert controlling influence; after blacks gained an effective right to vote, black votes entered candidates' political calculations. Initially, open solicitation of the black vote was rare in some states, but many Democratic candidates found it helpful if not essential to have black support in the primary and runoff, and—given the growing Republican threat—in the general election. Apparently, in recent years the runoff has not diluted minority votes.

<sup>9</sup>Earl Black, *Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segregation as a Campaign Issue in the Second Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 209, 350-351.

## Why Was the Runoff Adopted?

Viewing the runoff as racist in practice goes along with convictions about its racist origins. But its origins, like its operation, are apparently less racist than critics contend.

A typical view holds that "Part of the impetus for establishing runoffs . . . came from white supremacists bent on discouraging blacks from voting."<sup>10</sup> Such motivations would have been anachronistic. When southern states adopted the runoff, few blacks voted in general elections and even fewer voted in Democratic primaries.<sup>11</sup> Disfranchising measures such as poll taxes and literacy tests had already drastically reduced the number of black voters. Since most blacks considered themselves Republicans before the New Deal, for the blacks still voting, taking part in Democratic primaries was not a pressing concern. Not that Democrats welcomed black participation—the white primary rules formally excluded blacks from voting in Democratic primaries. The runoff cannot be viewed as an important component of the southern attempt to squelch black political influence because of the potent limits on black participation in place before the adoptions of the runoff.

Discounting the political threat posed by the black vote when the runoffs were established might be considered beside the point if white supremacist legislators and party leaders were acting with far-sighted willingness to strengthen segregation further: ". . . [S]ome whites saw the runoff as protecting their dominance even if, as eventually happened, the courts declared the blatant tools of political segregation unconstitutional."<sup>12</sup> This

<sup>10</sup>Phil Duncan, "Jackson's Anti-Runoff Push Divides Southern Democrats," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, 5 May 1984, 1034.

<sup>11</sup>For a more detailed presentation of runoff adoption dates and an elaboration of the arguments made here, see my "Race and the Runoff," Public Policy Discussion Paper No. 8403, University of Rochester, November 1984.

<sup>12</sup>Duncan, "Jackson's Anti-Runoff Push," 1034.

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argument, if true, suggests white supremacists should have taken comfort from the existence of the runoff when the Supreme Court declared the white primary unconstitutional in *Smith v. Allwright* in 1944. Instead these legislators scrambled frantically to find a constitutional substitute for the white primary.<sup>13</sup>

A review of the timing and context suggests the runoff did not have strongly racist origins. But as previous discussion reveals, even if the runoff had racist origins, such origins are divorced from the current results of the runoff in political practice.

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The ultimate results of abolishing the runoff now would be few if any additional black Democratic nominees, few if any additional black elected officials and perhaps more Republican victories. Such an outcome would serve to exclude black voters from more winning coalitions, thereby reducing black political influence.

The racial bias some see in the runoff's operation is rooted not in the runoff but in the reluctance of southern white voters to back black candidates. Removing the runoff will do little to alter that white attitude. Even if more black candidates gained the Democratic nomination in the absence of the runoff, which seems unlikely, white support for those black candidates in the general election seems apt to be insufficient for election.

Blacks for the foreseeable future are critical to electing southern Democrats, but a Democratic candidate without white support is not electable in most of the South. More Republican victories seem certain in the absence of white and black cooperation. The black-white alliances made more likely by majority vote requirements such as the runoff facilitate the cooperation essential to erode white reluctance to vote for blacks and thus foster fairer divisions of patronage and elective posi-

tions. Blacks do have more extensive and effective political organizations than do whites and the two races have differential abilities to deliver on explicit terms of such a political alliance. Black and white cooperation means more Democratic candidates would be elected and blacks have a greater claim to gaining more elective offices. Insofar as those are the terms for continuing black loyalty to the Democratic party, and those terms are enforced, blacks stand to gain more by retaining than by rejecting the runoff.

Evidence suggests the runoff has not reduced black political influence. Maintaining and maximizing black political influence requires removing the remaining racially discriminatory barriers blacks face. As reports have noted, some southern blacks still face harassment and intimidation in registering, voting, and running for office; uncooperative or even hostile registration and polling officials depress the black vote; black access to the polls is made more difficult by the location of the polling places and the lack of effective assistance at the polls; restrictive registration practices also affect whites, but given the legacy of past educational and economic discrimination, such practices have a greater impact on blacks; limited access for black candidates to the white community—particularly civic organizations and sources of campaign funds—can reduce chances of election; absentee ballot abuse can reduce the chances for ousting incumbents; and racial gerrymandering can carve bleak constituencies for black electoral prospects.<sup>14</sup> The runoff does not deserve inclusion among lists of such barriers to the election of blacks and black political influences. Consequently, drawing attention to the runoff diverts attention from efforts to remove the real barriers to the election of blacks and black political influence.

<sup>13</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Vintage, 1949), 619-643.

<sup>14</sup>U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *The Voting Rights Act: Unfulfilled Goals*, September 1981.

## The FBI and American Politics Textbooks

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During hearings into serious and long-standing FBI civil liberties abuses by the Senate Intelligence (Church) Committee in 1975-76, the late Senator Philip Hart of Michigan stated: "As I'm sure others have, I have been told for years by, among others, some of my own family, that this is exactly what the Bureau was doing all of the time, and in my great wisdom and high office, I assured them that . . . it just wasn't true, it couldn't happen. . . . The trick now . . . is for this committee to figure out how to persuade the people of this country that indeed it did go on. And how shall we insure that it will never happen again? But it will happen repeatedly unless we can bring ourselves to understand and accept that it did go on" (1976a: 2-3).

Ideally, in a country such as the United States which essentially defines itself politically by a belief in freedom and civil liberties, these abuses would never have occurred. However, once they did, the schools, beginning even with the elementary grades, would discuss such abuses and stress the threat they pose to democratic values. But, in fact, studies of elementary and secondary school curricula and textbooks have repeatedly documented that material with highly controversial political implications, and especially material which reflects badly upon the United States government, is

watered down or "sugarcoated" if not entirely omitted (Fitzgerald, 1980; Griffen & Marciano, 1979; Goldstein, 1972; Cox & Massialas, 1967; Krug, 1960). Thus, political scientists, well aware of political pressures increasingly placed on public schools to avoid highly controversial material in their texts, would probably not be very surprised to find little or no material about the recent revelations of severe and prolonged FBI abuses of civil liberties included in elementary and secondary school level textbooks. On the other hand, if Senator Hart's warning is to be heeded, there seems no better place to start (and perhaps no other place at all) than textbooks used for introductory college courses in American politics. Students who were not at an age of developed political awareness when the revelations of FBI misconduct received wide publicity in the mid-1970s are unlikely ever to learn about the grave threat to American democracy posed by past and potential future FBI misconduct if materials on this subject are omitted or watered down in these sources.

This article examines a broad selection of textbooks used in such courses in order to determine to what extent they include a forthright and informed treatment of material concerning FBI abuses. A total of 47 textbooks were examined (all of which were published in 1979 or later, to allow time to incorporate the revelations

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which were first widely publicized during the Church Committee hearings of 1975-76). These texts do not include all introductory American politics books, but surely include the vast majority of them, and represent a wide variety of authors, publishers, ideologies, and approaches to the study of American politics. All indexed entries referring to the FBI were examined (while this leaves open the possibility that poorly indexed books might include additional material, a check of several texts revealed no substantive

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*Studies of elementary and secondary school curricula and textbooks have repeatedly documented that material with highly controversial political implications . . . is watered down or "sugarcoated" if not entirely omitted.*

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references to the FBI that were not indexed). The latest edition of each text which was available was examined (although some of the texts have possibly appeared in later editions than those examined for this article, a spot check of six books available in more than one edition published since 1978 suggests that changes in the treatment of the FBI are minimal and reflect no consistent trends).

Before analyzing the textbook treatments in depth, it may be helpful to summarize the revelations of FBI civil liberties abuses which were made by the Church Committee in 1975-76, were widely publicized then, and have since been recorded in many books (Halperin, 1976; Elliff, 1979; Theoharis, 1978; Wise, 1976; Ungar, 1975; Goldstein, 1978; Donner, 1980). The FBI, under the directorship of J. Edgar Hoover, was shown to have systematically engaged in massive political surveillance of the completely peaceful and legal activities of American citizens for over 30 years. Although the statutory basis of these investigations of "subversion" was the possibility that the targets might seek to overthrow the gov-

ernment, not a single prosecution for planning or advocating such activity resulted from the over 500,000 "subversive" investigations carried out from 1960 to 1974 alone. Among the targets of such investigations in the 1965-74 period were Washington, D.C. high school students who complained about the quality of their food, the Women's Liberation Movement, all black student organizations and all persons living in communes (which the FBI defined as a "group of individuals who practice communal living, i.e., they share income and adhere to the philosophy of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented revolution" [Senate Intelligence Committee, 1976b, 509]). The FBI compiled 18,000 pages of files on anti-war activist Tom Hayden and 8 million documents on the obscure and peaceful Marxist-oriented Socialist Workers Party. Files were also maintained on important politicians and other prominent individuals (such as Albert Einstein, Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, and John Lennon), and such files apparently helped maintain the FBI's political clout.

Beginning in 1940, and continuing for at least 25 years, the FBI implanted thousands of warrantless, illegal telephone wiretaps and illegally opened and photographed 130,000 pieces of first-class mail. Beginning in World War II and continuing for at least 30 years, the FBI also engaged in hundreds of warrantless, illegal break-ins and burglaries of the homes and offices of dissident individuals and organizations for the purpose of planting microphone "bugs" and stealing and photographing documents for intelligence purposes. Between 1956 and 1971, the FBI conducted COINTELPRO (for Counterintelligence Program) operations against a wide variety of targets and organizations ranging from the Communist Party and the Black Panthers to Martin Luther King and the anti-Vietnam War movement which were designed, in the words of FBI directives, to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the activities of the target groups and individuals. The COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" included over 2,300 actions designed to sabotage the target groups. They involved such techniques as bur-

glaries, forging letters to create factionalism within target groups, trying to disrupt the marriages of dissidents and attempting to have them ousted from jobs and apartments. In some cases FBI agents and informants actively fomented or participated in violence, even, in some instances, furnishing explosives and arms. The Church Committee reported that FBI COINTELPRO operations "often risked and sometimes caused serious emotional, economic or physical damage" and involved violations of "federal and state statutes prohibiting mail fraud, wire fraud, incitement to violence, sending obscene materials through the mail and extortion" (Senate Select Committee, 1976a: 139, 216), while a committee staff report termed COINTELPRO a "sophisticated vigilante operation aimed squarely at preventing the exercise of First Amendment rights of speech and association" (Senate Select Committee 1976b: 3). Undoubtedly the most-well-known target of FBI "dirty tricks" was civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., who was subjected to over 20 separate wiretaps and bugs on his phones, hotels, home, and offices and was a target of a vicious campaign of FBI harassment, including attempts by the agency to discourage colleges from granting him honorary degrees and to discredit him with the press and executive branch officials by leaking material gained from taps and bugs. In 1964 the FBI mailed King a tape based on electronic surveillance with an apparent suggestion that he commit suicide or face public exposure, and even after his assassination the agency tried to head off proposals that a national holiday be named for him.

Despite this well-publicized record of prolonged and serious FBI abuses of the civil liberties of American dissidents and the supposed high value placed on political freedom and the rights of minorities in the United States, of the 47 books examined, 33 books (70 percent) either failed to mention FBI abuses at all or else referred to them in such a sketchy or vague fashion that only students who read them with the most extraordinary care could possibly gain or retain any information on the subject. Twelve of the books contained no references at all to

the FBI (Starling, 1982; MacManus, Bullock & Freeman, 1984; Aranson, 1981; Keefe et al., 1983; Saffell, 1984; Hamilton, 1982; Roelofs & Houseman, 1983; Dye, Greene & Parthemos, 1980; Dye & Zeigler, 1983; Sohner & Scott, 1984; Anderson et al., 1984; Levine & Cornwell, 1983). Another 11 contained only fleeting references to the FBI, with no tangible information included related to the subject of dubious surveillance and/or disruption of the activities of political dissidents by the agency (Rodgers & Harrington, 1981; Patterson, Davidson & Ripley, 1979; Lineberry, 1980; Wolfinger, Shapiro & Greenstein, 1980; Morgan, 1982; Baker, Wilson & McWilliams, 1983; Nimmo & Unga, 1979; Shea, 1984; Dahl, 1981; Sullivan, 1980; Burnham, 1983). The information about the FBI contained in these 11 books is cursory and references to the FBI are generally tangential to the main subject under discussion. For example, several of these texts briefly cite J. Edgar Hoover's FBI to illustrate a discussion of the difficulties presidents may have in exercising effective control over the executive branch bureaucracy. However, these texts do not cite FBI civil liberties abuses as an example of activities presidents could not control. In discussing why Hoover's FBI was so autonomous, they only refer to Hoover's personal popularity or his success in gaining

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***Students who were not at an age of developed political awareness . . . in the mid-1970s are unlikely ever to learn about the grave threat to American democracy posed by past and potential future FBI misconduct if materials on this subject are omitted.***

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support among congressmen, with no reference made to the blackmail potential contained in the files the FBI maintained on congressmen and other prominent

public officials. Thus, Patterson, Davidson and Ripley, in one of only two brief references to the FBI in their 750-page book, mention that a bureaucratic agency's constituents may "force an unacceptable appointee to resign" but that "conversely, strong support may keep an agency head in office even after he has lost the President's confidence. Several presidents contemplated removing J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972), chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose popularity and unassailable public image kept him on the job for 48 years, until his death at the age of 77" (429-30).

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The discussions of FBI bureaucratic autonomy by Baker, Pomper and McWilliams and by Wolfinger, Shapiro and Greenstein are particularly inadequate since they are misleading. The Baker book mentions twice, once in a captioned photo of J. Edgar Hoover, and once in the text, that the FBI "defied President Nixon's attempts to entangle his [Hoover's] agency in a web of illegal activities" including the president's desire that the agency "spy on Americans, open their mail and break into their homes in the interests of 'internal security affairs' " (426). Although with reference to the infamous Nixon-Huston plan this is true enough, to repeat this information without ever mentioning that the FBI had been engaging in precisely these activities for over 30 years (this is the only substantive reference to the FBI in the entire text) is certain to leave students with an extremely distorted impression of Hoover's FBI. Similarly, the only reference to FBI surveillance in the Wolfinger text is the statement that "during the Nixon presidency" the FBI "often refused to carry out the domestic spying policies desired by the president" for fear involvement in "such illegal ac-

tivities" could lead to "punishment from Congress" (532).

A few of the 11 texts in this category do have vague and brief statements which a student who was well-informed or intuitive about FBI abuses might understand but which provide no tangible information on the subject. Thus, Lineberry mentions that under the Freedom of Information Act one can write "the FBI, for example" to "find out if they have a file on you" (133) but never explains why this could possibly be the case. Burnham's only reference to the FBI concerning political surveillance is that during the period of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 there was "no FBI, no CIA, no other agency that could investigate or repress seditions, real or imagined" (99).

Another 10 books (Prewitt & Verba, 1983; Ceaser et al., 1984; Harris, 1983; Pynn, 1984; Edwards, 1979; Irish, Prothro & Richardson, 1981; Wilson, 1983; Skidmore & Wanke, 1981; Woll, 1979; Burns, Peltason & Cronin, 1984) do make clear and direct references to FBI abuses of Americans' civil liberties, but in a form so sketchy and vague that the treatment is unlikely to be retained by any but the most conscientious students. These 10 texts at most hint at the scope and extended time period of FBI abuses and most of them contain their references to FBI misconduct in one or two sentences. Any student skimming these texts or reading with the usual haste is likely to miss entirely the information about FBI misdeeds contained in them. Because the material in these sources is so sketchy, each can be quoted in full.

Prewitt and Verba, after noting that the FBI was one of several government agencies that had "rarely been brought under public scrutiny," state that the Freedom of Information Act has led to the release of "detailed information on government spying on domestic political groups such as the Socialist Workers Party and on black and feminist groups" (550). Pynn states that Watergate-era investigations revealed "FBI violations of the law under Hoover" which "did much to erode the popular image" of an agency which "for years" had been "favorable" and "unassailable" due to Hoover's skillfulness



"at mobilizing public opinion" in the FBI's behalf. The only specific information Pynn includes about the nature of these violations is contained in a captioned picture of Hoover which states that Hoover "turned the FBI into a model investigatory law enforcement agency," but that after his death congressional investigation "found repeated incidents of illegal or questionable activities such as harassing political activists, including Martin Luther King" (470). The book also briefly mentions a court decision that FBI "namecheck" summaries compiled "for the White House on individuals who had criticized the presidential administration" are not subject to disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act (150).

Irish, Prothro and Richardson make several brief references to FBI misconduct: mention is made that President Nixon used the FBI to "harass people on his 'political enemies list,'" that the Church Committee investigation of the FBI revealed "repeated violations of the law under both Republican and Democratic administrations," and that Hoover "acquired so much power that several presidents were apparently fearful of removing him." In the only really substantive comment, the book states that FBI misconduct included "running a continuous campaign against civil rights leader Martin Luther King and civil rights organizations" and the maintenance by Hoover of "extensive files on the political and sexual activities of public and private citizens, making such information available to Presidents for their 'entertainment'" (134-35, 322, 475). Ceaser states that the FBI's "distrust of political dissidence" reflected Hoover's personality and led the agency to use "illegal tactics" to "gather intelligence and monitor protesters" by means "such as infiltration of protest groups" (446, 626). Harris mentions that the FBI has recently admitted "under pressure" that it has engaged in "illegal searches and seizures without warrants" and that "some efforts were made during the Carter administration to prevent such breaches in the future" (96-97).

Wilson attributes FBI autonomy to "strong public support" developed as a

result of "skillful use of publicity, by preventing its agents from acting in corrupt or brutal ways and by some striking investigative successes"; the text then adds vaguely that the resultant virtual immunity to "criticism and thus to serious presidential or congressional supervision" was greatly modified after the "FBI was shown to have exceeded its power by investigating persons because of their political opinions and by engaging in illegal investigative methods (break-ins or 'black-bag' jobs)" (366). Reference in Skidmore and Wanke is made to the Social Security Administration having once discovered an FBI agent trying to infiltrate it to obtain confidential information. The book then adds that the availability of computerized records to various government agencies makes such attempts unnecessary or unlikely now and that "recent reforms of FBI practices might also rule out such tactics" (111). It also vaguely mentions revelations in the mid-1970s of "spying activities directed against citizens by agencies such as" the CIA and FBI and states that "reforms by individual agencies, such as the FBI's decision to limit surveillance to about three percent of those previously under scrutiny, are welcome" (115). Quite unusually, for a book which gives so little substantive factual information about FBI misconduct, this text adds that the "basic issue of control over intelligence activities remains unresolved" and "the superficial reforms made are in effect worse than no reforms because they obscure the issue rather than eliminate it" (115).

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*. . . 70 percent of the texts examined either had no information at all on FBI abuses of civil liberties or else just a sentence or two of sketchy information.*

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Woll, in the context of a discussion of turbulence in the United States during the Vietnam War era, notes that in May 1968, in response to the "supposed ac-

tivities of radical groups," Hoover ordered all FBI offices to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the New Left, and that subsequently the agency launched a "major counterintelligence [COINTELPRO]" operation against organizations considered by the FBI to be subversive. Although the actual quoting of an FBI directive gives considerable weight to this short account, no information or examples are included to let students understand what the COINTELPRO operation meant in practice. Further, this information is largely negated by the statement that the FBI blocked Nixon from initiating a "major program of domestic surveillance of radicals, involving inspection of mail, use of informers and break-ins to secure information." All of these techniques, of course, had been used by the FBI for over 30 years, but the average student is likely to conclude from the treatment in Woll that the FBI did not use the tactics proposed in the Nixon plan and that the FBI first began using whatever dubious tactics it did adopt only in 1968 (and only for three years) since the text mentions also that the FBI counterintelligence program "was disbanded in April 1971, abruptly and without explanation" (although it was in fact apparently abandoned due to threatened exposure following a burglary of an FBI office) (482).

The only reference to FBI misconduct by Burns, Peltason and Cronin, amidst a discussion of FBI autonomy (which is attributed solely to Hoover's popularity with Congress and the public), states that FBI immunity from outside control "served the country poorly at times, such as when Hoover was able to wiretap Dr. Martin Luther King [in fact, Attorney General Robert Kennedy approved this] or others he disliked, but it served the country well when Hoover was able to thwart President Nixon in his effort to cover up Watergate" (which is by no means clear) (413). Edwards states that Presidents Johnson and Nixon were "caught" using FBI files to "develop damaging or embarrassing information" on their political enemies and used their powers to involve the agency in "domestic spying violation of the civil liberties of citizens." This text also quotes another

book's conclusion that the FBI and other intelligence agencies such as the CIA operated for 25 years "outside the normal checks and balances of the constitutional system and above the law itself" (178, 190-92).

The remaining 14 texts examined all include, to one degree or another, a discussion of FBI misconduct that is sufficiently lengthy and detailed that a reasonably conscientious reader is likely to retain a clear impression that the agency has been involved in severe and prolonged civil liberties violations. In most cases, these books list a variety of specific types of FBI abuses that occurred, and usually one or more examples of misconduct is discussed in enough detail to clearly and concretely illustrate what might otherwise be a vague and abstract discussion. Nonetheless, nine of the 14 texts in this category (Hilsman, 1979; Getz, 1982; Harrigan, 1984; Sherrill & Vogler, 1982; Morlan, 1979; Dye & Zeigler, 1981; Sherrill, 1979; Dolbeare & Edelman, 1981; Katznelson & Kesselman, 1979) confine their discussion of FBI abuses to a paragraph or two (usually about half a page or less) and stand out only in comparison with the others previously discussed. Given the brevity of these nine accounts, a couple of examples can easily be quoted or paraphrased in virtually their entirety. Harrigan includes a picture of Hoover which is captioned, "Former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover sometimes seriously abused his authority, as when he wiretapped the phones of the great civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., in an attempt to gather evidence that would discredit King." The text itself includes the following paragraph, after noting that autonomous bureaucracies "can be a danger to the preservation of democratic freedoms," especially "agencies such as the FBI or CIA" that exercise police powers:

J. Edgar Hoover, as director of the FBI, effectively escaped presidential control and engaged in numerous civil liberties. Hoover kept secret files on the private lives of members of Congress and other political leaders in and out of the government. He used this evidence to win congressional support for the FBI [quite a contrast to the typical account at-

tributing FBI autonomy basically to the FBI's popularity with the public]. And he used his agency to harass loyal Americans whose political views differed from his own. Nowhere were FBI abuses more blatant than in Hoover's attempts to smear the great civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., when King began to voice his opposition to the Vietnam War [in fact Hoover's private war on King predated King's opposition to the public war in Vietnam] (340).

Morlan notes that traditionally the FBI has enjoyed "tremendous prestige," but adds that growing numbers of critics have complained the agency has operated "completely without effective control by the public or even by Congress" and reports that congressional investigations in the 1970s "developed evidence that the FBI for many years had provided presidents with essentially political intelligence on political opponents, journalists, and critics. J. Edgar Hoover, during his long tenure as director maintained separate files of politically useful information and was not above using them for FBI advantage. Files were developed on everyone elected to Congress and were at times used in the FBI's dealing with that body. There were illegal surveillances of private citizens, burglaries to secure evidence and in an effort to discredit certain organizations, use of anonymous letters and threats, even the forging of a signature on abusive letters to Mafia-owned businesses in the expectation that reprisals would result" (306-08).

Of the 47 texts examined, by far the most forthright and extensive treatments of FBI misconduct, with detailed and graphic accounts of agency abuses, are contained in the books by Parenti (1980), Weissberg (1980), Danielson and Murphy (1983), Cummings and Wise (1981), and Greenberg (1983). These accounts, each a page or more long, are too extensive to quote verbatim, or even completely paraphrase, but some of the most important points which they make can be easily summarized to indicate their markedly more complete and graphic nature. The basic summary of FBI misdeeds contained in Weissberg is typical of these accounts. He states the

FBI "has long kept political intelligence files on thousands of citizens without authority from Congress or the President," including a total of "500,000 dossiers on citizens with dangerous ideas"; carried out an admitted 2,370 "dirty tricks" against political dissidents in 15 years, including many aimed at "comparatively harmless groups" or in cases posing "little evidence of a threat"; used 1,600 informants, made 92 burglaries and compiled 8 million documents in attempts to keep tabs on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), "an intellectual anachronism and debating society," whose members were never caught "in a single violent or illegal act"; and by anonymous letters repeatedly tried to get employers to fire a school teacher who had joined a student affiliate of the SWP to protest the Vietnam War (551).

Danielson and Murphy precede their rather similar account by stating the FBI has "confessed to a series of felonies that would make a Mafia don blush," and note that the over 500,000 files kept by the FBI were maintained not on "spies, terrorists or even Mafiosi, but law-abiding citizens whose political views and activities did not conform to what officials of the FBI" and other agencies "thought 'proper.'" They discuss the harassment campaign against King in some detail, including buggings, wire-tappings, and "even" threats by the FBI "to make public an allegedly damaging tape recording unless he committed suicide" (481-82). Cummings and Wise add, to a basic account also quite similar to that in Weissberg, that in the course of the COINTELPRO operation the FBI "secretly harassed American citizens" and in some cases "broke up marriages or endangered lives." They attribute the FBI's "unprecedented degree of power and independence" under Hoover not only to good public relations but also to the "secret dossiers and files of the FBI" since a "member of Congress who had a drinking problem, or who had accepted a campaign contribution from someone rumored to have connections with organized crime, or who was having an extramarital affair, might have good reason to fear the contents of the FBI's file on him" (471, 499-501).

Parenti bluntly asserts that the FBI's goal is "the preservation of the American socioeconomic status quo." He notes that its activities included "hundreds of illegal burglaries" which involved the "stealing" of private files and documents, infiltration of leftist and liberal groups "with the intent of sabotaging their operations" and fomenting divisiveness among political groups, including instigating "violent conflicts" and "planting false information" such as falsely labelling prominent dissidents as police agents. Among the targets of FBI surveillance listed by Parenti are labor unions and "White House political opponents, journalists, congressmen and members of congressional staffs." As an example of an FBI "dirty trick," Parenti mentions that "at a time when organized crime was expanding its operations in New Jersey," FBI agents, "working at fever pitch" tried to drive a scoutmaster from his job by such methods as planting false information, "their reason being that he might contaminate young minds because his wife was a socialist." Parenti states that while harassing the left, the FBI has "given a free hand to" or "actually encouraged right-wing extremists," including providing information and encouragement to groups which harassed "progressive groups." He states FBI agents who infiltrated the Ku Klux Klan "took part in numerous acts of racist terrorism and violence, including the killing of a civil rights activist," and that the FBI played a major role in creating and financing a San Diego "crypto-fascist" organization which engaged in such activities as burglary, mail theft, bombings, kidnappings, assassination plots and attempted murder, all "conducted under the supervision of the FBI" (150-53).

Greenberg notes that under the "COINTELPRO" operation, the FBI "engaged in a broad-based campaign to harass and discredit" civil rights leaders and organizations, including a "particularly ugly" vendetta against Martin Luther King which involved "illegal surveillance, leaking of incriminating incidents to the press, mailing of anonymous letters to King's wife implying improprieties, and threats directed at King himself, most notably the famous suggestion that he

commit suicide." Greenberg also states that the FBI was involved in fostering conflict between two black militant groups "which eventually resulted" in six deaths and was also "implicated" in another death of a civil rights activist. Other FBI activities mentioned by Greenberg are "systematic campaigns to harass dissident individuals" including the firings of "several college and public school teachers" and "the compiling of dossiers on anti-war members of Congress and members of their families." Greenberg rejects the interpretation which suggests the FBI was a bureaucratic agency "running amok," with Hoover able to stay in office by implicitly blackmailing presidents who were aware of his dossiers. He suggests that "an equally convincing explanation" is that Hoover was retained in office because the FBI was "fulfilling an important task: infiltrating, gathering intelligence about and disrupting the activities of unpopular and dissident political organizations." He notes that a number of the FBI's dubious activities were either known about by presidents or carried out in response to their directives. He quotes one scholar who states that the investigations of FBI misconduct "reveals that some presidents and their attorneys general used the FBI for political espionage, that all accepted political information on adversaries and allies, and all allowed the FBI to operate outside the law" (291-92).

Several of these texts include notably strong statements that the FBI abuses threaten to diminish the civil liberties of all Americans. Thus, at the close of his account of FBI violations, Weissberg clearly suggests the long-term impact of such events on Americans' willingness to exercise their supposedly protected civil liberties: "They probably inhibit many citizens from fully utilizing their rights. After all, why take a chance by joining an unpopular group or getting involved in a demonstration when such action might get one on a list of subversives (and one would never know it). Suppressing free speech and the right of freedom of association does not require that every speaker or organization be punished. A few dozen well-publicized abuses of power can provide millions of citizens

with a powerful and long-lasting lesson" (553). Danielson and Murphy make a similar comment, noting that FBI abuses "could impose a 'chilling effect' " on citizens' willingness to exercise their political rights for fear that "to join unpopular organizations or to voice unorthodox ideas will bring harassment by tax investigators, invasions of privacy by FBI agents, and perhaps even blackmail." This text also notes tartly that despite President Reagan's "pronouncements about restoring respect for law and order," he pardoned FBI agents who had been convicted in connection with illegal break-ins, and quotes from assistant FBI director William Sullivan's congressional testimony that the FBI engaged in "real character assassination" and that "never once did I hear anybody, including myself, raise the question, is this course of action which we have agreed upon lawful, is it legal, is it ethical or moral?" (484).

In summary, an examination of 47 political science texts designed for use in introductory college courses in American politics suggests that Sen. Hart, whose quotation introduced this article, would be deeply disappointed in the widespread failure of these books to provide enough information about FBI abuses so that students have a reasonable chance of learning that "indeed it did go on" with the hope of making sure "it will never happen again." Certainly it is a disturbing commentary upon the comprehensiveness, currency, and forthrightness of American political science textbook authors and their apparent lack of knowledge or concern about threats to our fundamental freedoms to discover that 70 percent of the texts examined either had no information at all on FBI abuses of civil liberties (23 books) or else just a sentence or two of sketchy information (10 books) on this subject. Although the other 30 percent of the texts (14 books) do offer longer and franker accounts of FBI misconduct, only five of the total of 47 books gave detailed, graphic and forthright treatments. Inevitably, the "Santayana" question arises: Will the United States fail to teach about and learn from the darker aspects of its history, and thus be condemned to repeat them?

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# Political Science and the Humanities: A Report of the American Political Science Association

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*Editor's note: This report is the culmination of the work of APSA's NEH Liaison Committee, whose members are listed above. The Council created the committee to identify aspects of political science that fall within the substantive domain of the National Endowment for the Humanities and to encourage political scientists to apply for NEH support. In this report the committee carefully delineates the humanistic dimensions of political science and demonstrates not only the compatibility of the humanities and social sciences but their striking interdependence.*

## I. Introduction

In Western civilization, the Sophists began the systematic study of politics. With Socrates and Plato, that study became the heart of philosophy. In these respects, political science can claim to be the earliest and most lasting of the humanities. Modern political scientists still address the issues with which these early philosophers dealt, those of community, justice, law, legitimacy, freedom, equality, and persuasion. These issues continue to reverberate in contem-

porary debates about the nature of scientific work in general and, in particular, the place of questions of value in politics and the study of politics. "Ethics and public policy" is a burgeoning field in the political science of the 1980s. Moreover, public affairs and political rhetoric are now surging to the forefront of attention in history, literary theory, philosophy, and other disciplines largely outside of the social sciences.

Like the other social sciences, political science asserted its independence from philosophy and law through a series of methodological revolutions starting late in the nineteenth century and recurring at generational intervals since. The most recent revolt, that of behavioralism, came after the Second World War. It looked to physics for models of inquiry that would cleanly divide scientific investigations of politics from more historical, literary, journalistic, and judgmental studies. At the same time, political scientists transformed concepts and practices of their own discipline through new technologies for collecting and processing information about politics.

Many behavioralists stressed the contrast between new projects in political science and the discipline's continuing commitment to humanistic issues and techniques. Behavioral ideals and conceptions of science rolled rapidly over many older studies of American politics. But these new models of scholarship came more slowly to other areas, such as comparative politics and international relations. In these parts of political science as well as to some extent in public law, humanistic methods of historical explanation, cultural analysis, and textual interpretation proved tenacious and often indispensable, with styles of inquiry characteristic of social science appearing more complicated, costly, and problematic than expected. Under the heading of political theory, the discipline retained an entire field devoted to analytical, epistemological, historical, ethical, imaginative, and institutional projects that were distinctively humanistic.

The methodological revolution that began in the 1950s has left behavioralism as an integral and respected part of

political science. The discipline retains a commitment to objective, systematic, and quantified observations of human

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behavior. Humanistically as well as scientifically, it continues to refine its quest for rigorous explanations of such behavior. Over the past 30 years, however, the impetus toward a science of politics has produced many surprises. For example, most social scientists now concede that normative assumptions underlie most, if not all, scientific analyses, a concession that requires philosophical inquiry into values, lest supposedly scientific scholarship degenerate into ideology. As a result, every field in political science is becoming a complicated conversation among scientific and humanistic approaches, to the benefit of both.

## **II. Humanistic Dimensions of Political Science: Symbiosis**

Much recent work in the discipline draws on promising combinations of classically humanistic and scientific studies. Furthermore, the very development of distinctively social scientific methods has elicited greater need and concern for characteristically humanistic inquiry. Use of survey research to study political attitudes and systems of belief has enhanced interest in the interpretation of political symbolism and the rhetoric of political communication. Empirical comparisons of political participation in different countries has stimulated study of the meanings of such concepts as authority, democracy, legitimacy, representation, and rights. Actors' definitions of such terms must be understood and linked to their meanings in scholarly conceptual frameworks—a phenomenological enter-

prise. The arms trade, economic interdependence, and international migration lend new urgency to the need to develop philosophies of just war, basic rights, and citizenship. Studies of political organization increasingly combine surveys and participant observation with interviews, interpretations of documents, and assessments of the symbolism peculiar to each culture.

The state of the main subfields that comprise the discipline makes more vivid the manner in which political science has increasingly encompassed both the humanities and the social sciences. In comparison with most academic fields, political science has traditionally embraced a wide variety of approaches and methods. Established traditions tend to be found more in the subfields than in the discipline as a whole. Moreover, within each subfield there are strikingly different combinations of social scientific analyses and humanistic concerns.

### **A. Public Administration and Policy Analysis**

To fulfill its objectives, policy analysis has joined the technical, analytical modes of social science with ethical evaluations ordinarily associated with the humanities. This linkage is essential even in "cost-benefit" analysis, whose goal of a measure of efficiency that can be calculated in dollars masks its assumptions about myriad values other than money.

Indeed, concern for human values in policy analysis, which gathered momentum in the 1970s, was intended and widely understood within political science to represent a step beyond behavioralism and toward renewed appreciation of the place of humanities in the discipline. Substantive public policies involved include agriculture, business, defense, education, environment, health, welfare, human rights, labor, safety, technology, trade, and transportation. In these areas, policy analyses joined social-scientific studies of the processes and products of policymaking to humanistic studies of the historical contexts of programs, the ethical value and philosophical coherence of both ends and means,



and the imaginative projection of alternatives. Also among the humanistic concerns evident in policy analysis are studies of the political rhetoric of hearings and rulings, jurisprudential implications of legislation, ideological and cultural influences on implementation, ethical implications of strategic and tactical planning of programs, and normative criteria for evaluating success, failure, or needs for modification.

In short, the policy movement is resurrecting a field of political inquiry in which intertwining of the humanities and social sciences is inescapable. More generally, it is encouraging humanistic sensitivity to the political significance of research in every other field of the discipline. For it reminds political scientists of the practical inspirations and implications of their research and teaching, that moral values always lie at the heart of political practice. The sprawling family of formal models, analytical theories, and public-choice theories used in policy studies employ assumptions about "rationality," the universality of certain orderings of preference, and concepts such as "maximizing" and "satisficing" that demand philosophical examination.

### **B. Formal Theory and Empirical Application**

Application of game theory and related theories of rational choice in studies of legislatures, voting, arms races, and other topics of political science requires use of humanistic data and methods. For example, the rational-choice paradigm of inquiry into decisions and strategies has long relied for its evidence on humanistically thick descriptions of legislative, executive, and judicial processes. Similarly, the attention of that paradigm to structures of economic preference and courses of political action has produced a series of humanistic studies: historical accounts of formations of coalitions, rhetorical treatments of cognition, philosophical assessments of value, and literary analyses of change in desires and standards. Other branches of formal theory and modeling involve the same

sorts of mappings as do structuralist studies of literature. Still others combine introspective techniques long prominent in the humanities with computer simulations of political thinking or interaction.

### **C. American Politics**

The signs of closer relationship between political science and the humanities are hardly limited to policy analysis and formal theorizing. In American politics, the most behavioral field of the discipline, there is renewed interest in the histories of political parties, the texts of political socialization, and the rhetorics of political communication, ranging from campaign speeches to the commands of the Constitution.

Political scientists' most profound explanations of the nature of the American democracy have invariably combined humanistic concepts and empirical analysis as, for example, explanations of why class-based politics did not arise in America as in Europe, the pluralistic character of American politics, or tensions within the American creed. Although the behavioral approach has been extensively used in this subfield, the basic concepts and problems have remained those of a humanistic tradition. The central concerns of the study of American politics have long been questions about the essential character of constitutional democracy and the advancement of ideals of liberty, justice, and order in a modern technological society.

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More recently, there has also been considerable ferment arising from efforts to

define viable public philosophies for the current state of the American polity. Efforts by those on both the political left and right have been noteworthy for sharing a common appreciation of the necessity of a humanistic dimension for their work. At the same time, contemporary defenders of the liberal tradition have been seeking to rearticulate, in more humanistic terms, their understanding of that tradition.

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#### **D. Comparative Politics**

Comparative politics has been an exceptionally dynamic subfield, replete with humanistic elements. The new dimension of political development of the Third World has broadened the scope of comparative politics and tightened its connections with humanism. The end of Western colonialism and the emergence of new states in Africa and Asia posed a great challenge to comparative politics. Initially, political scientists met that challenge by attempting systematic comparisons based on statistical analysis of various forms of aggregate data. Their emphasis was thus on building theories for an empirical science. Over time, however, it has become apparent that to understand political development and modernization it is necessary to go beyond contemporary data and examine in a comparative framework different historical traditions and political cultures.

To be sure, even the earliest works on comparative political development generally acknowledged the importance of historical and cultural backgrounds of countries; but the more recent trend has been toward an ever deeper appreciation of the need for an essentially humanistic grasp of the total culture before attempting analysis of contemporary issues. Thus expansion of comparative politics

to include political development has also nudged area studies back into the mainstream of political science.

The traditional focus of area studies had been very much on the uniqueness of cultures. In this respect, the subfield was quintessentially humanistic. By introducing a comparative dimension, political scientists have helped to break down barriers in the study of the separate cultures. The result has been a combination of humanistic and social scientific approaches that has significantly advanced knowledge. Furthermore, the need to learn foreign languages and to immerse oneself in historical and cultural knowledge before engaging in field work has strengthened the humanistic dimension in the training of political scientists—though, as we later note (see III A), economic factors severely restrict the number of people who can take advantage of such opportunities.

#### **E. Political Culture and Ideology**

The subfield of political culture became an autonomous part of the discipline when public opinion polling and sample surveys were relatively fresh innovations. At that time, quantification of political attitudes seemed to offer the best means to determine how cultures differed in conceptualizing politics. But, as the subfield matured, it changed in ways parallel to those of comparative politics. More and more scholars found it necessary to go beyond currently held opinions and to analyze underlying societal values. In turn, this shift made researchers revert to more historical approaches. Consequently, the study of political cultures has tended to augment social scientific analyses with more traditional modes used to explore political ideologies, textual analysis and philosophical reasoning of an essentially humanistic nature.

#### **F. International Relations**

International relations was once solidly positioned in the humanities as a variation on diplomatic history. Training involved learning to use archives and gaining skill in textual analysis. In the postwar

years, introduction of game theory and formal modeling moved the subfield more into the social sciences, a move spurred by the gravity of problems of nuclear arms in a bipolar world.

Recent years have seen a partial return to the traditions of the humanities. Several causes are immediately apparent. First, the persistent threat of nuclear holocaust that led some scholars to formal modeling has also driven others to review historical analogies. Second, numerous issues in current international politics—such as questions of the legitimacy of intervention in domestic politics of foreign nations and rules for acceptable use of force—call for answers that can best be found in the humanistic traditions. This reawakening has been hastened by concern for research about conditions for peace. Finally, there has been an awareness that abstract theories of strategy and deterrence will be dangerously flawed if they do not take into account actors' different cultural predispositions.

Thus, the idea that the complexities of the international system might be reduced to abstract models of different types of systems, each with its definite set of rules, has been tempered by appreciation of the significance of particular cultures and traditions that shape the behavior of nations in world politics. The result has been a new basis for integrating the humanistic and social scientific aspects of political science.

### **G. Public Law and Jurisprudence**

Public law and jurisprudence have provided a critical foundation for the study of politics, for these subfields address such basic issues as the origin of the state, proper allocations of authority in a polity, and procedural bases for achieving justice. With respect to the United States, public law has offered an essential perspective on political history.

In addition, these subfields have been characterized by attempts to elucidate more precisely the core values of American political culture. The division of labor between the teaching of constitutional law and jurisprudence in law schools and programs of political science is largely found in the latter's humanistic empha-

ses. Rather than focusing on technical aspects of formal legal doctrines, political scientists have concentrated on identifying and analyzing the various competing, and sometimes conflicting, values underlying the polity, and the tasks of courts and judges in discovering, interpreting, reconciling, and applying—often creatively—these values.

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The importance of the humanistic tradition in political science for enriching the study of cultural values is even more apparent in comparative constitutional law and jurisprudence. Here much of what we have already noted about comparative politics and political culture is equally relevant.

### **H. Political Economy**

Largely because of numerous problems shared by advanced industrial states, we are experiencing a revival of political economy, a subject that was influential in forming the social sciences. Interestingly, whereas early practitioners of political economy, such as Karl Marx and Adam Smith, were trying to break from the humanistic tradition and, in the spirit of positivism develop a science of society, many scholars today are moving in precisely the opposite direction. In seeking to break down artificial barriers between political science and economics and to view more clearly the interrelation of economic and political forces, students of political economy are now raising anew many of the basic questions of classical social theory and political philosophy. This sort of inquiry imparts a strongly historical orientation to the subfield.

The result has been a reaggregation of many concepts that in preceding decades political scientists had sought to dis-

aggregate. For example, in trying to conceive the relations between state and society, political economists tend to see the state as a single, autonomous actor. In this respect, there has been a return to an approach that once bulked large in political philosophy, but which modern political science sought to clarify by speaking of specific institutions and individuals who comprise "government."

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Although coming to the subject from different directions, present-day political economists share with classical social theorists a concern with how science and technology affect political, economic, and social systems. Whereas their predecessors were responding to the industrial revolution, the current generation of political economists is trying to understand equally profound changes in "post-industrial" society stimulated by the enormous impact of science and technology.

What is significant in these developments is that a subfield, as it responds to the social consequences of scientific advancement, should find it essential to return to the fundamental concerns of humanistic traditions. This reaction suggests that in the future political science, as it confronts its own urgent problems, will increasingly find it essential to combine the methods and concepts of the humanities with those of the social sciences.

### **I. Political Philosophy**

The continued importance of the humanistic tradition expressed in political

philosophy is manifested in several ways. Classical political theory continues to define many of the fundamental problems, phrase the critical questions, and provide the crucial concepts that inform and directly or indirectly guide scholarship in political science, including that which is the most self-consciously scientific. Analyses of voting behavior, sample surveys, and aggregate data relating to categories of political systems as well as studies of implementation of public policy can be recognized as almost always addressing matters that were first identified as significant in classical political theory.

In addition, the enduring role of classical political theory in the discipline has meant that political scientists, as a community of scholars, never completely lost a feeling for the importance of dealing with basic values. While the scientific revolution pulled the discipline as a whole toward the goal of creating a science that would be value free, a continuing respect for the role of theory preserved a legitimate place for the serious treatment of values.

### **J. Philosophy of Political Inquiry**

The subfield of the philosophy of political inquiry examines the epistemological basis for knowledge about political systems and political behavior. A decade or more ago this subfield was essentially limited to philosophy of science and defenses of quantitative methods. In the last few years, however, questions have been raised about the appropriateness of the practices of the physical sciences for the study of human behavior. As noted above, the behavioral revolution of the 1950s and sixties, with its stress on empirical research and acceptance of a form of logical positivism, suggested that political science should model itself on an idealized version of the physical sciences. Recent developments in the discipline, however, have made it obvious that the philosophical bases of political science are not restricted to such an understanding of knowledge.

Some political philosophers have begun to reassess the traditional canon of classic texts—to ask whence the tradi-

tion comes, what has been omitted, and how better canons might be created. Relatedly, the discipline is undertaking the same reconsiderations of meanings and roles for theory that have been widely noticed in literary and historical studies. As movements such as existentialism, neomarxism, phenomenology, structuralism, deconstructivism, and bioethics have left imprints on the humanities, they have also influenced political science, as have evolutionism, political economy, sociobiology, and cognitive science. As a result, political science serves as an important crossroads for virtually all inquiry in the social sciences and humanities. Thus the discipline helps to create lasting patterns of conversation and cooperation that enliven investigations throughout the academy.

### **K. Summary**

As our review of the subfields suggests, the lines between humanistic and scientific approaches in political science have blurred. Subfields that at one time were resolutely scientific have recaptured many of the assumptions and concepts associated only with the humanities. Even though it is not easy to gauge the exact extent to which scholars in various subfields are involved in what can be called the humanities, in comparison with a decade ago there has been a notable convergence of the concepts and methods of the humanities and the social sciences. In every subfield there are large numbers of scholars who in their research and teaching are utilizing humanistic approaches. Even this brief overview should make it clear that while political science is customarily classed as one of the social sciences, it is in fact a discipline that has also been and will continue to be an intimate part of and a contributor to the humanities.

### **III. Humanistic Political Education: Areas of Need**

The problems of American higher education of which William J. Bennett spoke in November, 1984, are widespread and serious. Colleges seem to be admitting a larger percentage of students who are unprepared for systematic, tough-

minded analysis either in the humanities or the sciences, then often worsen the situation by failing to require, or perhaps even offer, a rigorous education in the liberal arts. As a result, those people returning to high schools as teachers or going on to graduate schools to prepare themselves to become scholars frequently remain ill-equipped to serve the next generation. As we shall discuss later in this report, the economics of the academic marketplace also discourage the best of students, those who have alternatives, from pursuing careers as teachers and scholars. As a report of the Department of Education noted in 1984:

The realities of student learning, curricular coherence, the quality of facilities, faculty morale and academic standards no longer measure up to our expectations. These gaps between the ideal and the actual are serious warning signals.

One may question whether, aside from the economic outlook for beginning scholars, there was a time when things were much better; but that does not mean things are not bad now. The effects of these general problems may harm political science no more than other disciplines, but the injuries are real in the present and their threat to the future even more grave.

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### **A. Colleges and Universities: Recruitment and Training of Political Scientists**

With college costs increasing and the academic job market declining, more students, undergraduate as well as graduate, are part-time citizens of academe, getting their education when they can afford it and maintaining some economic security while they pursue further education. A report of the Department of Education issued in 1984 said that more than half the students in colleges and uni-

versities were commuters and more than 40 percent attended only on a part-time basis. The figures would be smaller were two-year community colleges not included, but those totals would still be impressive.

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These numbers help explain why much of academia is pervaded by an atmosphere of narrow careerism. A large share of students are basically interested only in courses and training that will help them with their immediate economic opportunities and look askance—or at best with longing—at classes and faculty who spend time with theory, classical ideas, or philosophy. For political science, this trend means fewer students are receiving the foundation in political theory or in the philosophy of political inquiry needed to put their learning into perspective.

NEH's summer seminars for college faculty taught by political scientists on such topics as human rights and discrimination, inequality and contemporary revolutions, religion and politics, and the American experience have helped teachers realize how readings in political theory, political philosophy, and jurisprudence can be interwoven in an exciting manner into other course work. But there is a need for more direct support to departments of political science to encourage innovative ways to get students to examine the roots of their discipline as well as to fund the important humanistic enterprises we have described above.

Among the more important educational aspects adversely affected by students' career-mindedness is the study of foreign languages. In graduate as well as undergraduate programs, there has been a

gradual decline in requiring proficiency in two or even one foreign language. This diminution in language training has lessened understanding of other cultures and peoples. Thus, as the world is becoming more interdependent, American students are becoming more parochial. Elimination of funding for language institutes and fellowships has aggravated this situation.

Money is needed to help support students to receive language training and to enable faculty and institutions again to provide such training. To help language institutes provide students with an understanding of the social and political thought and institutions of a people as well as their language, it is important that humanistically trained political scientists play a significant role.

Decline in training in foreign languages is only one symptom of a more general malady afflicting graduate education. Several recent studies have documented not only falling enrollments but also a sharp decline in the quality of applicants, as measured by the Graduate Record Examination. All of us have unhappy tales of our brightest students choosing law over academia and, more importantly, choosing economic security over their preferences for a profession. It is sufficient for our purposes to note that, while in the mid-1960s some 75 percent of those who graduated *summa cum laude* from Harvard/Radcliffe went immediately to graduate school, only a third did so in 1980. What the chairman of Princeton's Department of History recently noted about his students accurately reflects the situation in political science:

Ten years ago . . . it was common for one-third to one-half of this department's highest honors [*summa*] graduates to go on for graduate study. At present there is usually one very hardy and courageous soul among the highest honors recipients who is so committed to history that he or she is willing to brush aside all the gloomy predictions about the state of the job market and embark upon graduate training in this field.

Furthermore, the loss of talent continues in graduate school, as even some of the most promising young students become

discouraged at the dismal economic prospects for teaching and scholarship and, in the midst of an apparently successful quest for a doctorate, opt to change to professional schools. "In such circumstances," Princeton's President William G. Bowen has remarked,

the temptation to admit less well qualified candidates in order to attract enough students to constitute a "critical mass"—or the number which, at some point in time, was believed necessary to give a program vitality and breadth—is a real one, hard to resist.

To ensure that people interested in and capable of making a contribution to the humanities are not lost to other professions, political science badly needs a program of graduate fellowships. Those sponsored by NEH might well be reserved for research on dissertations with a humanistic focus. As our earlier review of the subfields of political science revealed, there are many questions and issues with a humanistic thrust of interest to our students. Initiation of National Humanities Fellows would signal to the next generation of students the importance of the humanities and, within political science, of the exploration of humanistic questions. More broadly, these fellowships would, along with the other programs we suggest, help attract and retain many bright young people for whom pursuing a career in humanistic scholarship may seem the functional equivalent of accepting the status of mendicant monks.

## **B. Elementary and Secondary Schools**

Assisting students to understand the humanistic aspects of political studies falls not only within the domain of the faculty at the college level, but also concerns teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Students at younger and younger ages are being confronted with conflicts among values as well as with the ever-shrinking nature of the world. It seems important that high school students begin to read and think about how others throughout history have dealt with problems analogous to those confronting them.

The newly instituted NEH summer seminars for secondary school teachers are

helping social studies teachers to develop such curricula. The American Political Science Association with NEH support has become involved in compiling a sourcebook on the Constitution. Careful thought, however, needs to be given to capturing the imaginations of young people. The NEH Youth Projects, with their focus on using radio and television as well as on field trips to involve high school students, show evidence of getting students' attention. Use of role playing and learning by analogy might also be useful tools. By reenacting the Constitutional Convention much like college students run a Mock United Nations or law students conduct a moot court, high school students might be more directly introduced to what is involved in the American political system. By having them reenact similar kinds of historic events from other political systems, high school students might be better able to put the democratic system into perspective. Such historical role playing could be institutionalized and run on college campuses in the summer by an interdisciplinary team of scholars in the humanities. Students could be nominated by area social studies teachers to participate.

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## **C. Beyond the Academy**

Learning does not end with college or graduate school, nor does the need for civic literacy or global civics. "Being a citizen today," a former cabinet member has lamented, "is essentially a spectator sport." There is a growing need to help American adults become better informed and thoughtful so that they will know how, and will want, to participate. Examples of successful projects include the "Civic Literacy" program at the Univer-

## Forum

sity of Oklahoma. Operated as part of an adult education program, the project enables participants to inform themselves and to think critically about public policy. Among the issues considered have been the political implications of technology, scarcity, and the paradoxes of freedom.

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*Within its substantive researches, the discipline time and again weds humanistic traditions of scholarship to social-scientific methods of inquiry.*

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A general problem in running such programs involves collecting and making available materials that could be used by the local media and community organizations. Political scientists on the faculties of colleges and universities could offer considerable expertise here. Many political scientists are playing leading roles in NEH's efforts to celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution. Members of the discipline are directors of or consultants to virtually all of the programs funded by the Endowment to inform the general public. Political scientists are similarly involved in Bicentennial projects supported by state humanities councils.

Like civic literacy, global civics involves providing adults with the education needed to become responsible citizens in an interdependent world. That such education can have payoff is seen in the effects on business in Lynchburg, Virginia that briefing books on various countries' culture and history have had. Through an NEH supported project at the Cross-Cultural and Foreign Language Resource Center at the Central Virginia Community College, businessmen in the area are learning basic language skills as well as about the cultures of countries they are pursuing as markets. Development of self-instructional materials on the political, social, religious, and intellectual aspects of a variety of cultures could help diminish the "ugly American" image so prevalent around the world and

enhance the experiences of Americans travelling and working abroad.

## IV. The Needs of Humanistic Scholarship and Research in Politics

### A. Support for Beginning Scholars

Most beginning scholars were born during the baby boom; their current and potential students are products of much less fertile years. This demographic imbalance, coupled with a retreat by government and many private foundations from supporting scholarship, has contributed to job insecurity as well as unemployment and threatens further to deplete the next generation's pool of able academics. Moreover, heavy teaching loads for junior faculty and a scarcity of money for research are depriving a large share of those people fortunate enough to find employment of opportunities to establish a solid basis for a meaningful professional career. In political science, we confront an urgent need for a program of postdoctoral fellowships to permit some of these individuals to convert dissertations into books or articles and to begin scholarly projects to increase their likelihood of obtaining tenure-track positions.

Two related trends in the academic market contribute to the gravity of the situation. First is the "graying" of the profession. Those who joined the learned professions before and at the early stages of the time when the children of the baby boom matured are still relatively young and so are far from retirement. Congress further distanced many of the people by banning mandatory retirements below the age of 70. Second, foreseeing no significant rise in the number of students until the year 2000, many colleges and universities are reluctant to create additional tenure-track positions and are relying instead on temporary appointees.

Scholars who become part of the "gypsy" group find themselves in a catch-22 situation. They are typically expected to do a great deal of teaching in their temporary positions and, thus, their



time for doing research is minimal. Yet it is research and publication that will enable them to secure permanent positions. This condition can be all the more unfair because whether one contracts the "gypsy" syndrome is often dependent on luck—on the number of positions available in a subfield in the year a person goes on the market and the number of more established political scientists who want to move.

What are most needed here are two programs. First is one of postdoctoral fellowships that would allow beginning scholars opportunity to lay a foundation for their careers, to have the time to turn their dissertations into books or articles or to begin new projects that would advance knowledge. The second is an expanded version of the summer seminars sponsored by NEH, discussed below.

### **B. Support for Established Scholars**

Because of the tightness of the academic job market, the mobility, both within and across institutions, of faculty who have tenure-track positions seems to be decreasing. For many people, especially those at so-called teaching institutions that demand long hours in the classroom while also demanding scholarly production, the future seems only somewhat brighter than for the gypsies.

NEH's summer seminars for college teachers have enabled many faculty to renew their scholarly talents. Moreover, these seminars have provided opportunities to interact as well as to share information and ideas about research with others in the same area. There is a pressing need to continue and expand this program, not only to open such experiences for more people in the smaller institutions but also for faculty in those departments that advertise doctoral programs but in fact run only limited M.A. programs. Scholars at both sorts of institutions frequently have few or no colleagues in their own or perhaps even closely related subfields and experience a strong sense of professional isolation that interferes with both their teaching and scholarship.

There is also need for a series of frontier programs to provide opportunities for interdisciplinary activity. As the problems

the country and the world face become more complex, it is increasingly important for those in the humanities and social sciences to have opportunities to work together to bring their varying perspectives and ideas to bear on collaborative research projects. In considering questions such as the proper allocation of authority in a polity, the procedural bases for achieving justice, the essential features of constitutional democracy, or the rules that should govern the use of force, social scientists and humanists can benefit from exploring each others' assumptions and sharing ideas as well as criticisms.

Groups of five to 15 scholars in the social sciences and humanities could come together for an intensive period of sharing perspectives on an issue and begin to define how each member could address specific aspects of the larger problem. As they complete their research and write up their results, participants could then meet periodically for feedback and further reflection. A final report would involve integrating the various members' products.

### **C. Crosscultural and Interdisciplinary Scholarship**

As well as involving interdisciplinary teams, such frontier programs could also involve crosscultural teams of scholars. The research conferences, supported by NEH, on how parliaments have affected public support of governmental regimes offer an example of this type of program. Joint research and analysis by scholars from several nations would not only enable social scientists and humanists to tackle problems of importance, but would also provide varying cultural perspectives on the issue and force participants to come to grips with their own ethnocentric biases and the effects of such biases on their research. Questions that have global implications, such as how to define and achieve justice in North-South relations and when it is legitimate to intervene in the domestic politics of other nations, can only be adequately studied by crosscultural teams of scholars.

To promote collaboration between those

doing research in the humanities and in the social sciences, NEH could sponsor, at the conventions of various professional associations, a series of brief workshops that focus on the capacities of humanists and social scientists to work together toward solving problems of practical or academic significance. These workshops might also be used to highlight research projects that NEH believes are particularly exemplary or initiatives like that on the bicentennial of the American Constitution for which fresh ideas are in short supply.

### V. Priorities

The slackening of interest in scholarship that many private foundations have shown during the last decade make support from NEH for humanistic aspects of political science all the more urgent. The priorities for political science, as we see them, are not easily stated because they are so closely connected to each other. We have divided our ordering under the headings of education and scholarship, and further subdivided needs under each. We emphasize, however, that the discipline needs a coherent set of programs that attack the core of the economic and demographic problems that at this juncture beset all the humanities, indeed, all of higher education.

#### A. Education

1. *Graduate Fellowships.* The most serious educational needs are for graduate fellowships so that political science can continue to attract and adequately train the people who will form the next generation of scholars. These fellowships could be of two kinds: those modeled on the old National Defense Language awards, specifically marked for the study of foreign languages to allow students to understand the values and cultures of other countries; and others of a more general sort to aid students whose dissertations deal with political problems that are humanistic in nature.

2. *Faculty Seminars.* Only slightly lower on our scale would be an enlarged program of seminars for faculty at teaching institutions, a term that would include

some that style themselves universities but in reality seldom offer work at the doctoral level. These seminars should not only be larger in number than those currently offered but might also be of several sorts. Some would follow the current pattern of encouraging scholarship, while others would focus on problems of teaching, focusing on such matters as development of curricula and preparation of materials for courses that might either try to redraw the lines of subfields, create new subfields, or take a new approach to traditional subfields.

3. *Humanistic Sensitivity and Civic Literacy.* We would also give a high priority to NEH's continuing and expanding the sorts of programs described above, in Section III A and III B, for teachers and students at the high school level and also for segments of the general public. Much of the support that the Endowment is providing for the Bicentennial of the Constitution is working toward these ends, but that anniversary will soon be behind us. We would hope that NEH would continue to support long-ranged programs to increase both the sensitivity of high school students to humanistic concerns and the civic literacy of all citizens.

#### B. Scholarship

1. *Fellowships for Research.* The first priority we see is for several programs of fellowships. One would be at the post-doctoral level to assist beginning scholars in laying the foundations for productive careers. A second would be for more established faculty who have not yet made their mark but who have demonstrated, perhaps through work done at a summer seminar, a marked capacity. The third would be a continuation of NEH's current program for scholars who have already built reputations for scholarship and need time further to advance knowledge. A side effect of all three programs would be to encourage able graduate students to pursue academic careers.

2. *Summer Seminars.* Our second priority is for an enlarged program of summer seminars for college teachers, described above. Coupled with a fellowship program specifically designed to help faculty too senior for postdoctoral grants but

who have not yet established themselves as scholars, these seminars could provide immense incentives for creative research and analysis, as well as help recruit and retain able people.

3. *Collaborative Research Projects.* Connected to but not a necessary part of fellowship programs would be support for interdisciplinary and crosscultural research projects, described above under IV B. Support for both sorts of projects would seem to fall squarely within the core of NEH's mandate.

## VI. Summary and Conclusions

In all the major subfields of political science the once sharp divisions between the humanities and the social science are being bridged, some partially, others fully. The ambition to realize a purely scientific study of politics has been increasingly modified by greater appreciation that meaningful analysis of human societies calls for an approach that denies that there can or should be any incompatibility or contradictions between the humanities and the social sciences.

Regarded as a set of research projects, political science provides a striking demonstration of the interdependence of the humanities and social sciences. Within its substantive researches, the discipline time and again weds humanistic traditions of scholarship to social-scientific methods of inquiry—in the service of fuller comprehension of politics, more prudent conservation of worthy institu-

tions, more astute criticism of existing practices, and more imaginative creation of politics to come.

Perhaps most evident here is the falseness of any distinction between "humanistic" and "social scientific" techniques of research and analysis. Political scientists were quick to utilize quantitative modes of analysis. More recently, however, they have been joined by colleagues in the humanistic disciplines. Historians whose interests range from the Bible to trade in the Mediterranean world to the condition of slaves in the American South are trying systematically to collect and analyze data. Other scholars are using computers to enhance textual analysis of documents such as the New Testament and, under a grant from NEH, commentary on the *Divine Comedy*. At the same time, political scientists in all subfields of the discipline are wrestling with problems of finding, defining, and applying values, of the interplay of historical forces, of the nature of culture, of textual interpretation, and of the uses of rhetoric.

It is quite possible that we are at a stage when there will be a reversal in the bifurcation of the humanities and the social sciences. If in fact such a development is the dominant trend of the day, then it is critical that funding for scholarly work respond by recognizing that political science is at the forefront in shaping the issues and concepts that will be necessary for a civic debate on the outlines of a new public philosophy.

## Association News

### Special Report on the 1985 Annual Meeting

#### **New Orleans Revisited: The More Things Change, The More They Stay the Same\***

**James H. Chubbuck**

Office of the Mayor  
New Orleans, Louisiana

**Lucy King**

Loyola University

**Edward F. Renwick**

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Key to Cost:    1—Inexpensive  
                     2—Moderate  
                     3—Expensive  
                     4—Sky's the Limit

For stress induced by either waistline or wallet, the emergency medical service phone number in New Orleans is 911.

Huey Long once described himself as *sui generis*. In the galaxy of American cities New Orleans fits the same description. There is no other place like it—from the mania and madness of Bourbon Street on Mardi Gras, to the unbelievably hot, humid afternoons of late summer dozing on a bench in Jackson Square or watching the sails move in and out of the Lake Pontchartrain haze.

New Orleans is a city for the senses. The sight of a worn-out streetcar still clanking along under the oak trees of St. Charles Avenue. The smell of beer and whiskey

and urine being washed down in the French Quarter by the 5 a.m. street cleaner. The moaning sound of a clarinet as it reaches out for "Just a Closer Walk With Thee." And the taste of some of the best restaurant cooking in the country.

New Orleans also is a city *par excellence* of politics and politicians. Its political intrigues and range of personalities challenge the imagination. Louisiana has been described as the "westernmost of Arab States," with New Orleans as its capital. The zest and intensity with which the game of politics is played even overwhelms the natives from time to time.

Eating and drinking—before, during and after the making of a political deal—is very much a part of New Orleans' political culture. This could be related to the excellent meals one can find, even in small neighborhood restaurants. But it is more likely a reflection of the city's Latin temperament and sense of style.

Whatever the real reason, there is no shortage of good eating and drinking places. And, like the inns on the Eastern seaboard that once proudly bore the legend "George Washington Slept Here," numerous New Orleans restaurants will inform you, through pictures or mementos, that you have crossed the path of a particular political favorite. Some are famous, some so obscure only the bartender will know. And they reflect both the present and the past.

New Orleans food is a classic example of provincial cooking at its best. Although the style is considered French, it is not the French of Paris, or for that matter, of the French restaurants of New York, Chicago, or San Francisco. The New Orleans style, like its politics, is a distinct blend of spices and sauces that sets the taste apart. The basic seafood staples are oysters, shrimp, crabs, and trout. The

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\*Revised, updated and back by popular demand. (See *PS*, Spring 1973, pp. 192-203, for original article.)

James Chubbuck is executive assistant to Mayor Ernest (Dutch) Morial and founding director of the Institute of Politics at Loyola University. Edward Renwick is director and Lucy King is assistant director of the Institute.

trout, which is a sea fish and is unlike the brook or rainbow trout found in other parts of the country, comes with a great variety of original sauces or is just plain broiled. The red fish and pompano are two other excellent fish found in New Orleans restaurants.

A special delicacy that is included on many menus is the cray or crawfish, a crustacean that resembles a miniature lobster but for some strange reason grows best in the mud of South Louisiana. It is a staple of Cajun cuisine.

Excellent beef—the traditional steak or filets and tournedoes tantalized with delicious wine sauces—also is very much a part of the repertoire of New Orleans chefs.

But whatever your taste, including chicken and veal, the combination of good food and politics creates an atmosphere of expectation that can make a meal in many New Orleans restaurants an epicurean experience.

For your eating and drinking pleasure while you are in New Orleans, we have developed a guide to a number of selected restaurants and watering holes. The list is by no means exhaustive. The places selected reflect the authors' personal prejudices and tastes. We have attempted to provide a broad cross-section of types and prices. As anyone can see, the authors enjoy eating and drinking in a variety of spots.

### **Bon Appetit**

The convention hotel, the *Hilton*, is a miniature cosmos of the city—containing many of its famous attractions in one convenient spot right on the Mighty Mississippi. For more information on any of the below call 561-0500.

In the main building of the hotel, one can start at the grass roots level on the ground floor and work up. Close by the lobby, the *Bromeliad Cafe* and adjacent bar area offer Friday night seafood buffets with all the typical local specialties accompanied by a live Cajun band from 6-9 p.m., and on Saturday nights there's an Italian buffet with Italian singers in the spirit of the Latin offerings. In the true

New Orleans style, there is live music every evening. Sunday mornings are served well with a brunch buffet and free flowing champagne—to ease one into the morning light. The *Bromeliad* is open Monday-Saturday for lunch from 11:30-2:30 and on Sunday for the Jazz Brunch from 9-3. For dinner, the hours are Sunday-Thursday 6-11 p.m. (2+).

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*New Orleans food is a classic example of provincial cooking at its best. . . . The New Orleans style, like its politics, is a distinct blend of spices and sauces that sets the taste apart.*

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Up a level and one may feast in the rarefied air of *Winston's* accompanied by a strolling violinist to experience the finer points of polished continental cuisine, open Tuesday-Saturday 6-11 p.m. (4).

In the hotel complex, in the restaurant *Kabby's*, one can dine on local seafood and other specials while enjoying one of the best views of the Ole'Man and his ever changing river review. There's live music six nights a week and a fine dance floor. (M-F 11:30-2:15, 6-11, Sat. 6-11, Sun. 10:30-2:30) (2+).

On the fourth level, *Pete's Place* is the home of and locale where one can catch performances by the world renowned clarinet virtuoso Pete Fountain. He's almost always there and certainly always the best. He sets his own schedule; there's one show nightly at 10 p.m. with the doors opening a little before 9.

And travel to the top of the Hilton to the *Rainforest* for a fitting and typical climax to Louisiana Life where the rumble and flash of life in the bayou state is depicted by a thundering swamp storm occurring at intervals throughout the evening while one sups, sips, and contemplates the juxtaposition of the stormy heights with the power below of the mighty muddy on-rolling river. It's open Monday-Saturday 11:30 p.m.-4 a.m., and Sunday 4 p.m.-4 a.m.

## Association News

Roll on up Canal Street and turn uptown a block at University Place for more political hostelry.

The presence of Huey Long, who totally dominates Louisiana's political past, is felt in many places but none more so than the *Fairmont* (formerly and sometimes

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*It was in Antoine's that the famous rapprochement between FDR and the heirs to Huey Long's power took place after the assassination. Roosevelt's visit opened the door for millions of federal dollars to flow into Louisiana, and the lunch at Antoine's was later referred to as "The Second Louisiana Purchase."*

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currently better known as the Roosevelt) Hotel. The Fairmont was purchased by one of Long's key lieutenants in the early 1930s, and it became Huey's command post. The lieutenant at one time had been a barber in the hotel barber shop. It was at the Fairmont that Huey met the German ambassador in his green silk pajamas. The Sazerac Bar is the home of the famous Ramos Gin Fizz, which Huey popularized nationally during a camp press conference in New York in 1934, and shouldn't be missed.

Although bought by a San Francisco chain in the 1960s, the Fairmont still is the most political hotel in the city featuring the Sazerac, a gourmet dining room, with the adjacent famous Sazerac Bar, the Fairmont Court, the Blue Room supper club, and Bailey's, a moderately priced, informal restaurant that's open 24 hours a day. (Nice to know at the onset of four a.m. famish.) The Sazerac Dining Room is open for both lunch (M-F, 11:30-2 p.m.) and dinner (6-11 daily) with both jackets and reservations required at all times. (4) The bars are open daily from 10 a.m. to 2 a.m., and there are usually two shows daily at the Blue

Room; call for information on performers and schedules. The number is 529-7111.

In the listing that follows, restaurants are rather broadly grouped in geographic sections following the first group of the four Prominently Political Restaurants.

### Prominently Political

For restaurants, "Dinner at Antoine's" is one of the most famous and political traditions in Louisiana.

One of the proprietors is the state Attorney General, William Guste. He is a member of the family that has owned Antoine's since it opened for business 145 years ago.

It was in Antoine's that the famous rapprochement between FDR and the heirs to Huey Long's power took place after the assassination. Roosevelt's visit opened the door for millions of federal dollars to flow into Louisiana, and the lunch at Antoine's was later referred to as "The Second Louisiana Purchase." Former New Orleans Mayor Robert Maestri is most remembered for the one line he uttered to FDR as the group was feasting on Oysters Rockefeller: "How da ya like dem ersters?" A photo of that event is hanging on one of Antoine's walls.

Antoine's was not one of Earl Long's favorites, however. Earl, who became almost as famous as brother Huey and served as governor longer than anyone in Louisiana history, until Edwin Edwards, once said that for him to sit down to an elegant meal at Antoine's would be like "putting socks on a rooster."

But for other Louisiana governors and New Orleans mayors Antoine's was and is the place to go to entertain visiting dignitaries or to raise money at discrete fat-cat dinners. But never on Sunday, as the restaurant is dark.

Antoine's has the same menu for lunch and dinner, and is usually not crowded at lunch. At dinner, one must either stand in line outside or have reservations with one's own waiter and enter through the very elegant private alley. For visitors the first is annoying and the second very difficult. We suggest lunch. And be sure to

try Oysters Rockefeller (invented by Antoine's but never ordered there by any Rockefeller). Also, the *tournedos marchand de vin*, the French bread which comes with your meal, the soufflé potatoes, and crepes suzette, or request the new lobster combination dish not on the menu but often available; all are excellent choices from Antoine's first-rate kitchen which offers a great variety of great eating experiences. The menu is in French, but the waiters are delightfully helpful in their tantalizing translations. Antoine's has a first-rate wine list, a superb frothy Bloody Mary, and heavenly smooth milk punches to guide one gently into gracious gormandisement. 713 St. Louis, 581-4422, dark Sunday, lunch and dinner (4).

If not as nationally famous, *Ruth's Chris Steak House* is "where the beef is at" in politics as well as gastronomically and is located at the corner of Orleans and North Broad Streets. This is the flagship of Ruth's Chris Steak Houses which are now found elsewhere throughout the nation. For New Orleans politics it is the best of beef, both politically and bovine. Sinfully salted and buttered steaks are not for the "weak of heart" but can be ordered on the abstaining side. Conservatives, liberals, blacks, whites, politicians, pollsters, press, media types, public relations pushers and judges all gather to garner tidbits in this female-owned establishment. On occasional Thursdays a city council quorum can be found even after the weekly meeting dining here. Needless to add, this is not the place for private rendezvous, political or otherwise. 711 N. Broad, 821-4853, Daily 11:30-11:30. (3+).

And like the state of Louisiana, at the *Pontchartrain Hotel* it's politics from the first morning's cup of coffee at the *Pontchartrain Cafe* (better known as the coffee shop) through the Brandy Alexanders at the Bayou Bar late at night. The Pontchartrain Cafe is THE place for "Eggs Politics." It has become so well known for its political breakfasting that people have gone there to enhance their image, credibility, visibility, and political (as well as physical) stature, and are as conspicuous in their absence when avoiding the public eye and secreting away in the

very private but equally political, dining rooms of the hotel. 524-0581, 2031 St. Charles Avenue, daily (2).

Breakfast at the Pontchartrain Cafe focuses on a round table that serves as open house for political conversation and comestibles attracting a heavy traditional Republican contingency including the former Governor Dave Treen, but well weighted with a heavy cast of black political leaders.

The Famous Mile High Ice Cream Pie is on both the coffee shop menu and that of the more elegant Caribbean Room restaurant which is a favorite of many natives as well as the elite among tourists. The dessert is a delightfully obscene ice cream concoction whose proportions are so immense that even Richard Scammon was momentarily shaken when he first encountered it. Now the Pontchartrain is his choice of hotels when he comes to the Crescent City. (A divided portion of the Mile High Ice Cream Pie can be ordered for two not-so-fanatical ice cream freaks.)

The *Caribbean Room* at the hotel is also noted, among many things, for two very different and delicious appetizers, Shrimp Saki and Crabmeat Remick; and the Trout Veronique as an entree. Senator Russell Long, who spent some early childhood years in Uptown New Orleans often dines at the Caribbean Room at the hotel. 524-0581, 2031 St. Charles Ave.; M-F 11:45-2 p.m., 6-10; Sat. 6-10, Sun. 11:45-2 p.m., 6-10 p.m. (4).

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*Moran's is a tiny gem of a restaurant with a glass-walled bar converted from an old iron lacework balcony and overlooking the patio below.*

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Politicos often disappear a block further up the avenue to the *Avenue Cafe* in the Avenue Plaza Hotel for breakfasting, coffee, and confidences, 568-1443, 2111 St. Charles Ave., dark Sunday and Monday (2+).

In the famous French Quarter, politicians

and other patrons alike are partial to the prime rib at the *Rib Room* at the Royal Orleans Hotel. A favorite of former Mayor Moon Landrieu, it also attracts the well-heeled servants of the public interest, as well as judges, attorneys and media types especially to Friday lunch where a different menu prevails everyday from that at dinner. The bar is excellent, and one of the best places in town to try a famous southern Mint Julep. Royal Orleans Hotel 529-7045, 621 St. Louis St., 10-2:30, 6-11:30 except Sunday until 10:30 p.m. (3).

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*Dining in the Grill Room at the Windsor Court is an impressive experience from the large Lalique table in the foyer to the bill at the end of the evening.*

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Further up the streetcar line in the heart of Uptown New Orleans, not far from Tulane and Loyola Universities and Audubon Park, is *Clancy's*, the prototype of a restaurant for Uptown political hanging out. This eatery is owned and operated by no less than 18 active Republican types, including the general manager Lou Costa, former head of the Republican party in New Orleans, three former levee board members including its past president, the Uptown city councilman, and a federal judge.

Clancy's special eating interest features offerings from its own mesquite pit, including quail, lamb, duck, pork and shrimp, and the house specials of crayfish beignets and rabbit sausage, and a temptation called Chocolate Regal, the 1-2 Smoking-Joe-Frazer-knock-'em-out-straight-to-the-Norwell-Center-left-right-punch dessert. The lunch menu offers lighter fare and fees.

A bottle of champagne is always open and available for cocktails should one choose to refrain from the house drink that most any politician would prefer, the Dollar Bill (a green liquid elixir which might better pass as a Midori Kamakazi creeping up on one softly and carrying an incredible club). 895-1111, 6100 An-

nunciation St., M-F 11:30-2:30 p.m., M-Sat 5:30-10:30 p.m. (3).

### **Greater French Quarter**

*Port O'Call.* For the best hamburgers, exotic drinks, and wonderful huge baked potatoes with all the toppings (also a few other choices including pizza on the menu) this is *the spot*. 523-0120, 838-Esplanade, open daily 11-1 a.m., Friday and Saturday to 5 a.m. (1).

*Gin's.* For Oriental in the French Quarter or anywhere else in the city for that matter, this is a very good, small, Cantonese style Chinese restaurant. All dishes are well prepared and delicious, with the particular finesse only personal attention by the owner can add. 529-1730, 739 Conti, dark Monday, 5-10:30 p.m., Tues-Sunday. (2):

*Cafe Sbisa's* is bistro dining with good evening entertainment on the weekends. Excellent choices of local and imported seafood. Sbisa's has a creative menu for Sunday mornings such as their delicious scrambled eggs with smoked salmon. 561-8354, 1011 Decatur St., M-Th 6-11, Fri. and Sat. 6-12 a.m. (3).

*Galatoire's* is the place to go early or stand in line outside the restaurant on Bourbon Street, as no reservations are accepted. Identical menu and prices for lunch and dinner. Considered by many natives to be the best among the best restaurants for the quality of its kitchen primarily for seafood dishes such as shrimp remoulade, trout marguery, menuiere, amandine, and vegetables with hollandaise. However, unless you join the locals on Sunday afternoons, you'll find it crowded, noisy, and informal. The decor resembles an old time barber shop. Despite its informality, don't show up without a coat and tie for the men. If caught, sometimes the management has an extra tie to be donned, or across the street is a dimestore where one can purchase a quick addition to one's sartorial splendor suitable to the establishment. 525-2021, 209 Bourbon, dark Monday, 11:30-9 p.m., M-Saturday, Sunday 12-9 p.m. No credit cards. (3).

*The Brewery* located in the converted



Jax Brewery on the river in the Quarter, is a shopping mall featuring food stands on the third level offering a huge variety of local foods much like stands at a fair—but more attractive and enticing—from pickles and ice cream to gumbo or red beans and rice. This is a great place to sample many local dishes at the open counter-style emporiums on the third floor mall. Open daily.

**K Paul's**, currently Louisiana's most famous representative, having been invited to represent the state at President Reagan's inauguration, and internationally known for bringing the cajun/creole cuisinè to full flower. Owner Paul Prudhomme is a big man in every sense of the word in the culinary field. Credit cards and reservations are not accepted, and one must stand in line. The restaurant offers mixed seating, only one or two house wines, and one cocktail, the Cajun martini (made with the heat of Tabasco drops—a local fiery red pepper sauce). The restaurant is the home of the original and best blackened redfish and cajun popcorn, the house specialties. 522-3818, 416 Chartres, dark Saturday and Sunday, M-F 5:30-10 p.m. (3).

For those who don't want to stand in line at K Paul's, try the nearby *Old N'Awlins Cookery* which was opened by a friend and former cook at K Paul's. 529-3663, 729 Conti St., daily 11-11. No credit cards. (2+).

**Brennan's**. For a breakfast that makes that mundane meal a celebration, this is the place to start a tour of the French Quarter, with any of the egg offerings, from Eggs Benedict to Hussard, or Sardou, and followed by Crepes Fitzgerald or Bananas Foster, both superior vehicles to sample the finest fruit favorites of the state and followed by cafe brulot. The back patio with its morning cocktails will tease you to linger and lounge a while before pressing on. 525-9711, 417 Royal, open daily for breakfast, lunch and dinner. (3+).

**Tony's Pizza Parlor**. Good Italian food, daily specials are featured, very popular at lunch. Spaghetti, pizza and poor boys are Tony's best productions. Large open room with bar along one side, crowded, noisy, and very informal. 568-9556.

212 Bourbon, daily 7 'til they close. (1+).

**Gumbo Shop**. A classic New Orleans gumbo is a dream come true for many natives, and this is a great place for out-of-towners to try it. All the traditional offerings are fine examples of their type. Highly spiced and delicious, this is an informal, comfortable, friendly restaurant. 525-1486, 630 St. Peter St., dark Monday, 9-10 p.m. except Fri. and Sat. until 11 p.m. (1+).

**Central Grocery**. An Italian restaurant that draws the lunch crowd to buy huge Muffulatta sandwiches loaded with salami, bologna, ham, cheese and olive salad on a divided Italian sesame round bun split four ways, and certainly ample for two starving wanderers. The Central Grocery is fun to shop for Italian food items. 523-1620, 923 Decatur, dark Sunday, 8 a.m.-5 p.m. (1).

**Messina's**. A family-owned restaurant, which in New Orleans is much like a favorite pub in Britain, is a true tradition. And this is one of the best—featuring WOP salads large enough for a family to share as a starter, muffedetta's, and poor boys of HUGE PROPORTIONS, and the best of the rest of local specialties. Friendly, helpful natives are your hosts. 523-3681, 200 Chartres, dark Sunday, 11-9 p.m. (1+).

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*For nearby Italian pasta specialties the Ristorante Pastore is one of the very best in the city.*

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**Restaurant Jonathan**. Works by the late art deco master Erte are featured throughout this eye- as well as palate-pleasing establishment on the edge of the French Quarter. From the silverware to the sorbet, visually it is a pleasure. The soups are good, and a fine variety of different offerings from curry to steak au poivre, sometimes with green or pink peppercorns. 586-1930, 714 N. Rampart, dark Monday, 6-11 except Fri. and Sat. til midnight. (3+).

**Acme Oyster Bar**. In New Orleans don't

fail to have oysters on the half shell, and here's one place that's been famous for pushing the soft gray pearls across the counter for years for obvious reasons. They are well-chilled, salty and freshly shucked to order; at Acme they're treated like the gems they are. Although August doesn't have an R in it, oysters will be available, and if this season is anything like last year's some of the best, saltiest oysters will still be offered. 523-8928, 724 Iberville, dark Sundays, 11-7 M-Sat. (1+).

*Felix's*, across the street from Acme, is an old and famous oyster bar with its own excellent fresh oysters shucked right in front of you. Felix's is an establishment to go to if you want to EAT SEA-FOOD. Fried, boiled, plate or sandwich—this is the spot to sample it all, but oysters are their forte. 522-4440, 739 Iberville St., dark Sun., 11:30-1 a.m. (1+).

*Moran's Riverside* is conveniently located near Jackson Square overlooking the Mississippi River. A beautiful haute cuisine Italian restaurant with an outside enormous balcony, one can have drinks and enjoy the sun setting over the ships

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*The 4141 bar is one of the popular watering holes in New Orleans especially if you like the latest in music and dance.*

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from all over the world right there on the river below. Lovely windows stretch along one entire wall of the dining room, a choice table located near one of these will only serve to enhance a meal of superb Italian selections. The fettucini is great and is the specialty of the owner. Moran's Riverside is popular with tourists, locals, and politicians. It is a favorite of both New Orleans Mayor Dutch Morial and the District Attorney Harry Connick. 529-1583, 44 French Market Place, dark Sunday, 6-11 except Fri. and Sat. until midnight. (3+).

*Tony Moran's*. Above Old Absinthe House Bar (one of the city's best and

most famous bars), Moran's is a tiny gem of a restaurant with a glass-walled bar converted from an old iron lacework balcony and overlooking the patio below. Tony himself is often at a nearby table ensuring your pasta selection as well as veal dishes and artichokes which are delectable and often seem especially enticing late in the evening when one wanders in off Bourbon Street to this little oasis. 523-3181, 240 Bourbon, 6-1 a.m. except Sunday (2+).

*Molly's at the Market*. After dinner, walk around the corner from the Royal Orleans Hotel and down the river a couple of blocks on Decatur Street to catch the 10 p.m. news at Molly's followed shortly by the 10 p.m. newscasters, especially on Thursday evenings. Guest bartenders monthly from the press and politics. 581-9759, 1107 Decatur St., dark Sun., 8:30-1 a.m., Fri. and Sat. til 3 a.m. (1).

### Close By and Downtown

*Windsor Court Hotel*. An elegant all-suite hotel built and owned by a New Orleans family. It is an excellent choice for dining, drinking, or taking afternoon high tea. This hotel instituted afternoon tea, in its luxurious lobby, in New Orleans, and it has quickly become very in with the local elite; it is served in three courses from tiny exquisite finger sandwiches such as watercress and cucumber, followed by real scones with pure butter, Devonshire cream and jams, and a third course of delicate sweet pastries of fruit, nuts, and chocolate. There is an assortment of teas from which to choose, and often a string ensemble in accompaniment to tea.

Dining in the Grill Room at the Windsor Court is an impressive experience from the large Lalique table in the foyer to the bill at the end of the evening. The menu features a large variety of select imported fish for those who enjoy partaking of morsels from rarefied waters. 523-6000, 300 Gravier, M-Sat. 11:30-2:30, 6-10:30, Sunday 10-2:30, 6-10:30 (4).

*Les Continents/Intercontinental Hotel*. Les Continents in the Hotel Intercontinental is another new addition to the upper crust hotel dining room scene. New

Orleans has gone from having a shortage of luxury class hotels to four new ones in about a year's time. Besides the Windsor Court and the Intercontinental, there is the new Meridien and d'Iberville, a Trusthouse Forte Hotel.

Les Continents is a luxurious dining room with walls covered with large monoprints by one of the city's best artists, Robert Gordy. Not to be outshone by decor, the food is first rate here. The authors' dinner at Les Continents was the best meal they had during the hard research for this article. Unfortunately, it was also the most expensive. We decided there is a relationship between cost and quality. (4)

For breakfast or lunch, try the *Veranda* buffet, offering a surprising array of selections at the first and a sumptuous assortment of salads at the second. 525-5566, 444 St. Charles, M-Sun. 5:30-10:30 (2+).

*Esther's*, on the other hand, lacks location and commanding presence, but once inside, can compete with any of the other restaurants mentioned. The small chic dining room is in a newly renovated neighborhood with a clientele that has already arrived. Esther, herself, is a young woman from an old prominent Natchez Mississippi family who became a sous chef at a prominent New York restaurant before coming to New Orleans to open her own business. The food is as good as the restaurant is formal. Sophistication of both menu and decor are well blended here. 525-7902, 545 Julia, M-F 11-3, M-Sun. 6-10. (3+).

From sophisticated satisfaction to get-down good food, one shouldn't miss *Fuddrucker's* or *Popeyes*. Both are also in the neighborhood and as easy on your pocketbook as your palate.

*Fuddrucker's*, new to New Orleans, is already famous here for its huge delicious hamburgers. It also features enormous hot dogs and side orders usually consumed with such sandwiches, and all the ingredients for anything you order are out for you to help yourself—Do it your way in this spot. It's noisy but nice for the whole family. 529-1781, 401 Tchoupitoulas, M-F 11-11, Sat. 11-12, Sun. 12-10. (1).

And *Popeyes* is a must, a New Orleans

tradition. The locally founded and owned fast food chicken chain is almost synonymous with fried chicken in the Crescent City. The chicken is hot and spicy. (Don't wash it down with a martini from K Paul's.) If you like fried chicken or want to try this Southern dish, this is a must. Pick some up, find a convenient seat somewhere in the Quarter or on the Moon Walk and watch the crowd. As you look around, you'll notice you look just like the locals. 561-1021, 621 Canal St., M-F 6-midnight, Sat. 6-5 a.m., Sun. 7-midnight. (1).

*Henri's* at the Meridien Hotel is an incredible experience from the sumptuous stuffing of your stomach to the fast flattening of your wallet. 525-6500, 614 Canal St., M-Fri. 12-2:30 p.m., M-Sat. 6:30-10:30 p.m. Dark Sunday. (4).

*Ristorante Pastore*. For nearby Italian pasta specialties this is one of the very best in the city. It also offers some deliciously tender veal entrees as well as a few selections for those who prefer chicken, beef or fish in a setting of lovely old surroundings and easily accompanied by wines selected from a very good list. 524-1122, 301 Tchoupitoulas, M-F 11-2:30, 6-11, Sun. 6-11 (2+).

*Bon Ton* is for a luncheon or dinner of Cajun food with an emphasis on seafood and crayfish dishes in particular. Try the crayfish etouffe, bisque or newburg. This is the place for the best of this south Louisiana delicacy. The taste is not quite as searingly spiced as true south Louisiana cuisine demands, but more suitable to touring palates. The bread pudding is tops in any aficionado's affadavit, and the Rum Ramseys will be remembered and rightly so. Quite popular and consequently quite crowded, particularly at lunch time. 524-3386, 401 Magazine, M-F 11-2, 5-9:30 (2+).

*Kolb's* is New Orleans German, German strongly influenced by New Orleans inspirations. Informal with an old beamed ceiling, clubby atmosphere and equally easy and comfortable on your expenses. 522-8278, 125 St. Charles, M-Sat. 11-10, Sun. 5-10 (2+).

*The German Beer Garden*, a phoenix of the World's Fair located in the Old Federal Fiber Mills building, has the

## Association News

authentic atmosphere of a German beer hall, with oom-pah bands from the old country nightly, some of the snappiest schnitzel this side of the Rhine, not to mention Mississippi, as well as other offerings from the delectables of Deutschland dining. And although beer "is a natural" here, remember you're in New Orleans, and local voodoo works in mystical ways and mysterious places. Seek out the lady bartender from Baton Rouge and try a marguerita. The great hall gallops along at a polka-pace for a robust evening's eating and entertainment. 528-9366, 1101 S. Peters St., daily 11 a.m. 'til. (2).

*The Pearl*, next door to Kolb's, has excellent oysters with good draft beer and a variety of sandwiches also available. Unusual locale for unusually good oysters en brochette. 525-2901, 119 St. Charles. M-Sat. 7-10, Sun. 9-10 p.m. (1).

*Mother's*. Breakfast and sandwiches are featured, and this is the place to try the famous New Orleans po'boy sandwich. Try the house special, the Ferdi, a combination of ham and beef for those who can never decide which to have. Jammed for lunch, great for Pops and tots for breakfast because Mother's has some of the best ham for either sandwiches or biscuits ever baked; they do it themselves. 523-9656, 401 Poydras, M-F 5-3:30, no credit cards (1).

*Praeger's Restaurant*. Good quality Italian restaurant on Natchez. Breakfast and lunch only, an outstanding value. The Italian salad and red fish are always available and outstanding. 522-9700, 525 Natchez, M-F 7-2 p.m. (1+).

### Up the Avenue

*The Upperline*. Two blocks off the St. Charles Avenue streetcar line on Upperline St. (named for a special streetcar stop) towards the river, the Upperline is a very good family-owned restaurant featuring fresh seafood along with a mesquite grill. Jo Ann Clevenger has been involved in politics since the early 1970s when she introduced flower vending to the French Quarter and became known as the Flower Lady. Her son is the talented chef at the Upperline deserving of bouquets of praise for his creations and

also responsible for making reservations a must. The restaurant is small in size but enormous in popularity, especially at night. A favorite of many of the *Times Picayune* paparazzi. 891-9822, 1413 Upperline St., Tu-Sat. 11:30-2:30 p.m., T-Th 5:30-11, Fri. and Sat. 5:30-midnight, Sun. 5:30-10 p.m. (3).

*Delmonico's*, not too far out on the streetcar line, has been serving the locals the local favorites for many years. It is filled with New Orleaners who have been eating there for years. The menu is traditional as befits a restaurant owned and operated by the same family for many years for its fond habitues. 525-4937, 1300 St. Charles, daily 11:30-9:30 p.m. (2+).

*Commander's Palace*. Bright blue frame house that has expanded over half a block on Washington Avenue in the lovely Garden District, two blocks off the streetcar line towards the river. Large restaurant broken up into many small rooms on two floors with an air of old aristocratic elegance. In pleasant weather be sure to eat on the patio under a sprawling old oak in dappled sunshine amid profusions of flowers. Commander's is one of the most attractive restaurant settings in the city. The food is traditional creole, with trout menuiere, almonidine, and other native innovations on the local products, and featuring one of the best turtle soups in town. Commander's also has a lovely leisurely Sunday jazz brunch that exemplifies why this is one of the favorite pastimes for sunny Sundays. 899-8221, 1403 Washington Ave., M-F 11:30-2 p.m., 6:30-10, Sat. and Sun. 11-2 (3+).

*Camellia Grill*. A New Orleans institution, the waiters are as famous as the food. They even appear in television commercials as symbols of the city. It is the Antoine's of counter-top restaurants. As at Antoine's, many customers have their own preferred waiters. It is a great place to stop if you take a roundtrip on the St. Charles Avenue streetcar line (60¢ in exact change each way). Get off right after the car makes the turn from St. Charles Avenue onto Carrollton and you'll see the white columned frame structure. The Camellia Grill attracts crowds for hamburgers, gumbo, freezes,

pastries and breakfast (wonderful waffles and omelets) any time. College students and professors alike become believers when enticed to try the well seasoned Cannibal (local lore having it that raw meat removes the vestiges of a long night's revelry). 866-9573, 626 S. Carrollton, daily 9-1:45 a.m. (1).

*Savoir Faire*, on St. Charles Avenue in the St. Charles Hotel in the Garden District, is a French bistro restaurant that became very popular after being open only a few weeks. The city is not known for this type of setting for dining, and it has proven a fine idea, an encouragement for others to move in this direction. It is also the first major restaurant to have a female head chef. The food is very good, but don't go there if you are in a hurry. The service is very leisurely, but you won't mind lingering over a bowl of the bouillabaisse with a special aroma and flavor made famous here, as the servings are immense. 522-3966, 2203 St. Charles, daily 7-2 p.m., 6-11 p.m. (3).

*Indulgence Cafe* is located on Prytanía near the corner of Washington Avenue in a shopping mall called The Rink, having been an old skating emporium renovated for boutiques and specialty shops with Indulgence being the only restaurant on the premises. The cafe started out as a luncheon catering service and opened as a restaurant on the site of the catering business to extend its services and skills to others, but it quickly outgrew the few tables it could squeeze in between the refrigerators. The current location is pretty, bright, and inviting though still enticingly small and select. The menu is eclectic, and the quality of food is very high. It is very popular with the natives and almost unknown to the tourist traffic. 899-4411, 1501 Washington corner Prytanía St., M-F 11:30-2:30, Tu-Th 6-9, Fri. & Sat. 6-10:30 p.m. (3).

*Stephen and Martin's* and 4141 are located at 4141 St. Charles Avenue. A large restaurant consisting of two different rooms which are usually both full, especially at lunch. The 4141 bar is one of the popular watering holes in New Orleans especially if you like the latest in music and dance. The restaurant also features an oyster bar and good New Orleans type food. 897-0781, 4141 St.

Charles, M-Th 11:30-11, Fri. and Sat. 11:30-1 a.m., Sun. 11:30-3, 5-10 p.m. (2+).

*Bouligny* is located on Magazine Street in a very new and nicely renovated old fire house. It is relatively large with a wonderful bar full of ficus trees, glass and old brick. Additionally, the restaurant area has some interesting art. The menu is broad, the food both interesting and good. 891-4444, 4100 Magazine, M-F 11:30-2:30, Sun.-Thurs. 6-10, Fri. and Sat. 6-11, Sun. 10-3:30. (3).

*Gautreaux*. A small, chic, "in" uptown restaurant, is owned and operated by a small, chic, "in" uptown lady who learned her business well before putting this, her special dream, to work. Reservations are generally needed. At noon there is largely an uptown female crowd. Few tourists ever find their way here. The food is very good, and the noise level is high due to an attractive old pressed tin ceiling and tile floors. Both are great for decor, but hard on the hearing. Gautreaux offers a particularly pleasing variety of large luncheon salads and divine desserts; one can even order a small sample of several different ones as a deliciously sweet finale. 899-7897, 1728 Soniat, M-F 11-2:15, Tu-Th 6-10, Fri. and Sat. 6-11 p.m. (3).

*Pascal Manale's* is one of the most popular Italian restaurants in the city for both natives and tourists alike. It is often overcrowded, and the waiting room-bar offers only a tiny corner with seating. The compensation is a wonderful oyster bar to tease you along until your turn comes. Once in the dining room, you can indulge more easily over the likes of Bar-B-Q Shrimp (they tie you into your bib for this), chicken cacciatore, or any of the richly remarkable entrees. Friendly, informal, but not fast. 895-4877, 1823 Napoleon, M-F 11:45-10, Sat. 4-10:30, Sun. 4-10. (3+).

### **Around the Perimeters**

*Crozier's*, located in New Orleans East, a 25-minute drive from the hotel, is a restaurant owned by a French couple serving provincial French food. He is the chef, and she manages the restaurant. The food and service are fantastic finds



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## APSA SHORT COURSE

# “Reaching New Political Science Students with Television”

Wednesday, August 28, 1985

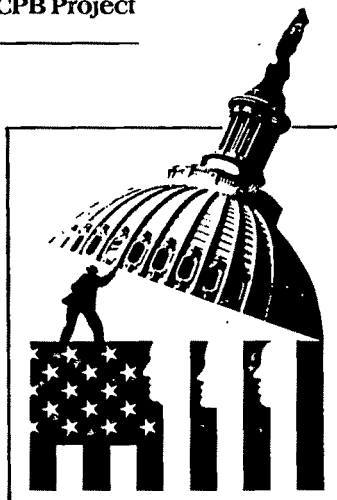
1:30 pm to 4:30 pm

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Public Broadcasting Service, Adult Learning Service  
and the Annenberg/CPB Project

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In this short course you will learn how faculty across the country are adapting the new breed of high quality television courses to their unique curricular requirements with a high degree of success. Meet the academic developers of **Congress: We the People** and faculty who teach this remarkable television course—discover how you can make television invigorate your curriculum and reach new students.



Fee \$35.00

for Francophiles, or just lovers of true French cuisine. The wine list is quite good, although not long. Not on the tourist path, but obviously worth the trouble to locate as their business is mostly repeat. 241-8220, 7033 Read Road, Tu-F 11:30-1:30, Tu-Sat. 6-10. (3).

*Christian's* is located behind a funeral home on Canal Street in a renovated church, bearing no relationship to its name or location, but being named instead for its owners. The miniscule bar is located in the old choir section. The setting is cozy-to-close, but the food is heavenly, including many fish and seafood items. Pray the smoked soft shell crab is available even if it's not on the menu; it's a miraculously marvelous way to savor this local delicacy. 482-4924, 3835 Iberville, Tu-Sat. 11:30-2, 5:30-10. (3).

*Dooky Chase*. The downtown Soul Food place for politics and portions for those who understand and enjoy the mixture that is New Orleans' best heritage. Dooky and Leah Chase have continued his father's tradition guiding many and varied souls through the wonders of good down home food for the Soul. Try their favorites such as Breast of Chicken à la Dooky, or Chicken Creole, or the gumbo, and you'll understand why the African contribution to the spice of the city's cuisine can't be forgotten. And why the lowly okra and bell pepper have risen to starring roles in the creole kitchen. 821-2294, 2301 Orleans, M-Th 11:30-1:30 a.m., Fri. and Sat. 11:30-3 a.m. (2).

*Genghis Khan* is a Korean restaurant serving delicious as well as beautiful food at very reasonable prices. Quite popular with locals, reservations are advisable, especially on Saturday nights. It is owned by a violinist with the New Orleans Symphony who often renders music for lucky diners on an evening. He also features a very extensive collection of classical music for his sound system, and a pianist at the grand piano on certain Saturdays adds to the auditory as well as culinary delights. Even so, the high point is still the food, especially the whole fresh fish which is separated from the skeleton with a swift deft stroke of a blade when

brought sizzling to your table allowing the fragrant scents of the spices used to flavor it to rise with the steam. One feels most welcome and pampered here, a concern for the sensibilities of an evening's pleasure are highlighted. 482-4044, M-Th 5:30-10:30, Fri. and Sat. 5:30-11 p.m. (2+).

*Chez Helène* is a famous Soul Food favorite, considered by some as the best in the business when it comes to state-of-the-art seasoned fried chicken, pork chops, stuffed peppers, and of course greens and corn bread. 947-9155, 1540 N. Robertson, Sun-Th 7-midnight, Fri. and Sat. 7-1:30. (2).

*Mosca*, on highway 90 on the West Bank of Jefferson Parish, about 16 miles from downtown New Orleans, is what best resembles an abandoned second-class roadhouse gone out of business for lack of interest. The only sign is a small neon lighted beer advertisement. But check out the parking lot for a better idea of what you'll find inside. The place is crowded to crammed, and the food is absolutely superb. *Mosca's* is an excellent southern Italian restaurant in every sense. It is perhaps the best restaurant in the New Orleans area. The food is exceedingly rich, and garlic amply enhances many of the dishes, all the more reason to abandon all concerns for calories or cholesterol for a while. Instead, concentrate on the oysters or shrimp *Mosca*, the latter being served in their shells dripping with butter and redolent of garlic, rosemary, and other tantalizing seasonings. There is a crab salad that ought to serve as a main course, but no one can or should resist ordering from the entree section. If you don't like it—we'll eat your leftovers. 436-9942, Tu-Sat. 5:30-9:30. No credit cards. (3).

*Fitzgerald's* features typical New Orleans seafood and one of New Orleans' best houses for some local favorites. Out by the lake, it's the place to go for seafood platters, or a choice of single entree of local seafood such as fried trout, shrimp, boiled crabs, or oysters. The lakefront restaurants like many other seafood houses in the city are especially crowded on Friday nights, a throwback to the city's Catholic heritage with no meat being consumed on those nights; thus

## Association News

offering the perfect time for partaking of the pride of the area—all the local seafood. 282-9254, West End Park, Sun.-Th 11-9, Fri. and Sat. 11-10. No credit cards (2).

### Entertainment

The Bourbon Street beat goes on . . . and on. . . . The beat of the city is here. There's more and more live music and entertainment for everyone's enjoyment.

*Pat O'Brien's*. You must have a Hurricane—and this is the only way to enjoy one. Huge, red and lots of ice—to cool you down while revving you up with the unbelievable concoction and combination of potents that go into it. Most famous bar and drink in a city known for bars, drinking, partying. 525-4823. 718 St. Peter St. M-Fri. 10-4 a.m., Sat. and Sun. 10-5 a.m. (1).

*Chris Owen's* is the typical New Orleans night club act, and the city's answer to Jane Fonda. This is the club to catch in the Quarter. Opening at 9, shows are at 10 and midnight, with a disco after the last show. 523-6400. 502 Bourbon (2).

*Preservation Hall*, located next door to Pat O'Brien's in the Quarter; no drinks are served or sold, one sits on the few available chairs and the floor to listen to a set of Dixieland jazz played by those who hold it as near and dear as a mother. Indeed, they have in turn nurtured and developed it each in his own style and manner. You can take in a drink to sip from any nearby establishment to refresh yourself with as you enjoy the hot sounds on a steamy night (1+).

*Top of the Mart*, at the top of the Trade Mart on the Mississippi near the Hilton, is a slowly revolving bar with a 360-degree view of the city. Just pick your window seat, place your order, and watch the panorama pass before you. An excellent place to view the Crescent City. 522-9795, ITM Building, M-F 10-1 a.m., Sat. 11-2 a.m., Sun. 4-midnight (1).

Cocktails in the new *d'Iberville Hotel* are also becoming a lovely way to break the day, particularly after a hard afternoon at One Canal Place shopping at Saks, Brooks Brothers, or Charles Jourdan. The

lobby, main bar, and dining room are located on the 11th floor specifically designed to take advantage of the view of the river. Considered from the depths of an overstuffed sofa or sprawling lounge chair in the bar, it is extensive. Taken with a bowl of dry salty nuts and something icy to sip, one can revive the body if not the budget. There is a lovely interior bar also on this floor paneled and upholstered in deep sea green, soothing both to and by the spirit(s). 566-7066, One Canal Place (1).

*La Marquise* is for fabulous French pastries. The lure of the luscious delicacies is not to be resisted, so shut your eyes or divert your steps should you be so foolish as to willfully forego the finest. 524-0420, Jackson Square, 7 a.m.-5:30 p.m., dark Wednesday (1).

*Cafe du Monde*. The last, but never least, stop before toddling off to bed, or perhaps the first place to pop into when starting a day right. The anytime, all the time, in between place for a menu of beignets and coffee with chicory. Probably the most famous eating establishment in the city. Sitting outside under an awning overlooking Jackson Square, this personifies to the world New Orleans, a delightful experience that is as addictive to the natives as the tourists, who regularly come to quaff down square holeless doughnuts covered with powdered sugar and coffee, milk, or coffee au lait (coffee with milk). 561-9235. Daily 24 hours. (1-). □

### Richard Irish to Lead APSA Job Clinic

The Association will offer an intensive three-day job clinic as part of the professional development services offered at the 1985 Annual Meeting. The clinic will be directed by Richard Irish, author of the best-selling *Go Hire Yourself an Employer* and *If Things Don't Improve Soon, I May Ask You to Fire Me*. Mr. Irish is also co-founder and vice-president of TransCentury Corporation, a Washington-based management and consulting firm specializing in international development





Richard Irish will hold a job clinic at the annual meeting.

and technical assistance. Mr. Irish has conducted similar clinics at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, the American Sociological Association, and the Modern Language Association, as well as at Johns Hopkins University, MIT, and Georgetown University.

The Job Clinic will cover several themes: (1) how to determine what you want to do; (2) how to identify job goals and delineate skills; (3) how to produce a resume, and plan and implement an effective job campaign; (4) how to conduct job interviews; and (5) how to negotiate salaries.

Participants will also meet individually with Mr. Irish for one hour of personal consultation and, after they return home, will receive written comments from him on the final drafts of their resumes.

The Job Clinic will require work and critical self-evaluation by participants. Prior to the start of the clinic, participants will be mailed an assignment on which they should spend five to ten hours.

The clinic is recommended for individuals who cannot establish what kind of job they want outside of academia and how

to begin looking for responsible professional jobs. The clinic is aimed at the individual intending to pursue a serious job search.

The clinic will begin Tuesday, August 27 from 8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. It will continue from 10:00 a.m. to noon, 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m., and 7:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., Wednesday, August 28. Individual counseling sessions will be scheduled throughout the week of the annual meeting.

The fee for the Job Clinic is \$150 for APSA members and \$225 for non-members. Enrollment will be limited; if you wish to participate, please complete the registration form in the back of this issue. Return the registration form with payment no later than July 31, to secure your place. The costs of producing the Job Clinic are substantial, under-enrollment by July 31 will force its cancellation. In case of cancellation, clinic fees will be refunded. □

## Placement Service Set for Meeting

For many job seekers, the first step in the academic job search begins with the Annual Meeting Placement Service. The Placement Service will be available at the 1985 Annual Meeting.

The Service allows employers to review the vitae of job applicants and to interview them at the Annual Meeting. Also, applicants can review the list of positions which are open in their respective fields and can apply for positions in which they are interested.

Placement Service will be open from August 29-September 1 and will be held in the Napoleon Ballroom of the New Orleans Hilton.

To participate in the Service, APSA members are urged to register prior to the opening of the Annual Meeting. Placement registration forms are available in the back of this issue of *PS* and in the APSA's *Personnel Service Newsletter*. □

## Roommate Matching Service Available for New Orleans

The Association will again provide roommate matching services for the Annual Meeting for members who would like to share the cost of a room.

On the basis of information supplied by registrants for the service, APSA will match members according to their schedules.

To participate, members should fill out the two forms entitled, "Application for Roommate Matching Service" and "Application for Hotel Reservation," in the back of this issue of *PS*. The expected date and time of arrival and departure must be clearly indicated in the space provided on the hotel reservation form.

These two completed forms should be sent to APSA's National Office (*not to the hotel*).

As soon as reservations with the hotel are confirmed, APSA will notify applicants that a room has been reserved and will provide the name of the roommate.

Once the applicants receive a room confirmation from APSA, they are responsible for any hotel costs incurred. Any subsequent changes in plans should be coordinated directly with the specified roommate and the hotel.

Requests for the roommate matching service should be received no later than July 12. □

## APSA Offers Free Child Care at Annual Meeting

Child care services will be available without charge to annual meeting registrants in New Orleans from Thursday, August 29, through Sunday, September 1, at the New Orleans Hilton.

The hours will be from 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m., from Thursday through Saturday. On Sunday, the service will be available from 8:30 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. Snacks will be available for the children.

Members wishing further information on the 1985 Child Care Service and registration forms should write: Child Care Coordinator, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. □

## The APSA's "New" Section on Public Administration

**Larry B. Hill**

University of Oklahoma

One of the association's Organized Sections already has achieved three important distinctions: it was the first to be officially recognized, it remains the largest of the sections, and it is the first to undergo a name change. I speak of the "new" Section on Public Administration, which I currently serve as chair.

The Section on Public Administration, Organizations, and Executives endured for only one year as an official entity. At the 1984 APSA convention in Washington, D.C., action was taken in the business meeting to apply the aphorism "less is more" and change the group's formal name simply to the Section on Public Administration. This article reports on the rationale for that action and on my hopes for the section. I conclude with some questions about the impact of the Organized Sections on the Association as a whole.

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Larry B. Hill is professor of political science and University Associates' Distinguished Lecturer at the University of Oklahoma. He is chair of the Section on Public Administration. Hill has been a Fulbright scholar, has received the APSA's Leonard White Award, and has been a grantee of the National Endowment for the Humanities and of the National Science Foundation. His articles and books have been wide-ranging in the field of public administration. Currently he is editing *The State of Public Bureaucracy*, which is based upon papers he commissioned for the 1984 APSA convention program.

In order to specify that the Section's scope did include those who have particular research interests, the Section's name had evolved over the years ("Public" had been prefixed, for example, only the previous year). As a result, the name had become too long and unwieldy. At least, it was for me; I confess that even after intensive involvement with the Section, its name did not easily tumble off my tongue. Also, the name seemed to refer to a confederation of interests rather than a coherent field, so that spending time explaining the name often was necessary. The name's very specificity also caused problems because those whose interests were not directly mentioned in the name might wonder whether they were included in the Section's jurisdiction, or those who identified generally with public administration might wonder whether the Section's interests were limited to certain approaches to or aspects of the subject.

An extended discussion preceded the consensual decision of those at the business meeting to change the Section's name. But no doctrinal battles were won or lost; the decision does not represent any substantive change in orientation. Certainly, there is no intent to narrow the scope of the Section; conversely, the intent is to adopt a comprehensive definition of the field of public administration. The unstated intent is to return to the conception of the field contained in the terms of the Association's Leonard D. White Dissertation Award, which encompasses "the general field of public administration, broadly defined."

Although a decade or two ago many of us who were rebelling against an allegedly tradition-bound and intellectually sterile field might have felt that the label "public administration" inadequately described the directions we wished to move, the situation has changed. In recent years, of course, many of the insights gained from these new directions have been absorbed into the field and are now considered a part of conventional wisdom. And in an organizational sense, we are no longer a small, rump group—somewhere between APSA and ASPA—struggling to make organized political science acknowledge our existence. We have become the prin-

cipal organization for scholars who take a political view of public administration. As the new "establishment" in the field, we have an opportunity to play a central role in defining what "public administration" shall be in the future.

I hope the new name will act as a recruiting device as the Section attempts to explain what it is about to potential members within the APSA who have not yet joined our group and to those who have dropped their APSA membership—perhaps to join other professional associations. Of course, as its size indicates, the Section already has done very well at recruiting—despite its originally cumbersome name—because it fulfills an important need for the members. As a non-objective observer of the Section's program at last year's convention, I report that I sometimes sensed a feeling of exhilaration among those attending our panels. Many of the same faces reappeared at a number of them, and several people made comments to me that are encompassed within the following general theme: the Section not only is providing a forum for the presentation of new research in our field, but also the Section is providing us with a sense of shared intellectual community and with a feeling that we belong to organized political science.



**Larry B. Hill**

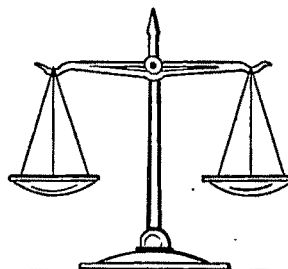


## APSA SHORT COURSE

in cooperation with:

College and University Program, American Bar Association,  
and APSA Section on Law, Courts and Judicial Process

# **“Administrative Law and Political Science”**



Lief H. Carter, LL.B., Ph.D., University of Georgia

This short course will assist political science teachers who seek an information base on which to design and teach courses in administrative law in undergraduate and graduate curricula. It will:

- (a) Define the boundaries of the field.
- (b) Explain basic concepts and issues (e.g., right to a hearing and tort liability of administrators) and apply them in sample problems.
- (c) Suggest reasons for offering courses in administrative law within a political science framework.
- (d) Provide bibliographic materials categorized by issue to assist in course design.
- (e) Discuss varying methods of organizing and sequencing the materials in one quarter/one semester courses.

The course will assemble a panel of experienced administrative law teachers and scholars who will discuss recent developments in the field and discuss questions raised by course members. Case materials for class discussion and bibliographic materials will be provided.

Lief Carter specialized in administrative law at Harvard Law School. He has authored a successful text in the field. In 1984 he received the two highest awards for teaching offered at the University of Georgia.

Fee \$35.00

Wednesday, August 28, 1985

1:00 pm to 4:00 pm

To be sure, the clock cannot be turned back; the process of professional differentiation cannot be reversed. Indeed, many members of the Section work in departments of public administration, and many are also members of ASPA and other management-oriented professional associations. Nevertheless, I believe the Section can be influential in molding the field of public administration and in providing a home for those in it who have political interests.

Finally, I hope the new name will help to enhance the Section's political position within the APSA as a means toward the larger goal of enhancing the position of the field of public administration. Although public administration was treated as a neglected stepchild of the Association for many years, the field has traditionally been considered to occupy an important position in the discipline of political science. If we can make it clear to the Association that we are the lineal descendants of that tradition—while at the same time continuing to grow and to

produce research and convention programs that other fields might envy—then I believe we will prosper within the APSA. Parenthetically, we continue to receive excellent cooperation from Tom Mann and the Association staff. And I am very encouraged by the decision of the APSA Council to use the proceeds of a bequest from the estate of John Gaus, which could simply have been used for the Association's operating expenses, to create a John Gaus Fund "to recognize achievement and to encourage scholarship in public administration." Precisely how this purpose will be implemented has yet to be determined.

At the same time that I play the role of lobbyist for the Public Administration Section, I cannot help wondering about the future relationships between the Organized Sections and the Association. Under one scenario, the sections would gain the real power in the APSA—as has happened in some other professional associations—leaving the central organization with only a coordinating role. Will



**APSA**

The APSA Committee of  
Applied Political Scientists

*cordially invites*

Political Scientists working in  
Business, Industry and Government

*to a*

**Reception for Applied Political Scientists**

At the 1985 Annual Meeting  
on

Thursday, August 29  
6:30 pm - 8:00 pm

## APSA PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

# JOB CLINIC

**Tuesday, August 27**

**8:00 pm to 10:00 pm**

**Wednesday, August 28**

**10:00 am to 12:00 pm**

**2:00 pm to 4:00 pm**

**7:00 pm to 9:30 pm**

**New Orleans Hilton**

**New Orleans, Louisiana**

The APSA is sponsoring an intensive job clinic in conjunction with the national meetings being held in New Orleans, Louisiana. The job clinic will concentrate on self-assessment and skills analysis, developing an effective job campaign, including resume writing, interviewing and salary negotiation.

The job clinic will be directed by Richard Irish, author of the best selling *Go Hire Yourself an Employer* and *If Things Don't Improve Soon, I May Ask You to Fire Me*, and co-founder and Vice President of Trans-Century Corporation, a Washington management and consulting firm.

The fee for the three-day workshop is \$150 for APSA members and \$225 for non-members. The deadline for registration is July 31, 1985.

To register, complete the form below and send it with the appropriate fee to:

**Job Clinic**  
**American Political Science Association**  
**1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW**  
**Washington, DC 20036**

### APSA JOB CLINIC

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Member of APSA, fee \$150

☐ Non-Member, fee \$225

Please mail to:

**JOB CLINIC**

American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.

Washington, DC 20036

we see devolution or confederation?

Since the sections are such a new phenomenon, predictions are premature (prophecy is not my long suit, anyhow). The APSA Council has recently created a Committee on Organized Sections to monitor the sections; this action indicates, among other things, that the Association is aware of the potential problem. I speculate that we shall soon have a plethora of Organized Sections because forming one is so simple; basically, only 100 members who each agree to pay \$3 per year are needed. I foresee serious potential problems ahead over such matters as allocating convention panel slots between the regular program committee and all of the sections and among the sections of disparate sizes. But since the rules encourage fragmentation, confederation does not seem to be a likely structural outcome for the Association.

Whether devolution or confederation would seem a more desirable future is, of course, a value choice. For my part, I think the Organized Sections can play their most useful role as interest groups within the Association. As long as the configuration of power within the APSA is at least reasonably pluralistic, I believe the sections can further both the interests of their members and the interests of the entire profession of political science. A caveat should be mentioned, however. Since the Association has helped to form groups of like-minded scholars and has given them that essential accouterment of modern-day political organization—the mailing list—exercising the option of mass exit from the Association would be feasible for a dissatisfied section. Thus, keeping the sections reasonably content may be an important future challenge for the Association's leaders.

In any event, the proper function of the sections within the APSA is a matter to which both the leaders and the members must begin to devote considerable thought. Based on my experience thus far, I am optimistic about the ability of the sections to contribute to the professional development of their members and about the ability of the Association to adapt creatively to the formation of the Organized Sections.

## **Samuel P. Huntington Nominated to Be APSA President-Elect**

Samuel P. Huntington, Harvard University, has been nominated president-elect of APSA for 1985-86. He would automatically become APSA's president the subsequent year under the Association's constitution. The nomination was made by the 1985 Nominating Committee which was appointed by Association president Richard F. Fenno, Jr. and past president Philip E. Converse.

The Nomination Committee also slated three vice-presidential nominees, Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University; Dale Rogers Marshall, University of California, Davis; and Donald R. Matthews, University of Washington. Myron Weiner, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is nominated to be secretary. Nominated to be treasurer for 1985-87 is Helen Ingram, University of Arizona.

Eight new members of the 16-member Council were also nominated by the committee to serve a two-year term (1985-87). These nominations are: John W. Kingdon, University of Michigan; Stephen D. Krasner, Stanford University; Paula D. McClain, Arizona State University; Karen O'Connor, Emory University; Carole Pateman, University of Sydney; G. Bingham Powell, Jr., University of Rochester; Kenneth Shepsle, Washington University; and Nancy H. Zingale, College of Saint Thomas.

Under APSA's constitution the preceding nominations are subject to the vote of those members of the Association attending the Annual Business Meeting. If there is a contest for any elected office, an election will be conducted by mail ballot. Ballots will be distributed within 30 days of the Annual Business Meeting by the executive director. They must be returned within 30 days following distribution.

The 1985 Annual Business Meeting rules are printed in the Features section of this issue of *PS*. The rules require that any nominations in addition to those made by the Nominating Committee must be received in writing at the Association's Washington office prior to Monday,



## **APSA** **SHORT COURSES**

### **Writing A Research Proposal for the National Science Foundation**

Lee Sigelman, National Science Foundation

**Wednesday, August 28**

9:00 am to 11:30 am

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### **Writing A Research Proposal for the National Endowment for the Humanities**

John Walters, National Endowment for the Humanities

**Wednesday, August 28**

1:00 pm to 3:30 pm

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### **Administrative Law and Political Science**

Lief Carter, University of Georgia

**Wednesday, August 28**

1:00 pm to 4:00 pm

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### **Reaching New Political Science Students With Television**


Public Broadcasting Service, Adult Learning Service and the  
Annenberg/CPB Project

**Wednesday, August 28**

1:30 pm to 4:30 pm

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*see registration form in back of this issue*





August 26, 1985, or thereafter at the Association's annual meeting office in the hotel headquarters. All such nominations and certifications must be received at least 24 hours before the session of the Annual Business Meeting in order to include those names on the original nominating document. Specific procedures for offering nominations are indicated in the Annual Business Meeting rules.

Members of the 1985 Nominating Committee are: Fred Greenstein, Princeton University, chair; James A. Caporaso, University of Denver; John Kessel, Ohio State University; Robert D. Putnam, Harvard University; Barbara Sinclair, University of California, Riverside; and Judith Stiehm, University of Southern California.

The current president-elect of APSA is Aaron Wildavsky, University of California, Berkeley. He will become president of the Association after the 1985 Annual Meeting in September.

Other continuing Council members, serv-

ing their second year of a two-year term are: Brian Barry, California Institute of Technology; F. Chris Garcia, University of New Mexico; William R. Keech, University of North Carolina; J. Donald Moon, Wesleyan University; Victor A. Olorunsola, Iowa State University; Norman J. Ornstein, American Enterprise Institute; Benjamin I. Page, University of Texas at Austin; and Bruce M. Russett, Yale University. □

### **Award Offered for Best Graduate Student Paper In Judicial Politics**

The Law, Courts and Judicial Process Section is offering an annual award for the best graduate student paper presented at a professional meeting covering law, courts, and the judicial process. The objective of the award is to promote graduate student involvement in the subfield and to encourage presentation of papers by graduate students at profes-



# **APSA**

**DEPARTMENTAL SERVICES COMMITTEE**

*announces a*

**Roundtable for Department Chairs**

**on**

**Recruitment and Retention  
of Minority Graduate Students  
in Political Science**

**Friday, August 30**

**10:45 am-12:00 pm**

## Association News

sional meetings. The award will include a \$100 honorarium and a copy of *Guide to the U.S. Supreme Court* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1979) which is being donated by CQ Press. Announcement of the award will be made at the Annual Section Meeting.

The competition is open to papers authored solely by a graduate student and presented at a professional meeting. Co-authored papers (with other graduate students or with professors) are not eligible for the award. The papers may be presented at any professional meeting including but not limited to national or regional political science meetings or affiliated professional association meetings (e.g., Law and Society Association meetings). Competition for the 1985 award will include papers presented during the 1984-85 academic year, including the 1984 APSA meeting.

A committee of three persons, Robert Carp, University of Houston (chair); David Neubauer, University of New

Orleans; and David O'Brien, University of Virginia, will review the papers submitted during the year and recommend one for the award.

Papers may be nominated or may be submitted by the author. To be considered, *each* member of the committee should receive a copy of the paper. The addresses of the committee members are: Robert Carp, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, Houston, TX 77004; David Neubauer, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148; and David O'Brien, Department of Government, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22901. □

### **APSA Selects Black American and Chicano/Latino Fellows**

Ten students of political science have been named APSA Fellows for 1985-86.



**APSA**

The Council of the  
American Political Science Association

*cordially invites all students  
attending the 1985 annual meeting  
to a*

**Reception for Political Science  
Graduate Students**

on  
Friday, August 30  
6:30 pm-8:00 pm



**Henry Jenkins**

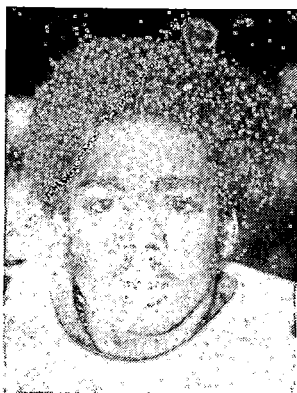


**Pamela Vines**



**Adolfo J. Garcia**

**APSA Graduate  
Fellows, 1985-86**



**Marque Stansberry**



**Carol Lynn Martin**

## Association News

Seven black American and three Chicano and Latino Fellows were selected by members of the APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks and the Committee on the Status of Chicanos, respectively. Three Fellows will receive stipends while the others will receive an honorary fellowship in recognition of their past record and unusual promise for graduate study.

The 1985-86 Black American Fellows are:

### *Fellows with stipend:*

Henry Jenkins, Jackson State College  
Carol Martin, Yale University  
Pamela Vines, Auburn University

### *Fellows without stipend:*

Marque Stansberry, University of California, Davis  
Jacqueline Francis, Dillard University  
Kimberly Richmand, Xavier University  
Lori Goins, Hampton Institute

The 1985-86 Chicano and Latino Fellows are:

### *Fellows:*

Diane M. Badillo, University of Chicago  
Donald Torres, University of Texas, Austin  
Adolfo Jose Garcia, Atlanta University

The committees encourage graduate departments to pay particular attention to these ten outstanding students. Departments are requested to consider these Fellows for their own fellowships.

Members of the selection committee for the Black American Fellows included: Irvin Brown, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, and Michael Preston, University of Illinois-Urbana.

Members of the selection committee for Chicano and Latino Fellows included: Rudolfo de la Garza, University of Texas-Austin; John Garcia, University of Arizona; Henry Higuera, St. John's College, Isidro Ortiz, University of California-Santa Barbara; and Harry Pachon, CUNY-Baruch College. □

## American Political Science Association Delegation Meets with Chinese Association of Political Science

A delegation representing the American Political Science Association (APSA) traveled to China May 5-18. The group was hosted by the Chinese Association of Political Science (CAPS). The APSA delegation visited members of the Chinese political science community in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou.

The purpose of the first exchange between professional associations was to familiarize members of the APSA delegation with the state of political science teaching and research in China, to examine the role of professional societies in developing scholarly disciplines, and to identify areas of programmatic cooperation between CAPS and APSA. The agenda of future activities between APSA and CAPS includes development of undergraduate and graduate curricula projects; exchanges of scholars and students; exchanges of scholarly and professional journals and publications, development of summer seminar programs on advanced methodology; and development of opportunities for joint research projects.

Members of the APSA delegation included Richard Fenno (APSA president), Aaron Wildavsky (APSA president-elect), Philip Converse (APSA past president), Kenneth Lieberthal (APSA Ad Hoc China Committee member), Thomas Mann (APSA Executive Director), and Robert Hauck (APSA Assistant Director).

In August 1986, the APSA will host a delegation from the Chinese Association of Political Science. The CAPS delegation will attend the Association's 82nd annual meeting in Washington, DC, as well as visit several universities' departments of political science.

Financial support for the exchange of delegations is being provided by the Asia Foundation. □

## **APSA Updates Membership Directory**

All APSA members were contacted during the past year to update or add their personal listing for the *1985 Membership Directory*. The new directory includes approximately 9,500 members with name, address, phone number (if included), institution and date of highest degree, and up to three fields of interest. There is also an index of women members, black American members, and hispanic members, as well as a geographical index.

The cost of the 1985 directory is \$15 for APSA members and \$20 for non-members. Please also include 75¢ for postage and handling. Orders and checks may be sent to: Directory, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. □

## **Section Chairs Welcome Proposals for 1986 Annual Meeting**

Aaron Wildavsky, president-elect of APSA, has appointed Matthew Holden, Jr., Chair, Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, to chair the Program Committee for the 1986 Annual Meeting. In addition, scholars have been named to head the 24 sections planned for next year's program. These nominations were approved by the Council at its April 12 meeting.

The Program Committee is composed of Holden and the section heads. The 1986 Annual Meeting will be held in Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1986.

On behalf of the Program Committee, Holden is soliciting from Association members paper suggestions and offers to appear as discussants for next year's meeting.

Due to the lead time required for preparation of copy for the spring Preliminary Program, the deadline for receiving suggestions is December 1, 1985.

Association members are asked to write directly to the appropriate section chairperson listed below. More general inquiries or suggestions may be addressed to:

- Matthew Holden, Jr., Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22901; (804) 924-3422.
- Norinne Hessman, Convention Coordinator, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 483-2512.

Further details on the plans for each section will be provided in the summer issue of *PS*. The section heads are:

### **1986 Annual Meeting Program Committee**

Section 1. Positive Political Theory. Russell Hardin, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637; (312) 962-8050.

Section 2. Empirical Theory and Methodology. Steven Rosenstone, Department of Political Science, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520; (203) 436-6527.

Section 3. Political Thought and Philosophy: Historical Approaches. Alan Gilbert, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208; (303) 753-2324.

Section 4. Political Thought and Philosophy: Analytical and Critical Approaches. Scarlett Graham, Institute of Public Policy Studies, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37235; (615) 322-6222.

Section 5. The Practice of Political Science. Jewel Prestage, Department of Political Science, Southern University, Baton Rouge, LA 70813; (504) 771-3210.

Section 6. Power, Authority and Private Governments. Harry Eckstein, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA 92717; (714) 856-7453.

## Association News

Section 7. Comparative Politics: Public Policies and Policy Making. Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis, MO 63130; (314) 889-5857.

Section 8. Comparative Politics: Publics, Leaders and Institutions. Alberta Sbragia, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; (412) 624-3725.

Section 9. Comparative Politics: Development and Change. Edmund J. Keller, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106; (805) 961-2723.

Section 10. Public Opinion and Political Psychology. Roberta Sigel, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903; (201) 932-9261, 9262.

Section 11. Political Parties, Elections and Electoral Behavior. William J. Crotty, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201; (312) 492-7450.

Section 12. Interest Group Politics and Social Movements. Burdett A. Loomis, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045; (913) 864-3523.

Section 13. Public Law and Judicial Politics. Harold Spaeth, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1032; (517) 355-6583.

Section 14. Legislative Processes and Politics. Bruce Oppenheimer, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, Houston, TX 77004; (713) 749-4879.

Section 15. Political Executives and the Presidency. Stephen J. Wayne, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, DC 20052; (202) 676-6290.

Section 16. Public Administration and

Organizational Analysis. Patricia Ingraham, Department of Planning, State University of New York, Binghamton and Boone County, Binghamton, NY 13905; (607) 798-2435.

Section 17. Federalism and Subnational Politics. Thad Beyle, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514; (919) 962-3041.

Section 18. Politics and Economics. Stephen Elkin, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; (301) 454-6734.

Section 19. The Welfare State. Charles Hamilton, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, NY; (212) 280-4518.

Section 20. Public Policy. Don E. Kash, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019; (405) 325-2061.

Section 21. International Relations: Conflict Analysis and National Security. Catherine Kelleher, Department of Political Science, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; (301) 454-6193. Janice Gross Stein, University of Toronto.

Section 22. International Relations: Hierarchy and Dependence in the International System. Jeffrey Hart, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405; (812) 335-0647.

Section 23. International Relations: The Organization of the International System. Lawrence Finkelstein, Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115; (815) 753-1011.

Section 24. International Relations: The Reciprocal Impacts of Domestic and Foreign Policy. A. F. K. Organski, Doctoral Program in Social Work and Social Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109; (313) 763-0132. □

## People in Political Science

### Activities

**Lucius Jefferson Barker** has been appointed to the board of governors of the Joint Center for Political Studies. Barker is Edna F. Gellhorn University Professor of Public Affairs and professor and chairperson, Department of Political Science, Washington University in St. Louis.

**Robert Boardman** has been appointed editor of the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. Correspondence and other materials for the Journal should be sent to him at: Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 4H6.

**Jon R. Bond**, associate professor of political science, Texas A&M University, has been named to the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Politics*.

**Richard Dale**, associate professor, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, served as visiting professor, School of International Studies, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, 1984-85.

**Harry R. Davis**, Beloit College, is serving as a member of the Governor's Council on Judicial Selection, State of Wisconsin.

**Charles A. Johnson**, associate professor of political science, Texas A&M University, has been elected to the Executive Council of the Southern Political Science Association for 1984-87. He is also the editor of the *Law, Courts, and Judicial Process Newsletter*.

**Joseph V. Julian**, vice president for public affairs and alumni relations at Syracuse University, has been appointed as an associate of the Kettering Foundation.

### Administrative Appointments

**Bakor Al-Amri** has been appointed as

assistant dean of the Faculty of Economics and Administration, King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

**John S. Jackson**, associate dean, College of Liberal Arts, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

**Kathryn Newcomer** has been elected to chairmanship of the Department of Public Administration, George Washington University, for a two-year term beginning July 1, 1985; also received tenure.

**Alberta Sbragia**, associate professor of political science, has been appointed director of the West European Studies Program in the University of Pittsburgh's University Center for International Studies.

**Raju G. C. Thomas**, assistant chairman, department of political science, Marquette University.

**Thomas M. Uhlman**, director of corporate development for Hewlett-Packard Company. Prior to joining Hewlett-Packard in 1983, Uhlman was a Sloan Executive Fellow at Stanford University Graduate School of Business.

### New Appointments

**Pierre Allan**, professor of political science, University of Geneva, Switzerland.

**Charles Barrilleaux**, assistant professor, University of New Orleans; formerly of SUNY-Binghamton.

**Jeffrey Cohen**, associate professor, University of New Orleans; formerly of the University of Alabama.

**William C. Dixon**, adjunct instructor, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale; formerly Village Administrator, Glen Ellyn, Illinois.

**James C. Garand**, assistant professor,



Thomas M. Uhlman, chair of APSA's Committee on Applied Political Science, has been named director of corporate development for Hewlett-Packard Company.

Department of Political Science and the Public Administration Institute, Louisiana State University; formerly assistant professor of political science, Georgia State University.

**John Gates**, assistant professor, University of New Orleans; formerly of the University of Maryland.

**Robert O. Keohane** has been appointed professor of government at Harvard University, beginning in the fall of 1985.

**Liane Kosaki**, assistant professor, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale; formerly of the University of Michigan.

**Arthur H. Miller**, professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa; formerly visiting professor, University of Chicago.

**William M. Reisinger**, assistant professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa; formerly graduate student at the University of Michigan.

**Keith Snively**, assistant professor, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale;

formerly of the University of California, Davis.

**Peverill Squire**, assistant professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa; formerly graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley.

**John J. Weltman** has joined the Strategic Analysis Group, at Los Alamos National Laboratory; formerly professor of strategy and Special Advisor on Strategic Studies, at the Naval War College.

## Promotions

**Bakor Al-Amri**, professor, King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

**Alan R. Gitelson**, professor, Loyola University of Chicago.

**Mark Lichbach**, associate professor, University of Illinois at Chicago.

**David B. Magleby**, associate professor, Brigham Young University.

**Vincent Mahler**, associate professor, with tenure, at Loyola University of Chicago.

**Raymond Tatalovich**, professor, Loyola University of Chicago.

**G. Thomas Taylor, Jr.**, professor, University of Maine.

**Frank W. Wayman**, full professor of political science, University of Michigan-Dearborn.

**John Allen Williams**, associate professor, Loyola University of Chicago.

## Visiting and Temporary Appointments

**Bishara Bahbah**, visiting associate professor, winter semester 1985, Brigham Young University; from Jerusalem.

**John Greene**, visiting associate professor, spring 1985, Brigham Young University; from University of Southern California.

**Ladd Hollist**, Milton R. Merrill Visiting Professor, spring 1985, Utah State University; from Brigham Young University.



**Chun-tu Hsueh**, professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland, taught at the Harvard University Summer School in 1984. He was visiting fellow at the Contemporary China Centre of the Australian National University in February-March 1985, and visiting professor at the history department of the University of Hong Kong for the spring of 1985.

**Michael A. Launius**, assistant professor, College of St. Thomas, 1984-85.

**Michael Stathis**, visiting lecturer, 1984-85, Brigham Young University; from the University of Utah.

**Gilbert Y. Steiner**, Camilla Kimball Visiting Professor, winter 1985, Brigham Young University; from the Brookings Institution.

**Frank W. Wayman**, visiting associate professor of political science, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, winter term 1985; on leave from the University of Michigan-Dearborn.

**Paul Whiteley**, visiting professor of political science, Virginia Polytechnic and State University, 1985-86; from the University of Bristol, England.

## Retirements

**Hugh Kelso** retired as professor of political science at the University of Iowa at the end of the spring semester, 1984. He had been a member of the faculty since 1946.

**Randall H. Nelson**, professor of political science, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, effective May 1985.

## Award Recipients

### American Council of Learned Societies

During 1983-84, the American Council of Learned Societies, in national competitions, awarded fellowships to the following political scientists:

**Benjamin R. Barber**, professor of politi-

cal science, Rutgers University, for his research on: Rousseau and Tocqueville on modernity and the social condition of democracy.

**Larry S. Berman**, associate professor of political science, University of California, Davis, for his research on: From escalation to disengagement: America in Vietnam, 1966-1968.

**M. Anne Sa'adah**, assistant professor of political science, Middlebury College, for her research on: Catholics, Catholicism, and political change in postwar France. □

## Fulbright Study Abroad Award

**James J. Zaffiro**, instructor at Central College, Pella, IA, will be spending May through November 1985 in Botswana. His research topic is: Broadcasting and Legitimacy in Botswana.

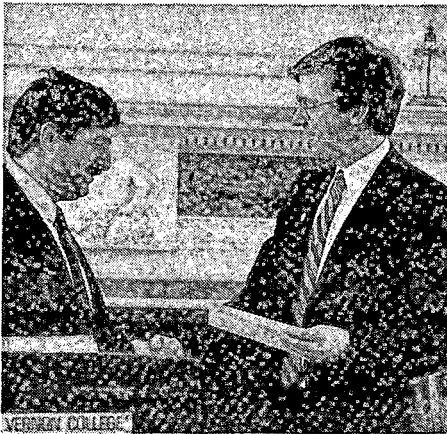
## 1985 Pi Sigma Alpha Award

**Parris N. Glendening**, county executive of Prince George's County, Maryland, and associate professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland, College Park, has received the National Capital Area Political Science Association 1985 Pi Sigma Alpha Award. The award recognizes outstanding contributions to the interface between political science and public service.

## Other Awards and Honors

**Samuel C. Patterson**, professor of political science, has been named a Roy J. Carver Professor at the University of Iowa.

**Nicholas Wahl**, professor of French civilization and history and Director of the Institute of French Studies at New York University, has been named Petrie Professor of European Studies.



Michael J. Malbin (left), president of the National Capital Area Political Science Association, presents the group's Pi Sigma Alpha Award to Parris N. Glendening, county executive of Prince George's County, Maryland, and associate professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland, College Park. Photo by Nancy Burn McLesky.



Nicholas Wahl has been named Petrie Professor of European Studies at New York University.

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## In Memoriam

### Paul Conner

Paul W. Conner, founder and President of InterFuture, an educational exchange described as "a Fulbright program for undergraduates," died on November after a brief illness. He was 47.

The Chicago native graduated *magna cum laude* from the University of California, Riverside, and received his Ph.D. in political science from Princeton University in 1963. His graduate education was supported by both Danforth and Woodrow Wilson Fellowships.

It was while teaching at Princeton that he began to create a program to enable gifted undergraduates to carry out independent, one-on-one research not only in Western Europe, but in Eastern Bloc and Third World countries as well.

With the advice and encouragement of leading educators, but with no funds beyond his personal resources, Conner launched InterFuture in 1969. The program continues to serve some 25 students a year from its New York headquarters.

In addition to his work at Princeton and with InterFuture, Conner has been an editor at Fairchild Publications and taught political science at both George Washington and Pace Universities. He also served Pace as a consultant in developing its new honors program.

Conner was active in a number of professional and service organizations, including the American Political Science Association, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, the Society for Values in Higher Education, and the Rotary Club of New York.

Survivors include his mother, Lucy Conner of Philadelphia; his father and stepmother, Mr. and Mrs. Neville P. Conner of Marble Shoals, Texas, and Harry M. Matthews, Jr., his partner and companion of 14 years.

The family requests contributions be sent to InterFuture in Paul Conner's honor.

InterFuture  
150 Nassau Street, Suite 1538  
New York, NY 10038

## Paul Henry Giddens

Paul Henry Giddens, president *emeritus* of Hamline University, former professor of United States history and politics at Allegheny College, and a specialist in the history of the petroleum industry, died in Meadville, PA, on October 26, 1984.

He was born to Rev. Jackson and Bertha Patterson Giddens in Bellflower, MO, on February 1, 1903. He earned an A.B. degree from Simpson College in 1924 and an A.M. from Harvard University two years later. He began to teach at Simpson College in 1926, and in the years immediately following taught for brief intervals at state colleges in Iowa, Indiana, and Oregon, and at the universities of Kansas and Iowa. He received a Ph.D. in U.S. history at the University of Iowa in 1930.

He joined the faculty of history and political science at Allegheny College, Meadville, PA, in 1931. He was already publishing significant amounts of material on colonial Maryland, his doctoral field, and on amendments proposed to the U.S. Constitution, but soon took up the study of the nearby oilfields of northwestern Pennsylvania. He investigated the archive of a small museum maintained at the site of the world's first commercially successful extraction of oil from a well in the earth by the method of drilling, the event in 1859 which launched the first great oil rush and boom of the modern industrial age. His research led to the preparation of a manuscript which was published in 1938 by the Macmillan Company under the title, *The Birth of the Oil Industry*, a classic study reprinted by Arno in 1972, and again in 1974 by Porcupine Press under the title, *The Early Petroleum Industry*. He also produced a number of other books on oil history, most notably a pictorial study, *Early Days of Oil*, published by Princeton University Press in 1948, and a prototypical official corporate history, *Standard Oil Company (Indiana)*, published by Appleton-Century-Crofts in 1955.

He became professor of history and political science and chairman of the department at Allegheny in 1938, and in 1943 he began to serve concurrently as curator of the mother lode of his re-

search, the Edwin L. Drake Well Memorial Park and Museum, Titusville, PA. He was director of Crawford County, PA, civil defense forces in World War II, and soon after the war he was a founder, with a handful of colleagues from nearby schools, of the Washington Semester Program of American University, which has enabled thousands of students from hundreds of institutions to observe the federal government at first hand in the District of Columbia. He was also a member of the board of editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellow.

He became president of Hamline University, St. Paul, MN, in 1953. At the time of his installation there the school was known for its national championship basketball team and its recently severed ties to the Methodist Church. His dominant purpose in his tenure of 15 years was to strengthen its character as an undergraduate college of liberal arts. He gave sustained and exceptional attention to the recruitment and retention of superior teachers and scholars, improvement of the curriculum in arts and sciences and elimination of peripheral vocational endeavors, organization of an unusually high degree of alumni participation and support, strengthening of foreign student and other international programs, and promotion of music and theater.

The most dramatic episode of his presidency took place when he was hung in effigy by partisans of the basketball team, the decline of whose fortunes they ascribed to his emphasis on academic priorities. But if he were to be hung he would far rather it be by athletes and coaches than students and teachers, and it may have been his finest hour in defense and advance of the quality of the institution. He was widely active in the civic, educational, and cultural life of the state of Minnesota, and his fondest accomplishment at Hamline was its accreditation to receive a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa soon after his retirement.

On his departure from Hamline in 1968 he worked as an historical consultant to the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) in Chicago until afflicted by the first of a number of strokes in 1970. He continued

## People in Political Science

nonetheless to produce a prodigious amount of literature on oil history for newspapers, academic journals, and industry publications until the very end of his life.

He was awarded honorary degrees by Simpson College, Allegheny College, and Hamline University.

He was a member of the Organization of American Historians, the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Association of University Professors, the Newcomen Society, Alpha Tau Omega, Pi Gamma Mu, Pi Kappa Delta, and Phi Alpha Theta.

He is survived by his wife of 57 years, Marie Robins Giddens, Meadville, PA; a daughter, Judith A. White, Washington, DC; two sons, Thomas R., Rockford, IL, and Jackson A., Silver Spring, MD; two sisters, Grace L. Giddens, El Cajon, CA, and Mrs. Robert Wustrow, Keokuk, IA; and two grandchildren, David Allen and Ellen Lee Giddens, Rockford, IL.

Jackson A. Giddens

## George Steven Parthemos

The students and staff of the University of Georgia suffered a great loss upon the death of Professor George Steven Parthemos on December 25, 1984. He was 63 years of age.

Parthemos served in World War II from 1943-1946. He was Commanding Officer of the U.S.S., L.S.M. 335.

He received his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) in political science and public administration in 1953 and accepted an appointment to the University of Georgia Department of Political Science.

In 1958-59 he conducted research and study at Harvard University under a Rockefeller Foundation grant. He served as head of the University of Georgia Political Science Department from 1961 to 1965 and became a full professor in 1963. From 1964 to 1971 he served as the first vice president for instruction ever appointed at the University of Georgia. His service during this high-

growth period was critical in the development of this university.

Parthemos returned to full-time instruction in 1971 and was awarded a chair as the Alumni Foundation Distinguished Teaching Professor of Political Science. In October 1984 he received the Blue Key Award for his outstanding contributions to the University and the State of Georgia. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi and several other honor societies. He was chairman of the Southern Consortium for International Education. He was active in the Southern Political Science Association in which he served as vice president, program chairman, and as a member of the Executive Council. He served as a member of the Georgia Science and Technology Commission, the Athens-Clarke County Charter Commission and as chairman of the subcommittee on "The General Assembly: Composition and Procedures" of the Georgia Constitutional Revision Committee.

Professor Parthemos was the author or coauthor of several textbooks, monographs, and manuals. He published numerous articles and was an editor of the *Georgia Local Government Journal*.

He will long be remembered for his interest in and helpfulness to hundreds of university students who claimed him as a friend as well as an exceedingly able instructor. His colleagues valued him as a good friend and a great asset to the department. He will be missed by many political scientists throughout the nation.

J. Thomas Askew  
University of Georgia

## Eric W. H. Voegelin

Eric Voegelin died of congestive heart failure during the morning of January 19, 1985, at his home on the Stanford University campus. On being told, after a sustained hospital confinement in late 1984, that nothing further could be done medically to improve the condition of his exhausted heart, he asked to be released so that he could return home for his eighty-fourth birthday on January 3. Once at home he resumed work on the

fifth and final volume of his monumental work, *Order and History*, and he continued that work until the day of his peaceful death.

Voegelin was born in Cologne but moved with his family to Vienna at the age of nine. There he completed his secondary education in the *Realgymnasium* and took his doctorate at the University in 1922. His work was done mainly with Hans Kelsen, whom he also served as an assistant. Voegelin followed the usual pattern of an aspirant for an academic career in Vienna, lecturing and doing research in the university, engaging in regular discourse with other scholars through membership in one of the numerous intellectual "circles" in Vienna, and earning the major part of his living as a civil service examiner and as a poorly paid lecturer in one of the special *hochschule* in the city.

In 1924 Voegelin received one of the prestigious Laura Spellman Rockefeller grants for younger scholars, which enabled him to spend two years of travel and study in the United States. An extension of the fellowship made it possible for him to work independently in France for a third year. The American experience led to his first book, *Ueber die form des amerikanischen Geistes* (1928), an attempt to understand the national culture by analyzing a variety of intellectual types in the various universities he visited. He returned to Vienna in 1927 and qualified as a *Privatdozent* in political science and sociology.

Over the next ten years Voegelin wrote four more books—two highly risky ones on the race question, one on the authoritarian state, and another on political religions. Shortly after he had been named an "extraordinary" professor, the German *Anschluss* came. Voegelin was warned by a friend that he was on the list of people the Nazis intended to arrest. Thus it was that in 1938 the Voegelins escaped from Vienna and came to the United States by way of Switzerland. Friends at Harvard arranged a transitional place for him for a year; from there he went to Bennington, and then to the University of Alabama. In January 1942, he was appointed to an associate professorship in the Department of Government at

Louisiana State University, where he spent the next 16 years. He advanced to the rank of professor in 1946, and a few years later was one of the first three faculty members to be named to a Boyd professorship (the highest academic honor that can be conferred on a faculty member at L.S.U.).

When he went to L.S.U., Voegelin was already well into the writing of a massive commentary on the history of political thought. Although the manuscript was developed along the traditional lines of the standard histories of political ideas from Plato through Marx, the coverage was much more thorough, the subjects more effectively integrated in terms of philosophical analysis of human experience generally, and the whole critically more penetrating than the earlier histories by Carlyle, Sabine, *et al.* after carrying the analysis through the latter part of the nineteenth century. Gradually he came to the realization that "ideas" did not represent the reality in history he was seeking, so he turned his quest in a different direction by tentatively concluding that the reality of man in society might be apprehended by a search for the meaning of the symbols that a society uses to express the experience of individual and social order.

The first public apprehension of the new scope of Voegelin's theoretical understanding came with the delivery of the Walgreen Lectures at the University of Chicago in 1951, published in 1952 under the title *The New Science of Politics*. The lectures met with a mixed reception in the scholarly world. The breadth of learning was generally accepted, but the striking originality and the scope of the undertaking were widely questioned. Many did not understand that Voegelin's use of the term "science" was equivalent to the Greek *episteme* rather than to the post-eighteenth century confinement of the meaning of "science" to connote the sciences of external phenomena. It came as a surprise to many of those who had already begun to follow the Voegelian quest when *Time* magazine made *The New Science of Politics* the subject of one of its cover stories.

*The New Science* was in many ways a

prolegomena to *Order and History*, a compact statement of the theoretical directions Voegelin was taking, with much of the empirical evidence from the incredible breadth of historical sources he had mastered incorporated only by allusion. The first three volumes of *Order and History*—*Israel and Revelation*, *The World of the Polis*, and *Plato and Aristotle*—appeared in 1956 and 1957, and a long hiatus followed before the fourth volume—*The Ecumenic Age*—was published in 1974.

In the interim, momentous events occurred in Voegelin's life. In 1958 he accepted appointment to the Chair in Political Science at the University of Munich, the first occupant of that position since Max Weber's death in 1920. Despite the time involved in making an intercontinental transition once again and undertaking the administrative burden of organizing and directing the Institute of Political Science (he proved to be a superb administrator), Voegelin continued to carry a heavier than necessary teaching load, undertook a steadily increasing number of lecture engagements in all parts of Europe and America, and contributed to a number of international colloquia on contemporary problems.

The monograph on *Science, Politics and Gnosticism* (an expansion and refinement of his inaugural lecture) and the book that developed out of his studies in the philosophy of consciousness—*Anamnesis* (1966)—are the two most noteworthy free-standing works of the Munich years.

Voegelin was eligible for retirement from the chair in Munich in 1969, and for the third time he crossed the Atlantic to settle finally in Palo Alto. He was awarded a five-year grant as Henry Salvatori Distinguished Scholar, tenable at the Hoover Institution, where he carried on his work on *Order and History* and continued to be active to the end.

In his later years Voegelin began to receive the recognition that many of those who had followed his philosophical odyssey over the years thought he had long since earned. As his friend Gregor Sebba has pointed out, what he was doing was so far removed from the concerns of political science in the recent

past that it is not surprising that his work was better known among the leading figures in other disciplines than political science. A few years ago Eric Voegelin received the Benjamin Lippincott Award for work in political theory that is viable 15 years or more after publication.

If J. Herbert Fuerth, a founder of the Vienna circle to which Voegelin belonged for some 17 years, is correct in his 1972 assessment of Voegelin as "... perhaps the greatest living political scientist (and I believe the only one of us who can most nearly be called a real genius)," and I believe he is, he is the only political scientist that I have known who is likely to still be read and studied for the value of his contribution to the knowledge of man and society a hundred years from now.

Voegelin is survived by his wife of 52 years, Lissy Onken Voegelin.

William C. Havard  
Vanderbilt University

## Philip Williams

Philip Williams, who died suddenly on November 16, was a remarkable and much-loved figure. He had been, with a four-year interruption at Jesus College, a Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, since 1949. Behind his appearance as an untidy, mildly eccentric don, lay a powerful intellect—and a fund of human kindness. Coming to Oxford just before the war, he became a close friend of Tony Crosland—and against the pressures of the time, they jointly decided not to join the Communist Party. After the war he moved from history to political science and produced in 1954 his monumental *Politics in Postwar France*, ultimately revised into a full analysis of the Fourth Republic in *Crisis and Compromise* (1964). But he then turned from France to his own country and spent ten years on the definitive life of Hugh Gaitskell, a politician who so exactly reflected his own pragmatic commitment to democratic socialism and to intelligent care for the underdog. The work received wide acclaim as the best political biography published in Britain since the war.

The last phase of his life was devoted to American politics. He had spent time at Columbia and at Princeton in earlier years, and he had developed an encyclopaedic knowledge of electoral and congressional personalities and politics. He found great delight in his appointment to the Council of the American Political Science Association in Washington, DC, and, despite his uncertain health, he travelled energetically visiting his many American friends. His final achievement lay in his initiatives which led to the generous endowment of the Mellon Chair in American Government and Politics in Oxford (the first such post in Britain).

But a chronicle of his public achievements does not indicate what he meant to the academic world—in Nuffield, in Oxford and beyond. He was a dedicated tutor of undergraduates and supervisor of graduates. He was a generous and meticulous critic of other people's manuscripts. And in every Oxford generation of students, he would focus on half a dozen young men and women, talking endlessly with them, almost always on politics, and fostering their minds and careers, making lifelong friendships

which were continuously sustained by a vast correspondence and an open door at Oxford. The tributes that reached his college and his friends in the days after his death were altogether out of the ordinary.

Philip had a fierce integrity of mind and a dedication to academic life. He was obstinate in defense of anyone he thought hard done by. His idiosyncracies grew with the years, but to the end he was always fun to be with—he used to write doggerel commentaries on the scene during college meetings and he had a wonderful fund of stories about absurd political comeuppances in Britain and France and America. He died, as he might have wished, suddenly, in the company of friends after giving a brilliant talk on the American election at the American Embassy. He leaves behind a lasting body of scholarly work, an outstanding example of scholarly qualities—and a host of people who recognize how lucky they were to have him as a teacher and a friend.

David Butler  
Nuffield College

# News of the Profession

## Reports

### Studying Politics in Washington

**Leonard Williams**  
Manchester College

Imagine a tour of the offices of *The Washington Post*: meeting a news editor who discussed relations between the presidency and the press, looking at the press room and the layout room, visiting the now-famous news room, and to cap it all, getting 17 people stuck for 45

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Leonard Williams is an assistant professor at Manchester College where he teaches American politics and political theory. He received his Ph.D. from Ohio State University.



Leonard Williams (left) of Manchester College talks with John Salzberg, executive director of the William Penn House in Washington, D.C.

minutes in an elevator just above the lobby. This was only one of the many elevating experiences my Manchester College students had on a trip to Washington, DC, arranged by the William Penn House.

William Penn House is a Quaker seminar and hospitality center located at 515 E. Capitol Street, Washington, DC 20003 (Phone: (202) 543-5560). I had heard about its activities from fellow Quakers, and when my original plans for a month-long stay at another facility had to be cancelled due to its expense, I was anxious to find a place for my students to stay. To my surprise, I found that William Penn House not only provided housing and breakfast but also scheduled a series of meetings and tours for the extremely low cost of \$18 per day per student.

John Salzberg, executive director, described how Penn House usually operated. For the most part, it focused on organizing seminars on issues of concern to its Quaker constituency. However, I explained my desire to develop a seminar to fit the topic of my January term course at Manchester College—the presidency. I wanted a series of meetings with people both within and outside of government who could offer diverse perspectives on the presidency and policymaking. The theme of my course was that the president's exercise of power is constrained by a variety of groups and institutions, each with its own goals and interests. In addition to looking at the president as policymaker, I also wanted to examine the issues that would be high on the administration's second term agenda—namely, arms control, U.S./USSR relations, and the budget.

John and I then talked about the overall shape of the seminar trip. He asked about any special needs my students might have. I mentioned that attending a



Supreme Court session was chief among those needs, since many of my students were interested in going to law school. Also, I desired some blocks of free time for class visits to museum exhibits, monuments, and the like. John (a political scientist, former staff member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and former State Department official) understood my needs and promised a suitable program, and he delivered.

The class prepared for the trip to Washington through a few days of lectures and readings on the presidency. Our week in Washington began as we met with congressional aides who described the budget process timetable as well as the political realities that underlie budgetary decisions. For instance, we discussed presidential involvement in the budgetary process, the importance of presidential credibility to congressional acceptance of the budget, and the flexibility of the timetable itself. A meeting with a lobbyist for the Friends Committee on National Legislation also provided the perspective of an interest group attempting to shape budget debates and outcomes.

Visits to the Department of State and the Department of Defense provided insights into the arms control process and the likely results of the recent Shultz-Gromyko talks (which had occurred just a week before we arrived). We also conferred with people who had opposing viewpoints on arms control. For instance, we met with a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation who echoed the administration's skepticism about agreements that come too quickly and with a lobbyist for the Council for a Livable World who expressed relief that the U.S. and USSR had begun talking to one another again.

At the end of the week, we discussed a variety of issues—from arms control and Central America to student aid and the economy—with a staff member of the White House Office of Public Liaison. (This last meeting took place in the Cordell Hull Conference Room in the Old Executive Office Building, the site of many presidential briefings by the National Security Council.)

William Penn House also arranged for

many entertaining and interesting tours of Washington sights. In addition to the tour of the offices of *The Washington Post*, Penn House arranged for our group to have reserved seating at the Supreme Court, where we witnessed oral argument in the case of *Oklahoma City Board of Education v. National Gay Task Force*, a case in which Harvard law professor Lawrence Tribe argued for the respondents. (Student evaluations almost universally noted the visit to the Supreme Court as a high point of the time we spent in Washington.) We also had official tours of the Pentagon and the Capitol building, as well as time for viewing the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials and the election campaigns exhibit at the Smithsonian.

The staff at Penn House were very courteous and helpful. They provided for our needs as guests and directed us to nearby restaurants, Metro (subway) stations, and other Washington attractions. Our accommodations were very comfortable—good food, warmth in the midst of one of Washington's coldest winters, and pleasant conversation with other guests at the house.

One of my aims was to introduce students to the complexity of the policy-making process. Our meetings with people in various cabinet departments and interest groups highlighted the vast numbers of people involved in making policy. Those meetings also illustrated the importance of institutional loyalties in making opponents out of people in government who otherwise share ideological perspectives. The final lesson learned was that the president constantly needs to maintain credibility with the public, the media, and especially the Congress, in order to have his policy preferences enacted.

Our week-long experience in Washington had a great impact upon my students. They liked our stay at William Penn House and especially the briefings that John Salzberg arranged for us. One student said that he appreciated the candor and the diversity of the officials we met. Another enjoyed the rare opportunity to meet government officials and to challenge their views. One more student said that she was grateful for the balance be-

tween pro- and anti-Reagan speakers. All of them liked the chance to get an insider's perspective on politics and not merely an academic one. You can bet that next year I will be back with another eager group of Manchester students. But next year, we intend to use the stairs.

## **Programs of the Bureau of Justice Statistics**

**Steven R. Schlesinger**  
Director

*Editor's Note: This paper is extracted from an address delivered to the American Society of Criminology, November 8, 1984.*

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) is mandated by Congress to collect, analyze, publish, and disseminate statistics on crime, victims of crime, criminal offenders, and the operations of justice systems at all levels of government throughout the United States. Since its creation in 1979, the Bureau has developed new programs as well as continued the earlier statistical programs of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

Because it is a relatively new agency and many potential users of BJS data are unaware of data bases that are available, the Bureau has developed an "outreach" program. This program includes:

- *How to Gain Access to BJS Data*, a brochure describing the Bureau of Justice Statistics, its programs, and how to obtain BJS data and reports;
- A brochure that identifies BJS staff (and their telephone numbers) who are knowledgeable about the statistical data on various criminal justice topics;
- A catalog (to be published shortly) of all BJS data series giving detailed information on the variables included, the methodology used, the publica-

tions produced, the availability of data tapes, how to obtain the various products, and who to contact for assistance in using the data sets; and

- The Justice Statistics Clearinghouse with a toll-free telephone line at the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS). The clearinghouse responds to statistical inquiries on a variety of criminal justice topics; NCJRS distributes copies of BJS reports.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the BJS data series produce machine-readable data sets which are stored at and disseminated through the criminal justice data archive BJS sponsors at the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan. These data sets are disseminated via magnetic tapes compatible with the user's computing facility.<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the BJS data bases described in this paper have produced (or are producing) data tapes that can be obtained through the archive.

### **Data on the Commission of Crime**

The Bureau's largest statistical series is the *National Crime Survey* (NCS), the nation's only systematic measurement of victimization rates that collects data through national household surveys. The survey, which began in 1973, measures the amount of rape, robbery, assault, personal larceny, household burglary and larceny, and motor vehicle theft experienced by a random sample of the U.S. population. It also provides detailed information about the characteristics of victims, victim-offender relationships, the victims' perceptions of offender characteristics, and the criminal incident, in-

<sup>1</sup>Single copies of publications can be obtained free of charge from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, P.O. Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20850. The telephone number is (301) 251-5500. The BJS clearinghouse can be reached at (800) 732-3277.

<sup>2</sup>Data tapes are made available on a cost-reimbursement basis. For more information contact the Criminal Justice Data Archive at P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. The telephone number is (313) 763-5010.

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Steven R. Schlesinger has been director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics since April 1983. Before coming to BJS, Mr. Schlesinger was an associate professor in the Department of Politics at The Catholic University of America.

cluding whether or not the offense was reported to the police, and, if not, why not. The NCS uses a rotating panel sample design in which interviews are conducted in 60,000 households at six-month intervals.

A major effort of the Bureau over the past several years has been the evaluation and redesign of the methodologies used in the nation's two most important statistical series on crime, the National Crime Survey and the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program.

The *National Crime Survey Redesign* project is a total reassessment of the objectives, administration, design and potential uses of the survey and implementation of improvements in the definition of criminal victimization, sample design, survey instrument and estimation procedures. The redesign effort was undertaken in response to recommendations made by the National Academy of Sciences and is intended to increase the amount and quality of data available from the NCS and to improve its efficiency and cost effectiveness.

Recent work has focused on strategies for eliciting victims' recall of victimizations, a design for longitudinal measures of the risk associated with various activities to permit the survey to assist crime prevention programs, and efforts to enhance the utility of NCS data to state and local users. One of the changes contemplated is that, beginning in mid-1985, victimization estimates will be made for counties in the NCS sample areas with populations over 50,000. The NCS redesign work is nearing completion; the remaining work consists of deciding which recommended design changes to make and implementing those changes. Most of the changes will be implemented in 1985 and 1987.

The joint BJS/Federal Bureau of Investigation *Assessment of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program*, conducted over the past two and a half years, has produced a draft final report with recommendations for extensive changes in UCR. Following review of these recommendations by the formally appointed UCR steering committee, by directors of the state UCR programs, and by the law enforcement com-

munity in the spring of 1985, a final set of recommendations for change will be presented to the directors of the FBI and BJS and to the attorney general.

Possible changes include replacing the current summary reporting system with unit-record reporting. Such a system would make it possible to provide much more detail about each crime incident than is now available, while at the same time not adding to the reporting burden and to the costs to contributors. It is anticipated that a subset of agencies would be asked to provide even more extensive data in order that national estimates can be derived about issues of national concern such as domestic family violence, child abuse, and arson. Considerable attention is being given to ways in which more stringent standards of quality control can be used in the program, including routine random audits, self-certification by local departments, and quality edit checks written into software programs at the local, state, and federal levels.

### **Law Enforcement Data**

Recognizing that very little national-level police administrative and management data exist, BJS commissioned a study in January 1984 of the need for such data, including recommendations as to what types of data should be collected. A second phase of this effort, begun in October 1984, involves: an analysis of existing data sets of police statistics; a survey of small police agencies about their data needs; the development of a survey questionnaire and handbook for a national collection effort; a discussion of various sampling designs; and a pretest of the proposed survey.

### **Prosecution and Adjudication Data**

In the fall of 1981, BJS funded the first national survey of *indigent defense services* since 1973. Data were collected covering staffing levels, salaries, case-load, type of system, funding levels, organizational setting, legislative authority, method of compensation and attorney selection.

### **Prosecutor Management Information**

*Systems (PROMIS)* produce case tracking data focused on the prosecution and trial of cases for selected municipalities and counties. This year BJS published the second in a series of statistical descriptions of felony case flow in selected prosecutor's offices throughout the country that use PROMIS data. The report analyzes data from 14 jurisdictions for felony cases that reached final disposition in 1979. The next report in the series covers 28 jurisdictions. Key variables include: the number of felony cases screened; number of cases rejected or referred at screening; reasons for case rejections; number of cases filed; number of cases dismissed; reasons for case dismissals; number of guilty pleas; number of pleas to stop charge; number of guilty verdicts at trial; number of sentences to incarceration; number of sentences to state prison; and case processing times by type of disposition.

A recent initiative will go beyond the PROMIS data by tracking approximately 10,000 defendants from several states and 50 counties across the nation as they move through the criminal justice system, as well as after their cases have been adjudicated and they have served whatever sentences may have been imposed. These data will provide a longitudinal account of what happens to persons arrested for several serious crimes (such as burglary and robbery) and, more importantly, an ability to compare the effectiveness of different criminal justice policies in reducing crime, court congestion, jail and prison crowding, recidivism, and other problems facing the criminal justice system.

*Offender-Based Transaction Statistics (OBTS)* programs are state-level information systems to track state offenders through the criminal justice process from arrest to final disposition. BJS has completed an initial project leading to the development of national OBTS data standards to guide state participation. Under this program, several states have submitted data conforming to the OBTS standards for analysis and publication. Plans for the future call for increasing the number of states supplying OBTS data.

Of particular concern is the lack of data

on the *pretrial case processing* phase of the criminal justice process; for example, rates of rearrest and failure to appear of those who are on bail or other forms of pretrial release are unavailable on a national basis. As a first step in filling this void, BJS sponsored a study to determine the feasibility of developing a national pretrial data base. Twenty states were surveyed to investigate organizational considerations in data collection, and a survey instrument was developed and tested in three jurisdictions. The results of the initial phase were positive and the project has been continued. Procedures and forms will be refined, a sample of approximately 15 sites will be selected, and data will be collected and analyzed.

### Annual Corrections Data

The Bureau's Correctional Statistics Program provides systematic data on correctional populations and agency workloads covering probation, local jails, state and federal prisons, and parole.

The *National Probation Reports* series provides annual data, by state, on the number of admissions to probation supervision and the year-end total of persons under such supervision. Additional variables include: entry type, exit type, sex, race, ethnicity, offense type, conviction status, and supervision status. Complete national reporting began with the publication of *Probation and Parole 1981*. Data tapes were not developed in the past because the amount of information was manageable manually. However, consideration is being given to building data tapes to allow users computerized access to these data.

The *National Prisoner Statistics (NPS)* series dates back to 1926. It provides year-end and mid-year counts, by jurisdiction, of prisoners confined in state and federal institutions. In July 1983, a new program to gather information on the characteristics of those offenders admitted to or released from prisons was initiated—the National Corrections Reporting Program as a part of NPS. This series will provide information on demographic characteristics, offenses, sentences, and time served for each admission to and

release from state prisons. This series will be integrated with Uniform Parole Reports data to provide a complete overview of sanctioning across the states from prison entry through termination of parole. Thirty-five states are participating.

The *Uniform Parole Reports* program, begun in 1966, provides data on the populations and characteristics of persons admitted to and released from parole supervision. The program also gathers information from states annually on legislative and administrative changes likely to affect the time sentenced and served in correctional institutions. Additional variables include: entry type, exit type, and the sex, race, ethnicity, and supervision status of the individuals involved. As with probation, data tapes were not developed in the past because the amount of data was limited enough to be manageable manually. Changes in data collection methodology will allow the parole data to become available on data tape through the National Corrections Reporting Program.

Over the past several years, an issue of great concern has been the absence of a data series that systematically measures recidivism. BJS is developing a program, designed to link BJS correctional series data with FBI criminal history information, which will, for the first time, enable BJS to derive a representative sample of persons released from prison, collect longitudinal data, and ultimately develop estimates on the incidence, prevalence, and seriousness of subsequent arrests and dispositions. Prison release and criminal history data will provide an opportunity to examine the relationship between factors such as sentence length, time served, and prior felony incarceration history, on the one hand, and post-release performance, on the other. These data will be available along with a number of socio-demographic characteristics of the inmates. The data will be used to issue a series of reports on selected topics, as well as annual indicators for trend analysis. To the extent that privacy and confidentiality regulations allow, BJS will make public use data tapes available through the archive for secondary analysis.

The National Prisoner Statistics Series also reports separately on those state prisoners sentenced to and awaiting execution. Variables include age, race, sex, Hispanic origin, education level, and marital status. Criminal justice data include offense, date of sentence or removal, method of removal, prior felony convictions, and legal status at year end. Data also are obtained on the status of death penalty laws. Data tapes have not been developed from this series.

### **Periodic Corrections Surveys**

In addition to the annual data collection programs, the correctional statistics program uses less frequent surveys to collect information that is too expensive to capture every year. These include the periodic surveys of jail inmates and state prisoners and the censuses of jails and prisons.

In early 1984, the quinquennial *Census of Adult State Correctional Facilities* was conducted. The census is designed to obtain information on facility characteristics, inmate populations, confinement space, programs, inmate work assignments, employment, health and safety conditions, special inmate counts, and expenditures. The 1984 data will be particularly useful in conjunction with the 1974 and 1979 census data.

The *Survey of Inmates of Adult State Correctional Facilities* will be conducted in 1985. This survey will obtain a profile of a nationally selected random sample of 15,000 state prisoners as to such factors as demographic characteristics, current offense, prior criminal record, drug and alcohol history, socioeconomic characteristics and military service. This survey is an update of the 1974 and 1979 inmate surveys.

During calendar year 1983, the *Census of Jails and Survey of Inmates of Local Jails* was conducted. Jail census questionnaires were mailed to all local correctional facilities nationwide, collecting information on inmate population, detention authority, capacity, building/renovation plans, confinement space, personnel, health and safety programs, and expenditures. The jail census was pre-

## News of the Profession

viously conducted in 1970, 1972, and 1978.

The *Survey of Inmates of Local Jails* gathered information on a national random sample of roughly 6,000 jailed inmates. Variables of interest included demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, current offenses, detention status, prior criminal record, jail activities, drug and alcohol use, military service, and health care. The inmate survey was conducted previously in 1972 and 1978.

### Federal Justice Statistics

A major recent priority is the development of a comprehensive Federal Justice Statistics Data Base tracing individual offenses from investigation through prosecution, adjudication, and correctional processing. Currently, the data base includes input from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Executive Office for U.S. Attorneys, the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, and the Bureau of Prisons and covers calendar years 1979-81. This represents the first time that federal justice data have been incorporated in a single data series. Data from additional investigative agencies and covering additional years are now being obtained.

### Justice Expenditure and Employment Data

The *Survey of Justice Expenditure and Employment*, begun in 1967, produces annual national and state-level data on the costs of the justice system and the numbers of persons employed by justice agencies. Its geographic and substantive detail varies over the years because of changes in survey methodology. Data for 1967 to 1970 are not available on tape.

### Juvenile Justice Data

In January 1985, BJS entered into an interagency agreement with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) for a cooperative effort

to improve the quality, quantity, and availability of juvenile justice data. A first step in this effort will be a workshop of juvenile justice data producers and users, statisticians and survey methodologists to assess the quality of available data, identify areas where data should be collected, and make recommendations for improving existing data series and for establishing new series to collect needed data. Following the workshop, the recommendations will be studied and implemented as appropriate and as resources allow. A second component of this agreement will allow BJS to begin analysis and publication of juvenile corrections data collected by the Census Bureau under OJJDP sponsorship.

### Other Efforts

BJS efforts to link users who need data with the data they need are not limited to BJS data bases. The most ambitious of these is the first edition of the *Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice*, a comprehensive look at crime, its victims and offenders, and the criminal justice system using available data and written in non-technical language. Additionally, the Bureau continues to publish the annual *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*, a reference document that presents criminal justice statistical data from more than 100 national sources in an easy-to-use single volume.

The *Computerized Index to Data Sources* is being developed to help users identify data bases of use to them from the multitude of data bases that exist at all levels of government. Because of the size, complexity, and fragmentation of criminal justice systems, it is extremely difficult, costly, and time consuming to determine what data bases exist, where they are, and what they contain. As a partial solution, BJS has begun development of a pilot computerized index to existing national, federal, state and local criminal justice data bases which should be a service to users who are seeking data on a particular topic. □

## **Women in Textbooks Examined by Caucus**

The Women's Caucus for Political Science will present a roundtable on incorporating materials on women in politics in textbooks at APSA's annual meeting in New Orleans. The panel will be led by Barbara J. Nelson and will include editors and authors of textbooks.

This panel is building on the work of the Women's Caucuses of the Midwest Political Science Association and the Western Political Science Association (WPSA) which have evaluated major American government textbooks.

The early examinations of textbooks revealed sexist language and illustrations and neglect of women as voters and national officeholders. The report presented at the WPSA meeting in 1984, however, indicated that most texts now use sex-neutral terms and avoid illustrations that disparage women. Most texts now discuss the impact of women as voters and members of pressure groups and recognize their presence in Congress and the courts, but they generally ignore women in the White House and bureaucracy. Very little space is devoted to women's issues; 15 of the 20 books examined had little or no coverage of the women's contemporary movement, constitutional sex equality cases, convention rules, equal pay and education; even controversial matters such as abortion and ERA were neglected or not treated as significant policy issues.

The evaluations from which the WPSA Caucus report was prepared came from 29 departments. One finding of the report was that the women professors and students noticed lacunae and criticized coverage much more than men professors and students.

The report ranks the texts into five categories: texts with all the positive ratings (four); texts with more positive ratings (two); texts with the same number of positive and negative ratings (six); texts with more negative ratings (four); and texts with all negative ratings (four). The report is exploratory and tentative; the participants rated those texts that they were using in class. Anyone who

would like a copy of the report may write to Beverly B. Cook, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI 53201, and ask for "Report on Twenty Textbooks Used in American Government Classes, 1983-84." □

## **National Science Foundation Allocates Budget for FY85**

*Editor's Note: The following report is from COSSA Washington Update, Vol. III, No. 23, December 21, 1984. To obtain a copy of that issue, write to Consortium of Social Science Associations, 1200 17th Street, N.W., Suite 520, Washington, DC 20036.*

Because of the importance of the National Science Foundation's budgets for social and behavioral science to that research community, *Update* is publishing the "operational" figures for the current fiscal year. Such figures represent an agency's allocational decisions, based on the Office of Management and Budget's interpretation of congressional appropriations. These figures are approximate, subject to revision later in the fiscal year.

The figures in this table show the general budget levels for research programs in the Division of Behavioral and Neural Sciences (selected programs) and the Division of Social and Economic Science. The figures are somewhat lower than projected in the budget presented to Congress because of adjustments to the budget to meet various internal NSF purposes for such areas as advanced scientific computing, international programs, the Presidential Young Investigators Program, and others.

An additional \$5 million is available in these programs for proposals in the area of Teaching and Learning in Science and Math. Until proposals in this area have been reviewed, however, these funds cannot be allocated to specific programs. □

## NSF Social and Behavioral Science Research Programs in BBS (Biological, Behavioral and Social Science Directorate) (in million \$)

	Actual FY80	Actual FY81	Actual FY82	Actual FY83	Actual FY84	Actual FY85	% Change FY84-85	% Change FY80-85
<b>Division of Behavioral and Neural Sciences (selected programs)</b>								
Neuroscience	4.5	4.3	3.4	3.7	4.2	4.3	+ 2	- 4
Psychobiology								
Cognitive Science								
Memory and Cognitive Processes	2.6	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.5	- 4	- 4
Social and Developmental Psychology	3.3	2.6	1.5	2.1	2.6	2.5	- 4	-24
Linguistics	2.7	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.5	+ 4	- 7
Anthropology	6.6	6.0	5.5	5.8	6.4	6.6	+ 3	N/C
Subtotal	19.7	17.5	14.7	16.1	18.2	18.4		
<b>Division of Social and Economic Science</b>								
Economics and Geography								
Economics	12.2	9.4	6.3	7.1	9.4	9.8	+ 4	-20
Geography	1.6	1.2	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.2	+24	-25
Social Measurement and Analysis								
Sociology	3.9	3.0	2.2	2.4	3.0	3.5	+18	-10
Measurement Methodology/Data Improvement	5.0	3.9	2.9	3.3	3.6	3.3	- 8	-34
History/Philosophy of Science	1.5	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.4	1.5	+13	N/C
Political and Policy Sciences								
Political Science	3.6	2.9	2.1	2.3	2.8	3.4	+23	- 5
Law and Social Sciences	0.9	0.9	1.1*	1.2	1.4	1.6	+16	+78
Regulation and Policy Analysis	2.6	2.7	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.2	+ 9	-54
Decision and Management Sciences			0.5	0.8	1.0	1.2	+20	N/A
Subtotal	31.3	25.1	17.6	19.9	24.6	26.8		
TOTAL--Social and Behavioral Science Research Programs	52.4	43.7	32.3	36.0	42.8	45.2	+ 5	-14

\*In FY 1981, this program was combined with the Law and Policy Program of the Division of Applied Research.



## **Announcements**

### **Third Stein Rokkan Prize Announced**

The International Social Science Council, in conjunction with the Conjunto Universitario Candido Mendes (Rio de Janeiro) announces that the Stein Rokkan Prize will be awarded for the third time in the fall of 1986.

The prize is intended to crown a seminal contribution in comparative social science research written in English, French or German, by a scholar under 40 years of age on December 31, 1986. It can be a manuscript, printed book, or collected works in each case published after 1984.

Four copies of manuscripts typed double-spaced or of printed works shall be delivered to the International Social Science Council before February 1, 1986, together with a formal letter of application with evidence of the candidate's age attached.

The award shall be made by the ISSC General Assembly meeting in the fall of 1986 on the recommendation of the ISSC Executive Committee. Its decision shall be final and not subject to appeal or revision.

The prize is in the amount of \$2,000 U.S. It may be divided between two or more applicants, should it be found difficult to adjudicate between equally valuable works submitted. For further inquiries, please write to: Secretary General, International Social Science Council, UNESCO, 1, rue Miollis, 75015 Paris, France. □

### **Award Established in International Security Studies**

The Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society in conjunction with Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers has established an award for the best book manuscript on international security studies as judged by the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society. A prize of \$2,000

(U.S.) will be awarded as a nonrefundable advance against royalties to the author(s) of the book manuscript. Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers will publish the book.

Submissions or further inquiries should be addressed to the Secretariat of the IUS, Box 46, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637. □

### **Dissertation Award Offered**

The National Council for the Social Studies is sponsoring an Exemplary Dissertation Award competition in order to recognize excellence in research conducted by doctoral candidates in areas related to social studies education. The author of the selected dissertation will receive a certificate of merit and \$150.

The award will be conferred on the basis of dissertation research in the pursuit of the doctoral degree. Research is broadly defined to include experimental, conceptual, historical, philosophical, and other modes appropriate to the problem investigated. For a dissertation to be selected for the award, it must make a significant contribution to the field of social education. The dissertation must also be outstanding in the areas of problem statement, analysis of related literature, methods and procedures, analysis of data, and discussion of results.

To be eligible for the 1985 award, the dissertation must have been completed between June 16, 1984 and June 15, 1985. Nominations should include four copies of an abstract, not more than three 8½" x 11" pages, typed, double-spaced, submitted to the chairperson by June 15, 1985. The heading of each copy of the abstract must include the author's name, address, telephone number, name of institution where degree was completed, name of major advisor, and date of degree completion. Include a self-addressed, stamped envelope for acknowledgement. After reviewing the abstracts, the subcommittee may ask for the submission of the completed dissertation by August 1, 1985.

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Send materials to: Ted Shanoski, Department of History, Bloomsburg University, Bloomsburg, PA 17815. □

### Award Offered for Social Science History Publication

The Allan Sharlin Award is given annually for the outstanding article or book published in 1984 in social science history. The award is sponsored by the Social Science History Association, and the amount of the award is \$500. Individuals who wish to submit or nominate articles or books should write to one of the members of the Award Committee: David Levine, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6; Harvey J. Graff, School of Arts and Humanities, University of Texas-Dallas, Box 830688, Richardson, TX 75083; or Patrick Horan, Department of Sociology, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602. The deadline for submissions is May 30, 1985. □

### Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies Initiated

*JIS* is the official journal of the International Christian Studies Association, co-sponsored and published by the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research, initially to appear in two double issues per year, beginning in 1986.

*JIS* welcomes contributions to the quest for advancing knowledge and achieving new scientific breakthroughs in understanding God, man, and the universe. *JIS* seeks new insight into the relationship between man and his Savior, Jesus Christ. *JIS* offers an open forum for an international, interdisciplinary, and interfaith dialogue to encourage the discovery of the unknown at the interstices of the social sciences and humanities, the arts and the natural sciences, and the exploration of the focal point of synthesis between fact and value, physics and metaphysics, theory and practice. Thus, *JIS* aspires to celebrate the Spirit of God as it

energizes and enlightens the spirit of man.

*JIS* Thematic Issues: 2001 (Future of Interdisciplinary Research); Orwell and Huxley; Capitalism, Socialism and Human Rights; Religion and Politics; Artificial Intelligence; The Second Reformation; Knowledge, Ethics and Faith. Manuscript deadline: October 1, 1985 for Vol. I, No. 1/2; January 1 and July 1 for subsequent issues. Manuscript format (max. 25 pages): Brief in-text citations, alphabetical references at the end. Submit three copies of the manuscript, a 100-word abstract, and postage for return of manuscript. Since manuscripts are refereed anonymously, author's name, affiliation and address should appear on a separate sheet. Annual subscription (made out to ICSA): \$25 individual; \$15 student; \$50 institutional (overseas airmail, add \$10). All inquiries to: Oskar Gruenwald, *JIS* Editor, 2828 Third Street #11, Santa Monica, CA 90405. □

### International Studies Quarterly Invites Manuscripts

Effective January 1, 1985, *International Studies Quarterly* will be edited by Professors Richard K. Ashley, Patrick L. Lauderdale, Pat McGowan, and Stephen G. Walker at Arizona State University.

*International Studies Quarterly*, the official journal of the International Studies Association, seeks to acquaint a broad audience of readers with the best work being done in the variety of intellectual traditions included under the rubric of international studies. *ISQ* is directed to a wide community of scholars in many different countries and in many areas of research. The editors seek substantial contributions that (1) are interdisciplinary in nature and scope, (2) reflect the various political, economic, social and cultural factors that underlie differing outlooks on problems that affect more than one society, or (3) treat important theoretical issues or analyze substantive policy questions of a long-term nature.

Persons wishing to submit manuscripts to *International Studies Quarterly* should

submit four copies, with abstract, to the Editors, Department of Political Science, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287.

Manuscripts should follow the format described in "Editorial Policies and Instructions to Authors" published in each issue of the journal. □

### ***Journal of Politics* Welcomes Articles and Book Reviews**

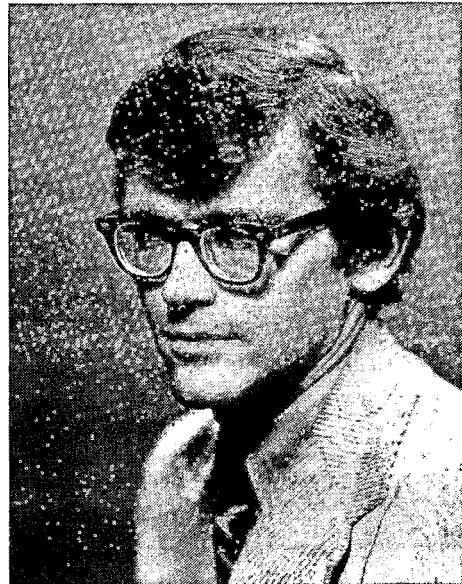
*The Journal of Politics* is a general journal publishing articles from all the diverse perspectives and areas of interest within the discipline. The *Journal* publishes empirically based articles that adopt a scientific approach to advancing knowledge of political behavior, action, and processes as well as articles adopting traditional and historical approaches to the study of politics and political thought. The *Journal* would particularly encourage scholars in the areas of comparative politics and international relations to submit articles for consideration. The *Journal* also encourages political scientists dealing in a rigorous, analytic manner with politically relevant topics (e.g., monetary policy, discrimination, energy, welfare, etc.) to submit articles for consideration.

Micheal W. Giles, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Emory University, assumed the editorship of the *Journal* in December 1984 with Eleanor Main as associate editor. Manuscripts and correspondence should be addressed to Micheal W. Giles, Editor, *Journal of Politics*, Department of Political Science, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322.

Effective January 1985 the book review editor of the *Journal* is Cecil L. Eubanks of Louisiana State University. Book review editorial consultants are Ronald E. Weber and Peter Zwick of Louisiana State University. The book review section publishes reviews and review essays. Scholars interested in contributing reviews should contact the book review editor. Those interested in writing unsolicited essays should submit their ideas to the book review editor for prior authorization. Contact: Cecil L. Eubanks,



Micheal Giles of Emory University is the new editor of the *Journal of Politics*.



Cecil L. Eubanks of Louisiana State University has been named book review editor of the *Journal of Politics*.

Book Review Editor, *Journal of Politics*,  
Department of Political Science, Louisiana  
State University, Baton Rouge, LA  
70803. □

### ***Publius* Invites Manuscripts on State Constitutions**

*Publius: The Journal of Federalism* invites manuscript submissions for a special topical issue entitled "New Roles for State Constitutions in the Federal System" to be published in 1987 under the guest editorship of Mary Cornelia Porter and G. Alan Tarr.

This issue will examine (1) new developments and changes in state constitutions and state constitutional law; (2) legal and political issues involving the autonomy and scope of state constitutional interpretation, especially in the areas of individual liberties and civil rights; (3) principles and theories of state high court interpretations of state constitutions; (4) comparative analyses of how constitutional issues common to the various states have been handled by state courts and other agencies; (5) patterns of influence among states in the development of state constitutional law; (6) the interplay between state politics and state constitutional law; (7) comparative analyses of how the states and the federal government have addressed similar constitutional problems; (8) the influence of the federal government, especially interpretations of the U.S. Constitution, on state constitutional law; (9) changes in the climate of judicial federalism; and (10) the influences of state constitutional law on interpretations of U.S. constitutional law. Proposals on related topics other than those listed above will also be considered by the editors.

Proposals for articles (four copies) should be sent to G. Alan Tarr, Department of Political Science, Rutgers—The State University, Camden, NJ 08102, by November 15, 1985. Manuscripts (four copies) will be due to Professor Tarr by September 15, 1986. □

### ***Publius* Invites Manuscripts on Biocommunalism**

*Publius: The Journal of Federalism* invites manuscript submissions for a special issue to be published in 1987 on "Bi-communal Societies and Politics: Bicephalous Federalism and/or Consociationalism."

The issue will examine cases of countries in which political processes are primarily shaped by conflict or cooperation (perhaps consociational, federal, or confederal) between two major cultural, linguistic, ethnic, or newcomer/old-timer dyads. Of course, in all such situations, there are other minor groups besides the two dominant ones. Since biocommunalism may encourage a rigidity of outlook as well as greater permanence of identity (a zero-sum narrow alley without adequate elbowroom?), one general question seems to impose itself: Do these conditions arise because there are only two communities or because of history, foreign involvement (promised, active, anticipated), developmental discrimination and ensuing socioeconomic disparities, cultural self-confidence or insecurity, disparity in political skill and clout, or still other factors. In this context some insights from game theory would be welcome. Proposals for articles (three copies) should be sent by December 15, 1985, to Ivo D. Duchacek, Box 634, Kent, CT 06757, and one copy to Robert Abrams, Department of Political Science, Brooklyn College, Bedford Avenue and Avenue H, Brooklyn, NY 11210. □

### **Microcomputer Journal Published**

A journal founded by faculty members at North Carolina State University, *The Social Science Microcomputer Review*, will soon be available nationwide. Founded in 1982, the journal serves as a national forum for communication among social scientists interested in using microcomputers in teaching and research.

With the spring 1985 issue, the journal will be published by the Duke University

Press. The editor is G. David Garson, assistant dean in the NCSU School of Humanities and Social Sciences.

The journal, to be published four times a year, will feature research articles, institutional news, programming tips, software evaluations and tutorials. It also will be a source of public-domain computer software for social sciences. □

### **Social Science Computer Networks Formed**

Two nationwide professional computer networks for the social sciences were announced by the Social Science Research and Instructional Computing (SSRIC) Laboratory of North Carolina State University (NCSU) on January 24, 1985. Through a cooperative agreement with Wadsworth Publishing, Inc., the NCSU SSRIC Laboratory is developing national computer networks for social scientists. The two networks are called "SocNet" (for sociologists) and "PoliNet" (for political scientists).

SocNet and PoliNet will feature electronic mail, on-line teleconferencing, social science news, and machine-readable information files that will permit on-line coauthorship of manuscripts, and rapid exchange of data files and bibliographies. Both networks are scheduled to be tested this spring and summer and will be available for full access by the social science community in September 1985.

Further details about SocNet and PoliNet will be disseminated through the *Social Science Microcomputer Review*, announcements in other disciplinary media, direct mailings, and demonstrations at professional meetings. Additional information may be obtained by contacting Frank M. Howell, Project Director, Professional Networking in the Social Sciences, SSRIC Laboratory, Box 8101, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC 27695-8101. Phone: (919) 737-3114 or ext. 3067. □

### **Ph.D. Program Established in Women and Politics**

Beginning in academic year 1985-86, graduate students at Rutgers University will be able to select Women and Politics as either a major or a minor area of concentration for a Ph.D. in political science. The program is designed to familiarize students with approaches, concepts, and methods of women's studies as they apply to political science. Courses and research requirements focus on gender relations as they affect politics and include the study of politically relevant gender differences, women as political actors, and the impact of gender on political institutions, public policy and conceptions of the political.

Graduate students in the program will have the opportunity to work with the Center for the American Woman and Politics, a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics. Rutgers also has an endowed chair in Women's Studies that is occupied on a rotating basis by prominent scholars. Students can combine a focus on Women and Politics with a specialization in a variety of traditional fields and/or new areas of concentration.

Students can apply for fall admission to the graduate program through July 1. To be considered for financial aid, applications must be received by March 1.

For more information, write: Rutgers—The State University of New Jersey, Department of Political Science, Hickman Hall, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. □

### **Peace Corps Volunteers Evaluate Central American Experience**

The National Council of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers (RPCVs) and the RPCV Committee on Central America announce the completion of a first-ever survey of RPCVs who served in Central America. The former volunteers discuss violence that they witnessed or suffered, aspects of U.S. policy seen as positive by Central Americans, how and why many Central American governments have not met basic human needs, U.S. media coverage

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of the region and North American misperceptions, and productive and counter-productive U.S. policies.

To order a copy of *Voices of Experience in Central America: Former Peace Corps Volunteers' Insights into a Troubled Region*, send a check for \$10 to RPCV Committee on Central America, P.O. Box 53163, Washington, DC 20009. A summary of the report can be ordered for \$6. □

## Memorial Collection Held at Barker History Center

The Memorial Collection (including four partially edited and unpublished manuscripts) of the late Professor David Rodnick, sociologist and cultural anthropologist, are now on deposit with the Barker History Center of the General Libraries at the University of Texas at Austin. Parties interested in their use please contact: Amie Rodnick, 813 West 11th Street, Suite A, Austin, TX 78701; (512) 477-2226. □

## Summer Short Courses Offered in Social Research

In addition to their regular four- and eight-week graduate level courses on quantitative methods in social and behavioral sciences, this summer the Survey Research Center and the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research will sponsor four intensive, short courses on selected topics in social research.

Two of the courses are in the area of survey research:

- *Utilizing Surveys and Polling Data* (July 8-12), will be offered by Michael Traugott and Stanley Presser and will offer training in the interpretation and use of survey results for those whose work involves the use and interpretation of survey data.
- *Telephone Survey Methods* (September 6-8), will be taught by Charles Cannell, Robert Groves, and William Nicholls and will present recent developments in the conduct of surveys by

telephone, including the use of methods of Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI).

Two other short courses are devoted to multivariate analysis:

- *LISREL Models* (July 8-12), will be taught by Kenneth Bollen and will examine linear structural equations with and without latent variables. The topics treated include: path analysis, factor analysis, structural equations, measurement error, estimation procedures, and model identification, fit and modification.
- *Logit and Log-linear Models* (July 15-19), will be taught by John Fox and will examine logit models (which are closely analogous to linear models) and log-linear models (for contingency tables) as applied to the analysis of quantitative categorical data.

For further information and applications contact Duane Alwin, SRC, (313) 764-6595, or Henry Heitowit, ICPSR, (313) 764-8392, P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. □

## Hyneman Endowment Committee Seeks Funds for Lectures

Indiana University and the Charles S. Hyneman Endowment Committee welcome your participation in the establishment of the Charles S. Hyneman Distinguished Lecture Series. The Hyneman lectureship will be sponsored annually by the Department of Political Science and will be delivered on the Bloomington campus of Indiana University, in the memory of Charles Hyneman, who died in Bloomington on January 20, 1985.

The lecture series will be devoted to the examination of those questions which Charles Hyneman addressed during his career as a political scientist, including the popular control of American government, and the origins, evolution and role of representative government in the United States. In establishing this lectureship we seek to insure that these questions will continue to be considered and debated by generations of students

to come, fostering scholarly inquiry into the enduring issues of democratic government.

Contributions may be made payable to: Indiana University Foundation-Hyneman, and sent to the Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. □

### **Political Research Newsletter Available**

The European Consortium for Political Research was founded in 1970 with the aim of fostering communication and collaboration between political science scholars across Europe. The membership is kept informed of the Consortium's activities by means of the *News Circular* which is published three times a year in March, June, and November. The June issue, larger than the others, contains the titles of all papers presented at the annual Joint Sessions of Workshops, which attracts 300-400 participants.

The *News Circular* is now being offered to academics, who although not members of the Consortium, may be interested in participating in its activities or reading its publications. The cost is seven pounds per year, including postage, and payable in advance in sterling to: Central Services, European Consortium for Political Research, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ, Essex, England.

Recipients of the *News Circular* also receive all other important Consortium mailings, including the academic program for the Joint Sessions of Workshops. □

### **Summer School Offered on Data Analysis**

The Essex University Department of Government and European Consortium for Political Research will be sponsoring the 18th school in social science data analysis and collection. Introductory, intermediate, and advanced level classes will be held in three continuous but independent sessions from July 12 to August 23, 1985. Special emphasis will be on

introductory courses for participants who lack any training in statistics or computing. Full supporting interactive computing facilities, including the use of microcomputers, will be available.

Financial support may be available to participants from their own institutions or National Research Councils. The organizers particularly wish to attract advanced students, researchers and academics. Interested persons should write to: The Organizing Secretary, 18th Essex Summer School, Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester CO4 3SQ, England. □

### **CIS Offers Paperbound Supreme Court Records and Briefs**

Congressional Information Service, Inc. (CIS) now provides paperbound copies of briefs and other pertinent materials for selected U.S. Supreme Court cases through its new Law Reprints service. The service recently was acquired by CIS from Bureau of National Affairs.

Annual subscriptions to Law Reprints are available in six subject areas. The service covers argued and non-argued cases in the fields of securities regulation, trade regulation, and patent/trademark/copyright law, as well as argued cases in tax, labor, and criminal law. For each case subscribers receive the full texts of briefs by all parties and all *amicus curiae*, plus all jurisdictional statements and petitions for writs in the Court's files.

At the end of the Supreme Court term CIS publishes a subject index to the case documents that have been covered for that term. The index is included in the price of an annual subscription.

CIS, located in Bethesda, Maryland, is a commercial indexer and micropublisher of government documents. The company also makes available microfiche editions of U.S. Reports, plus microfiche collections of records and briefs for the U.S. Supreme Court and the U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia Circuit.

For more information, write: Law Reprints, Congressional Information

Service, Inc., P.O. Box 30056,  
Bethesda, MD 20814. □

### **Free Booklet Offered on Humanities Grants**

The National Endowment for the Humanities has published *Overview of Endowment Programs 1985-86*. The booklet contains: a year's worth of application deadline dates; an agency telephone directory; a list of all of the state humanities councils with phone numbers; descriptions of special NEH initiatives and events; a list of other free NEH publications; a paragraph or two about how to apply, eligibility requirements, and how applications are evaluated; and a subscription form for the bimonthly journal, *Humanities*.

For a free copy of *Overview*, write to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Public Affairs Office, Room 409, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20506. □

### **Newsletter Analyzes Federal Budget for Social Sciences**

A recent issue of *COSSA Washington Update* contains federal government proposed budgets for social and behavioral science research for FY 1986. Comparison figures are given for fiscal years 1981 through 1986. To obtain a copy of the issue (Vol. IV, No. 3, February 15, 1985) send \$2 prepaid to COSSA Washington Update, Consortium of Social Science Associations, 1200 17th Street, N.W., Suite 520, Washington, DC 20036. □

### **Modeling International Conflict Is Subject of Seminar**

Based on the premise that recent, significant advances in studying interna-

tional conflict had been forged by scholars from a variety of perspectives sharing the common thread of dynamic analysis, via a memorandum of understanding, funding was provided by the U.S. and Swiss National Science Foundations to bring together a small group of distinguished scholars for a four-day seminar. These scholars included political scientists, economists, sociologists, historians, anthropologists, and mathematicians, as well as physicists and industrial engineers. This seminar was convened in Boulder, Colorado, October 31-November 3, 1984. Through the courtesy of the National Center for Atmospheric Research and its director, Wilmont Hess, the facilities of the Damon Seminar Room and of NCAR in general were made available for the seminar.

The main purpose of the seminar was to focus on the analysis of international conflicts as evolving processes. Until recently, most analyses of international relations have depended upon structural, static perspectives which are not especially consonant with the recurring episodic nature of many aspects of the international order, such as the outbreak of disputes, crises, and escalation processes. "Dynamic" contexts that were juxtaposed at the conference included stochastic modeling, combat modeling, models of political competition, dynamic game theory, rational decision-making within dynamic constraints, mathematical modeling, artificial intelligence, and simulation.

Substantively, the conference addressed some of the major questions in the field of international relations. In particular, deterrence strategies, arms races, bargaining power, war initiation, decisional anticipation and forecasting, and escalation processes each provided major theoretical touchstones for much discussion, as did questions of guerilla war, military tactics, political reliability, and coalition formation.

A volume of conference proceedings is currently being edited by Michael D. Ward and Urs Luterbacher for publication by Lynne Rienner Publishing. The published volume, entitled "Dynamic Models of Understanding International Conflict," will be available directly from the pub-



lisher early in summer 1985 (Lynne Rienner Publishing, 948 North Street #8, Boulder, CO 80302). Prepaid orders mentioning *PS* will receive a 20 percent discount from the list price (\$35 + \$1.50 shipping). □

### **Politics and Market Economies Addressed by Symposium**

The department of political science at the University of Minnesota, working under the auspices of the Benjamin Evans Lippincott Professorship in Political Economy, sponsored a symposium on the question of "Politics and Governance in Market Economies."

The symposium, which was organized by Raymond Duvall, ran serially from April 18 to May 23, 1984.

Participants in the symposium were:

Charles Kindleberger, "Politics and Governance in Market Economies: An Historical Overview" (Stephen Krasner, discussant).

Robert Keohane, "Reciprocity as a Principle of Governance among Market Economy Countries" (Raymond Vernon, discussant).

James Kurth, "Politics of the World Market: Industrial Sectors Versus State Structures" (Douglas North, discussant).

Peter Katzenstein, "Coping with Change: Industrial Adjustment Strategies in the United States, Japan, and West Germany" (George Eades, discussant).

Theda Skocpol, "Between Federal Democracy and Business Hegemony: Explaining Public Social Provision in the United States" (John Myles, discussant).

David Cameron, "Politics, Public Policy, and Economic Inequality in Advanced Capitalist Societies" (Sheldon Danziger, discussant).

The papers, including comments by the discussants, are being gathered for publication, under the editorship of Professor Duvall; papers may be obtained on request from their authors. □

### **International Conference Held on Political Systems and the Women's Movement**

The Sex Roles and Politics Research Committee of the International Political Science Association held a conference on "Political Systems and the Women's Movement: A Comparative Analysis of Barriers and Openings" in Sofia, Bulgaria on October 15-20, 1984. This conference was organized by Nora Ananieva of the Bulgarian Political Science Association and hosted by the Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women. Fourteen papers were presented and the paper presenters came from ten different countries. They included papers from Zimbabwe, Poland, Turkey, India, Brazil, United States, Sweden, Denmark, England, Finland, and Federal Republic of Germany. Copies of the Transnational Publishers book, *Women's Use of the Political World of Men*, edited by Judith Stiehm were distributed to all participants at the meeting. Drude Dahlerup of Denmark and Fanny Tabak of Brazil who served as co-chair for the Research Committee this year, announced that a similar volume on the Sofia papers is planned. □

### **Iowa Conference Holds Annual Meeting**

The Iowa Conference of Political Scientists met November 17, 1984, at the University of Iowa for its annual meeting. As 1984 president of the conference, James Rhodes (Luther College) presided at the meeting and G. Robert Boynton (University of Iowa) as secretary-treasurer arranged the conference.

The program included panels on the 1984 election, politics and policy in executive-legislative relations, and agriculture policies.

The conference elected G. Robert Boynton (Iowa) as president and Donald Racheter (Central College) as secretary-treasurer. The 1985 meeting will be held at Central College in the fall. □



Inauguration of the Brookings Institution's Center for Public Policy Education, formerly the Advanced Study Program. Left to right: Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, A. Lee Fritschler, Director of the Center for Public Policy Education, and Hans Weill, former Brookings Science Fellow.

### **Center for Public Policy Education Established**

The Brookings Institution announces the establishment of the Center for Public Policy Education. This initiative reaffirms the educational mission of the Institution by extending the activities of its Advanced Study Program. The new Center will broaden the reach of the Institution's conference and seminar series, disseminate more widely the results of Brookings research, and serve as a national resource for public policy education and development.

The Center for Public Policy Education offers a comprehensive program that will:

- develop innovative programs responsive to the changing needs of today's leaders;
- bring together executives from all sectors to discuss the major questions and policy alternatives facing decision makers now and in the future;
- extend the work of Brookings scholars to larger audiences through conferences and new communications technologies;
- offer public forums on major policy issues;
- increase the international scope of Brookings educational activities;
- strengthen the successful conference and seminar series offered in the past by the Advanced Study Program.

For more information, write The Brookings Institution, Center for Public Policy Education, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. □

## **Ford Foundation Evaluates Social Welfare**

The Ford Foundation has announced a major initiative to reexamine social welfare policy in the United States. The Foundation will fund a three-year project that will undertake research, policy analysis, and public discussion on possible courses of action to cope with the rising costs of Social Security, medical care, and other social welfare programs.

"Our aim," said Franklin A. Thomas, Ford Foundation president, "is to stimulate a wide-ranging inquiry into alternative approaches to providing essential social insurance and welfare services, taking into account changes in the economy, in the family and work, and in the nation's age profile."

An executive panel headed by Irving S. Shapiro, former chief executive of E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company and a member of the Foundation's Board of Trustees, will oversee the project, conduct its own explorations and discussions, and at the conclusion make recommendations on new social policies to protect future generations of Americans. Working with the executive panel will be two advisory committees made up of scholars and social policy experts who will recommend subjects for research and alternative policies for consideration. Columbia University professor of government Charles V. Hamilton will head the staff directing the project.

A research advisory committee, which will be headed by Hugh Heclo of Harvard University, will recommend areas of study to the Foundation for funding. Among the subjects that will be investigated are: the effects of social welfare programs on work, savings, labor mobility, and family stability; long-term welfare dependency and the intergenerational transmission of poverty; public-private approaches to social welfare; and

the effects of international developments on domestic social policy.

A policy advisory committee, headed by Robert Reischauer of the Urban Institute, will advise the Foundation on how to engage policymakers and practitioners in a continuing discussion of alternative approaches. People who have had direct experience administering social insurance, health, and welfare programs will participate in meetings to consider research results and explore policy options.

The Foundation's project also will look to a broad cross section of the public to participate in discussions of social welfare issues and to add new ideas to the range of alternatives under consideration.

In preparation for its final report, the executive panel will conduct its own explorations and deliberate on the results of the research, policy, and public engagement components. The panel will then issue a policy statement on our national commitment to provide essential social insurance and welfare services. The aim of this statement will be to help focus the nation's attention on the need for medium- to long-range solutions to problems posed by current policies and to offer a series of steps to achieve them. □

## **Articles Sought on Ethnic Group Participation**

Articles are needed on the dynamics of participation of black Americans in their attempts to influence American foreign policy toward South Africa, and on the activities of Greek lobbies. The articles will be included in an anthology on the participation of ethnic groups in the American foreign policy process.

For further details, contact M. E. Ahrari, Department of Political Science, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27834. Phone: (919) 757-6030/6189. □

### **Consortium Asks for Help from Grass Roots**

The Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA) represents more than 175,000 American scientists across the full range of the social and behavioral science disciplines, functioning as a bridge between the academic research community and the Washington community. COSSA was initially established as an informal coalition of the major disciplinary associations in the social sciences, including political science. Today it has grown into a recognized representative of the social sciences with 27 specialized research groups as affiliate members and 40 research universities as contributors.

Since 1981 when COSSA established a Washington office in response to the severe cuts in social science research at the National Science Foundation (NSF), it has lobbied both the Congress and the Executive Branch in support of social science research. They have been successful, thanks to the willingness of social scientists to help, in restoring much of the funding cuts at NSF. COSSA continues to focus on NSF, but has also in the past few years monitored and lobbied on developments in other agencies where extramural social science research is supported.

As students of lobbying know, it is important to have a Washington presence for a cause, but the best persuasion of members of Congress is done by constituents from the individual districts and states. To help COSSA develop a stronger grass roots operation we are asking readers of *PS* who wish to help in COSSA's efforts to fill out the form provided and return it to COSSA, 1200 17th Street, N.W., Suite 520, Washington, DC 20036.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_

Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone Number(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Congressional or Executive Branch people you are willing to lobby on behalf of social science:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Research and Training Support

### Foreign Student Travel Grants for APSA Annual Meeting

Each year the American Political Science Association awards travel grants to advanced, foreign graduate students enrolled in American universities to enable these students to attend the APSA's Annual Meeting. These grants are funded by the Asia Foundation and by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) via the Institute of International Education.

Monies from the Asia Foundation are awarded to students from Asian countries while graduate students from other nations are being funded through the USIA's Short Term Enrichment Program (STEP).

The APSA selects recipients on the basis of guidelines provided to APSA by the Institute of International Education, which are:

- Recipients of awards must be studying in the U.S. at the time the award is offered to them.
- Recipients must be foreign students. Students from Puerto Rico are not eligible.
- Recipients must be full-time graduate students at U.S. institutions of higher learning. Foreign graduate students in refugee, immigrant, or tourist visa status are not eligible.
- Recipients are *not* eligible for STEP awards if they are receiving any U.S. government funds, for either academic or travel expenses.
- Recipients may *not* have received a STEP grant previously.

APSA is also instructed that the maximum amount that can be awarded to any individual is \$250.

Applicants must complete a form available from the APSA's national office and must have their departmental chairpersons write a letter of support of their applications. The deadline for receipt of applications for a travel grant to the August 29-September 1, 1985, annual meeting held in New Orleans, LA, is July 1. Application forms and further information are available by writing: Foreign Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grants, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. □

### Distinguished Scholars Program of Joint Center For Political Studies

The Joint Center for Political Studies has established a Distinguished Scholars Program, under a three-year grant from the MacArthur Foundation. Scholars and public policy analysts selected for participation will spend up to one year in residence at the Joint Center's Washington, DC offices, conducting research on issues of particular importance to blacks. The first distinguished scholar will be awarded a stipend of up to \$60,000 for the 1985-86 program year.

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, nonpartisan institution. It conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective citizen involvement in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the center has an interdisciplinary professional staff and strong links to a nationwide network of elected officials, academics, business and labor leaders, civil rights activists, and other experts.

John Hope Franklin, James B. Duke Professor of History at Duke University,

## Research and Training Support

chairs the Advisory Committee to the Distinguished Scholars Program. Michael Winston, Vice President for Academic Affairs at Howard University, is chairman of the Selection Committee.

To be eligible, applicants must have a record of substantial publication and distinguished work in their field. Special consideration will be given to the congruence between applicants' research interests and those of the Joint Center.

For further information, please contact: Milton Morris, Distinguished Scholars Program, The Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 400, Washington, DC 20004. □

## 1986-87 Fulbright Scholar Awards

The Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) has announced the opening of competition for the 1986-87 Fulbright Scholar Awards in research and university lecturing abroad.

The awards for the 1986-87 academic year include 300 grants in research and 700 grants in university lecturing for periods ranging from three months to a full academic year. There are openings in over 100 countries and, in a few cases, the opportunity for multi-country research is available. Fulbright Awards are granted in virtually all disciplines, and scholars in all academic ranks are eligible to apply. Applications are also encouraged from retired faculty and independent scholars.

Benefits include round-trip travel for the grantee and, for full academic year awards, one dependent; maintenance allowance to cover living costs of grantee and family; tuition allowance, in many countries, for school-age children; and book and baggage allowances.

The basic eligibility requirements for a Fulbright Award are U.S. citizenship; Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications; university or college teaching experience; and, for selected assignments, proficiency in a foreign language.

Application deadlines for the 1986-87

awards are: June 15, 1985 (for Australasia, India, Latin America and the Caribbean); September 15, 1985 (for Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East); November 1, 1985 (for Junior Lectureships to France, Germany, Italy, and Spain); December 1, 1985 (for Administrators' Awards in Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom); December 31, 1985 (for NATO Research Fellowships); and February 1, 1986 (for Seminar in German Civilization Awards, Spain Research Fellowships, and France and Germany Travel-Only Awards).

For more information and applications, call or write Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, DC 20036-1257. Telephone: (202) 939-5401. □

## 1985-86 Fulbright Award Update

Applications for lectureships in political science in the countries listed below will be accepted until adequate panels of candidates are available. In most instances, applications in any specialization within the discipline may be submitted. Where noted, however, candidates qualified to lecture in a specialized subfield are sought. Grant duration ranges from three months to a full academic year.

- Chile—industrial relations, labor relations only
- China
- Egypt—American policy in the Middle East only
- Peru—public administration only
- Thailand—American diplomacy, international relations, foreign policy in Asia and the Pacific only
- Venezuela—research methodology, Venezuelan political attitudes only.

For lectureships, eligibility usually requires postdoctoral college or university teaching experience at the level and in the field of the lectureship, and, in some cases, proficiency in an appropriate foreign language.

For additional information or application forms, write or call: Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 11 Du-

pont Circle, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036-1257. Phone: (202) 833-4950. □

### **1985-86 MacArthur Foundation Fellowships**

MacArthur Foundation Fellowships in International Security are intended to encourage new approaches to the study of peace and security, to encourage the application of theories and methods from diverse disciplines to issues of international peace and security, and to support advanced training and research in international peace and security studies for scholars and doctoral students in the physical and biological sciences or the social/behavioral sciences, including foreign area studies. Scholars of any nationality or from any country are eligible.

An award of \$30,000 per year for post-doctoral fellows and \$15,000 per year for dissertation fellows is provided to cover living expenses, travel, and research costs.

The deadline is July 31, 1985, for awards announced on October 1, 1985.

For further information and application materials, write: Social Science Research Council, Program in International Peace and Security Studies, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. Phone: (212) 661-0280. □

### **Robert Bosch Foundation Fellowships**

The Robert Bosch Foundation sponsors extended career training opportunities in Germany for 10-15 American university graduates and young professionals each year. The Fellowship provides international business and professional experience through internships and training programs within German industry, business, and government. The positions are on a high executive level, directly related to the participant's professional interest or background in the fields of business administration, economics, public affairs,

political science, law, journalism, and mass communications.

Completed applications should be received no later than September 16, 1985. For more information or application materials, contact: Ursula Hoegsberg, The Carl Duisberg Society, Inc., Robert Bosch Foundation Fellowship Program, 425 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10022. Phone: (212) 751-5544. □

### **1986-87 Advanced Research Fellowships in India**

The Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture is offering 12 long-term (6-10 months) and 9 short-term (2-3 months) awards for 1986-87 research in India. These grants will be available in all academic disciplines, except clinical medicine. Applicants must be U.S. citizens at the postdoctoral or equivalent professional level. The fellowship program seeks to open new channels of communication between academic and professional groups in the United States and India and to encourage a wider range of research activity between the two countries than now exists. Therefore, scholars and professionals with limited or no prior experience in India are especially encouraged to apply.

Fellowship terms include \$1,500 per month, of which \$350 per month is payable in dollars and the balance in rupees; an allowance for books and study/travel in India; and international travel for the grantee. In addition, long-term fellows receive international travel for dependents; a dependent allowance of \$100-\$250 per month in rupees; and a supplementary research allowance up to 34,000 rupees. This program is sponsored by the Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture and is funded by the United States Information Agency, the National Science Foundation, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Government of India.

The application deadline is June 15, 1985. Application forms and further information are available from the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Attention: Indo-American Fellowship Pro-

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gram, 11 Dupont Circle, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036-1257. Telephone: (202) 939-5472. □

## Grants for Graduate Study Abroad

The United States Information Agency (USIA) and the Institute of International Education (IIE) today announced that the official opening of the 1986-87 competition for grants for graduate study or research abroad in academic fields and for professional training in the creative and performing arts is scheduled for May 1, 1985. It is expected that approximately 700 awards to over 70 countries will be available for the 1986-87 academic year.

The purpose of these grants is to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and other countries through the exchange of persons, knowledge, and skills. They are provided under the terms of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (Fulbright-Hays Act) and by foreign governments, universities, corporations, and private donors.

Applicants must be U.S. citizens at the time of application, who will generally hold a bachelor's degree or its equivalent before the beginning date of the grant and, in most cases, will be proficient in the language of the host country. Except for certain specific awards, candidates may not hold the Ph.D. at the time of application. Candidates for 1986-87 are ineligible for a grant to a country if they have been doing graduate work or conducting research in that country for six months or more during the academic year 1985-86.

Creative and performing artists are not required to have a bachelor's degree, but they must have four years of professional study or equivalent experience. Candidates in medicine must have an M.D. or equivalent degree (e.g., D.D.S., O.D.) at the time of application.

Selection is based on the academic, professional, and/or artistic excellence of the applicant, the validity and feasibility of the proposed study plan, the appli-

cant's language preparation and personal qualifications. Preference is given to candidates who have not had prior opportunity for extended study or residence abroad.

Application forms and further information may be obtained from IIE's New York headquarters or one of its regional offices.

The deadline date for receipt of completed applications is October 31, 1985. Requests for application materials postmarked after October 15, 1985, will not be honored. □

## National Humanities Center Fellowships, 1986-87

*Purpose and Eligibility.* The National Humanities Center supports advanced study in history, philosophy, literature, and other fields of the humanities. Senior scholars and young scholars (several years beyond the doctorate) may apply for fellowships to pursue research and writing in residence at the Center. Scholars from any nation may apply. In addition to scholars from fields normally associated with the humanities, representatives of the natural and social sciences, the arts, the professions, and public life are also welcome to apply.

*Facilities and Services.* The Center is in the Research Triangle Park, near Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh, North Carolina. Its building contains Fellows' studies, conference rooms, a reference library, a dining area, and lounges. The library staff provides bibliographical services and oversees the daily delivery of books and research materials to Fellows. A typing pool prepares the Fellows' manuscripts and other project-related work. The Center's staff helps Fellows find suitable housing in the Triangle area.

*Seminars, Lectures, Conferences, Public Programs.* While pursuing their individual projects, Fellows may take part in various other activities at the Center. They are invited to organize interdisciplinary seminars on areas of mutual interest. Though most seminars emerge from the shared concerns of Fellows in residence, the Center has received support for 3-5



scholars to participate in a seminar during the academic year 1986-87 on historical, philosophical, or cultural contexts of the American Constitution. Lectures by Fellows and visitors also provide opportunities for collegial discourse, and the Center occasionally organizes conferences on topics in the humanities. The Center's radio program, "Soundings," provides a weekly broadcast of conversations among scholars to 250 public and commercial stations.

**Number and Duration of Fellowships.** The Center admits 35-40 Fellows annually. Most fellowships are for the academic year (September through May), though a few are available for the fall or spring semester.

**Stipends.** Fellowship stipends are based on scholars' usual academic salaries. Fellows who have partial funding in the form of sabbatical salaries or grants from other sources receive from the Center the difference between that funding and their usual salaries. All Fellows are given travel expenses to and from the Center for themselves and their families.

**Deadline and Application Procedures.** All applications must be postmarked by October 15. An application consists of a form (available from the Center), supported by a curriculum vitae, a 1000-word project proposal, and three letters of recommendation. For application material write: Kent Mullikin, Assistant Director, National Humanities Center, 7 Alexander Drive, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709. □

## **Liberal Arts Fellowships in Law**

For the academic year 1986-87, Harvard Law School offers four or five Liberal Arts Fellowships to college and university teachers in the arts and sciences for a year at the Harvard Law School. Holders of these fellowships will have the title of Fellow in Law and . . . History, Philosophy, etc., depending upon their particular discipline.

The purpose of the fellowships is to enable teachers in the social sciences or humanities to study fundamental tech-

niques, concepts, and aims of law, so that in their teaching and research they will be better able to use legal materials and legal insights that are relevant to their own disciplines.

Fellowship holders will presumably take at least two first-year courses in law, in addition to more advanced courses, and will participate in a joint seminar. The year of study will not count toward a degree.

The fellowship grant covers tuition and health fee only, as well as provision of office space. The Chair of the Liberal Arts Fellowships Committee will be glad to write a letter to any funding agency to which the applicant has applied describing the program and indicating the extent of the Committee's interest in inviting the applicant to be a Fellow.

Applications should include a biographical resume (including academic record and list of publications), a statement explaining what the applicant hopes to achieve through the year of study, and two letters of recommendation (mailed to the Chair directly from the referees). There is no special application form. Applications should be sent to: The Chair, Committee on Liberal Arts Fellowships, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Applications for 1986-87 should be completed by January 15, 1986, at the latest. Awards will be announced by February 15, 1986. Applications completed by December 15, 1985, will be reviewed for possible early acceptance. □

## **Gerald R. Ford Foundation**

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation offers approximately six stipends per year up to \$2,000 to assist beginning and established scholars and others who wish to conduct research in the papers of former President Ford or in other resources at the Gerald R. Ford Library. Tentative deadlines are March 15 for spring awards and September 15 for autumn awards.

Contact: Gerald R. Ford Foundation, c/o Director, Gerald R. Ford Library, 1000 Beal Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. Phone: (313) 668-2218. □

## Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, located in Washington, DC, seeks from individuals throughout the world outstanding project proposals representing diverse scholarly interests in the humanities and social sciences, and is hospitable to research which falls outside one of its existing geographical or thematic categories. Scholarship undertaken at the Center transcends narrow specialties, and includes a strong humanistic component. The Center also encourages projects with theoretical, philosophical, or theological dimensions.

The Center's residential fellowships are awarded in one general program—History, Culture, and Society—and six more focused programs: American Society and Politics, the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, the Latin American Program, the International Security Studies Program, the Asia Program, and the European Program.

For academic participants, eligibility is limited to the postdoctoral level, and normally successful applicants have published one book beyond the Ph.D. dissertation; for participants from other backgrounds, equivalent maturity and professional achievement are expected. Fellows devote their full time to research and writing. The length of a fellowship can vary from four months to a year. Within certain limits, the Center seeks to enable each fellow to meet his or her earned income during the preceding year. Deadline for receipt of applications is October 1, with decisions by mid-February. Appointments cannot begin before the following September. For information and application materials contact: The Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution Building, Room 331, Washington, DC 20560. Telephone: (202) 357-2841. □

## Dirksen Congressional Center Research Grants

Dirksen research grants were established to aid scholars in the fields of history, political science, and social science in their research about the U.S. Congress and congressional leadership. Priority will be given to studies of the process of leadership broadly defined: what factors affect its exercise, what institutional conditions shape it, and the prospects for change or continuity in the patterns of congressional leadership. Proposals to study other features of Congress are also welcome.

There are six to ten stipends annually with awards ranging from a few hundred dollars to about \$3,500. Application deadline is June 1, 1985.

Contact: Frank H. Mackaman, Executive Director, The Dirksen Congressional Center, Broadway and Fourth Street, Pekin, IL 61554. Phone: (309) 347-7113. □

## 1986 Youth Projects

The National Endowment for the Humanities invites proposals for Youth Projects to begin January 1986 or later. Youth Projects provide an opportunity for institutions or organizations to design out-of-school humanities programs for youth of high-school age or younger. In honor of the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution the Endowment especially encourages projects that examine the principles and foundation of U.S. constitutional government and its influence.

Any nonprofit organization may apply. Final proposal is due by June 15, 1985. A preliminary narrative is strongly recommended. To request guidelines and application forms for Youth Projects, write: Youth Projects Guidelines, Room 420, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20506. □

## National Endowment for the Humanities Nearest Grant Application Deadlines

Please note: Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

	Deadline:	For projects beginning after:
<b>Division of Fellowships and Seminars</b>		
Summer Stipends for 1986— <i>Joseph Neville, 786-0466</i>	Oct. 1, 1985	Summer 1986
Travel to Collections— <i>Gary Messinger, 786-0466</i>	Sept. 15, 1985	Dec. 15, 1985
<b>Division of General Programs</b>		
Humanities Programs for Adults— <i>Malcolm Richardson, 786-0271</i>	Aug. 5, 1985	April 1, 1986
Humanities Programs for Youth— <i>Leon Bramson, 786-0271</i>		
Youth Projects	June 15, 1985	Jan. 1, 1986
Younger Scholars Program	Nov. 1, 1985	June 1, 1986
<b>Division of Research Programs</b>		
NEH-NSF EVIST Projects— <i>David Wright, 786-0207</i>	Aug. 1, 1985	April 1, 1986
Centers for Advanced Studies— <i>David Coder, 786-2007</i>	Nov. 1, 1985	January 1987
<b>Reference Works</b>		
Tools— <i>Crale Hopkins, 786-0210</i>	Oct. 1, 1985	July 1, 1986
Editions— <i>Helen Aguera, 786-0210</i>	Oct. 1, 1985	July 1, 1986
Translations— <i>Susan Mango, 786-0210</i>	July 1, 1985	April 1, 1986
Access— <i>Dick Cameron, Patricia Shadle, 786-0210</i>	June 1, 1985	April 1, 1986

## Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers

### Calendar of Key Meetings of International, National and Regional Political Science Associations

Association	Date	Meeting Place
APSA	August 29- September 1, 1985	New Orleans Hilton New Orleans, LA
IPSA	July 15-20, 1985	Paris, France
Midwest	April 10-12, 1986	Chicago, IL
Northeastern	November 14-16, 1985	Sheraton University Hotel Philadelphia, PA
Southern	November 7-9, 1985	Opryland Hotel, Nashville, TN
Southwestern	March 19-22, 1986	Menger Hotel Convention Center, San Antonio, TX
	March 18-21, 1987	Dallas Hilton, Dallas, TX
Western	March 20-22, 1986	Hilton Hotel, Eugene, OR

### Health Services Research

"Health Services Research and Public Policy" will be the theme of the second national meeting of the Association for Health Services Research, to be held in Chicago, June 9-11, 1985. Issues to be addressed include: Health Care for the Poor: Lessons from Medicaid, Research on Physician Payment, and Changing Hospital/Medical Staff Relationships. For more information contact, AHSR, 1090 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Suite 630, Washington, DC 20005. Phone: (202) 371-6666. □

### Microcomputers and Public Policy Analysis

The following convention panels and special journal issues are seeking papers:

1. The panel of the Law and Society

Association on "Microcomputers and Law-Society Research" to be held June 9, 1985, in San Diego.

2. The panel of the American Political Science Association on "Microcomputers and Public Policy" to be held August 29-September 1, 1985, in New Orleans.
3. The panel of the Evaluation Research Network or the Evaluation Research Society on "Microcomputers and Evaluation Research" to be held on October 17-19, 1985, in Toronto.
4. The panel of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management on "Microcomputers and Public Policy Analysis" to be held October 24-26, 1985, in Washington.
5. The special issue of the *Evaluation Review* on "Microcomputers and Evaluation Research" to be published by June 1986, for which manuscripts are due by February 1986.

The kinds of papers that are especially relevant to these panels are those that deal with:

1. Programs that process a set of (1) goals to be achieved, (2) alternatives for achieving them, and (3) relations between goals and alternatives in order to choose the best alternative or combination for maximizing benefits minus costs of the relevant decision-makers.
2. Other variations on multi-attribute utility theory or multi-criteria decision making.
3. Models associated with operations research, decision science, or management science.
4. Interactive statistical analysis that cannot be so easily done with a mainframe computer.
5. Telecommunications networking especially for accessing relevant people, data sets, or citations.
6. Computer-aided instruction relevant to policy evaluation research.
7. Other microcomputer uses of potential interest to people in policy evaluation, political science, public administration, policy analysis, or related perspectives either as academics or practitioners.

There is a shortage of good quality papers dealing with microcomputers and policy evaluation, especially given the demand for such papers as reflected in the availability of the above-mentioned presentation and publication outlets. If you are interested in participating on one or more of the above panels or publication outlets, contact Stuart Nagel, Policy Studies Organization, 361 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801. □

## **American Sociological Association**

The American Sociological Association is sponsoring a series of professional development workshops to train and support social scientists in their roles as teachers, researchers, and publishers.

June 20-23, St. Paul, MN, "Using the Computer in Teaching Social Science." Participants will have hands-on experience with mainframe computers and microcomputers; develop a teaching unit using the computer for their own classes; see a range of computer applications for social science classes; learn about computer resources for the social science teacher.

June 23-24, Minneapolis, MN, "Designing Courseware for Social Science Classes." This workshop is a companion to the basic workshop listed above. It is designed for participants who have had some experience with microcomputers and, if possible, have a general understanding of BASIC or FORTRAN. The two days will be spent on hands-on lab time, designing courseware for social science courses. Participants should have a specific project in mind and will use Apple 2e equipment.

July 23-26, Philadelphia, PA, "Using the Computer in Teaching Social Science." See workshop in St. Paul, MN, June 20-23 for description.

For more detailed information about the workshops, staff, fees and application forms, contact: Carla B. Howery, Director, Teaching Services Program, ASA Executive Office, 1722 N Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 833-3410. □

## **Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom**

A symposium will be held September 19-21, 1985, on the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. The statute, which was passed by the Virginia legislature on January 16, 1786, established the principle of separation of church and state and formed the basis of the First Amendment's guarantees of religious freedom. The symposium, held 200 years later, will explore the impact of the Statute on America's subsequent social, legal, and intellectual history.

For further information, contact the sponsor: The Virginia Foundation for the

## Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers

Humanities and Public Policy, 1939 Ivy Road, Charlottesville, VA 22903. □

### Federal Social Policy in 20th Century U.S.

An interdisciplinary conference on "Studying Federal Social Policy in Twentieth Century United States," will be held on the University of Notre Dame campus, October 11-12, 1985. Convened by the Center for the Study of Man in Contemporary Society at Notre Dame, this conference will bring together scholars interested in the study of the history of public policy and its relevance for understanding contemporary public policy. The conference has been organized around three basic themes, "The Politics of Policy Innovation," "The Institutionalization of Federal Social Programs," and "Toward a Working Synthesis for Studying Federal Social Programs."

Interested scholars are encouraged to attend. Although the program for the conference has already been set, the sponsors of the conference welcome additional papers to be included in the forthcoming anthology. For further information, write to Donald T. Critchlow or David C. Lege, Center for the Study of Contemporary Society, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556. □

### West Virginia Political Science Association

The 1985 meeting of the West Virginia Political Science Association will be held at the Holiday Inn-Campus Area in Huntington, West Virginia, with Marshall University as the host institution. The sessions will commence at noon on Friday, October 11, 1985, and will conclude on Saturday, October 12, 1985. The theme of the conference is "Political Actors at the Crossroads: West Virginia and the World." For further information, contact Michael J. Strada, Director of Academic Support, West Liberty State College, West Liberty, WV 26074. □

### Humanities and Technology Conference

The Department of English and History of Southern Technical Institute, a four-year college of engineering technology, is sponsoring, in conjunction with the Humanities and Technology Association, the ninth annual conference on the interface of the humanities and technology, in Marietta, Georgia (metro Atlanta), October 17-18, 1985.

Papers and presentations which examine the interaction between humanistic concerns and technological growth will be presented.

For further information, contact Virginia Hein or Bob Wess, Department of English and History, Southern Technical Institute, Marietta, GA 30060. Phone: (404) 424-7202. □

### Constitutionalism in America

The first of three annual conferences on Constitutionalism in America will be held at the University of Dallas, October 18 and 19, 1985. The title of the conference is "To Secure the Blessings of Liberty: First Principles of the Constitution."

Panel topics and participants are as follows:

1. "Popular Government: Liberty," Wilson Carey McWilliams, Sanderson Schaub, Marvyn Meyers, Jeffrey Tulis.
2. "Popular Government: Equality," Linda Kerber, Henry J. Abraham, Sanford A. Lakoff, Edward J. Erler, Wayne Ambler.
3. "Majority Rule and Freedom: The First Amendment," Hadley P. Askeo, Thomas I. Emerson, Susan M. Leeson, Peter Schramm, Sarah Thurow.
4. "Citizenship and Human Rights," Ellis Sandoz, Benjamin R. Barber, William B. Allen, Mary Dowling, Rogers M. Smith.
5. "Economics and the Constitution," Jennifer Nedelski, L. P. Arnn, Drew R. McCoy, John Adams Wettergreen.
6. "The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution," Lance Banning,

Glen Thurow, Ross M. Lence, John Alvis.

Each panel will consist of one paper on the founders' views and one paper on the contemporary view of the topic with comment and discussion. Conference proceedings will be published in book form.

Major funding is from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

For reservations and further information contact Sarah Thurow, Coordinator, Constitutionalism in America, University of Dallas, Irving, TX 75061; (214) 721-5279. □

### **Armed Forces and Society**

Plans are being made for the Biennial Conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, to be held October 18-20, 1985, at the Palmer House in Chicago. The theme is, "The Military and the State in 1985: Cross-National Perspectives."

Sixteen panels are planned, with four themes to be considered in each of four categories of countries. The countries are grouped as follows: United States; Communist Countries; Other Industrialized Countries; and Other Non-Industrialized Countries.

The topics to be explored across the country groupings are: Professionalism and Civil-Military Relations; Military Force Posture; Personnel Recruitment and Retention; and Soldiers and Weapons.

Persons wishing to participate in the Conference as panel chairs, paper preparers, or presenter/discussants are encouraged to contact one of the conference co-chairs as soon as possible: Arthur Cyr, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60603. Telephone: (312) 726-3860; or John Allen (Jay) Williams, Department of Political Science, Loyola University of Chicago, 6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626, tel. (312) 508-3053. □

### **Senator Jacob Javits Collection Inaugural Conference**

A conference to commemorate the opening of the Senator Jacob Javits Collection of the Senator's private papers will be held October 24-26, 1985, at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. The theme of the conference is "Congress and United States Foreign Policy: The Javits Years, 1946-1980." Papers will be offered by historians, political scientists and other scholars on topics including congressional-executive relations in the conduct of foreign policy, Congress' role in constraining the use of force and in arms limitation, and the War Powers Resolution.

For further information and a preliminary program, please contact Ann P. Forkin, Director of Conferences and Special Events, 328 Administration, SUNY-Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY 11794-0604. □

### **Justice, Safety and Loss Prevention**

The Second Annual Justice, Safety and Loss Prevention Conference will be held at Eastern Kentucky University's College of Law Enforcement, Richmond, KY, on October 25, 1985. Papers are invited on current issues in traffic safety, corrections, fire science, private security, and police administration.

The conference will provide a multidisciplinary examination of topical subjects related to the privatization of corrections, measures to improve police operations and highway safety, and asset and property protection through fire/safety and loss prevention practices. A post-conference monograph is planned.

Proposed program descriptions and paper abstracts should be submitted by August 16, 1985. Send submission and inquiries to: Eastern Kentucky University, College of Law Enforcement, 1985 Conference, 105 Stratton Building, Richmond, KY 40475. Phone: (606) 622-3565. □

## **Western Conference on British Studies**

Proposals for individual papers and complete sessions in all areas of British studies are invited for the 1985 Western Conference on British Studies, to be held October 25-26, 1985, at the University of Texas at San Antonio, Texas. Proposals should be submitted by July 1, 1985, and completed papers by September 1, 1985, to Harold L. Smith, Program Chairman, Department of History, University of Houston-Victoria, Victoria, TX 77901. □

## **Corrections in Transition**

The second annual corrections symposium on "Corrections in Transition," will be held October 29-31, 1985, in Lexington, Kentucky. The symposium will focus on the concerns of institutional caseworkers and counselors, probation officers, and other community correctional workers.

Individuals wishing to present papers at the symposium should submit manuscripts prior to August 1, 1985. Manuscripts will also be considered for publication in a post-symposium monograph.

Manuscripts and requests for symposium information should be sent to: Correctional Symposium, 105 Stratton/EKU, Richmond, KY 40475-0957. Or phone Charles Reedy or Bruce Wolford at (606) 622-1158 or Tommy Norris at (606) 255-6812. □

## **Soviet and East European Studies**

The III World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies will convene in Washington, D.C. at the Sheraton Washington Hotel from October 30 through November 4, 1985. Cosponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and the International Committee for Soviet and East European Studies, the Congress will serve as a forum for the presentation of recent research findings and for discus-

sion of scholarly topics concerned with Soviet and East European studies.

For further information, contact American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 128 Encina Commons, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. □

## **Government-Owned Enterprises and Development**

The National University of Benin and the University of Orleans are organizing, under the aegis of UNESCO, an International and Interdisciplinary Meeting at Cotonou, Republic of Benin, December 9-13, 1985, on the topic of "Government-Owned Enterprises and Development." The conference is interdisciplinary and will analyze the different aspects of the theme: legal, economic, managerial, financial, fiscal, and social problems. Only the daily cost for the persons presenting a paper will be paid.

The first draft or the detailed summary of the paper (in French or in English, maximum 20 pages), should be sent by June 15, 1985, to: Institute Orleanais de Finance, Faculte de Droit, 45046 Orleans Cedex, France. □

## **Association for Social Economics**

The annual meeting of the Association for Social Economics will be held December 23-30, 1985, in New York City. The theme for the sessions will be "Economics in Interdisciplinary Perspective." Papers on the relation of economics to political science, psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and theology will be presented. For further information, contact Daniel Rush Finn, Department of Economics and Business Administration, St. John's University, Collegeville, MN 56321. □

## **Marxist Scholars Conference**

The Marxist Educational Press is planning a Pacific Northwest Marxist Scholars



Conference for April 11-13, 1986, at the University of Washington in Seattle, Washington. The title of the conference is "Contemporary Problems of Science, the Arts, the Humanities and the Pacific Northwest Society." Proposals are welcome until October 5, 1985, with completed papers due December 15, 1985. Proposals may be for individual presentations (15-20 minutes), topics for panel discussions, or offers to lead workshops (with outline of format).

Send one copy of proposal (not to exceed two pages) to each of the following: William L. Rowe, Anthropology Department, 215 Ford Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455; and Albert Szymanski, Sociology Department, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403. □

### **Constitutionalism in America— Second Annual Conference**

Papers are invited for the second of three annual conferences on Constitutionalism in America, which will be held at the University of Dallas in October 1986. The title of the conference will be "E Pluribus

Unum: Constitutional Principles and the Institutions of Government." The panel topics have been chosen to include the two great structural principles of American government—separation of powers and federalism—an examination of each of the three branches, and a discussion of the constitutional means for changing the Constitution.

Panels will consist of one paper examining the founders' views of the subject and one paper examining the contemporary view or views. Panel topics are: "Separation of Powers and Limited Government," "Congress: Representation and Deliberation," "The President: Executive Energy and Republican Safety," "The Judiciary: Supreme Interpreter of the Constitution?" "Federalism and Freedom: The Role of Local Institutions," and "Constitutional Amendments and Constitutional Principles."

Major funding is from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

For further information or to submit a description of a proposed paper contact Sarah Thurow, Coordinator, Constitutionalism in America, University of Dallas, Irving, TX 75061; (214) 721-5279. □

### **LOCATION OF FUTURE ANNUAL MEETINGS**

Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association are scheduled to take place on the following dates and in the following cities:

August 29-September 1, 1985 in New Orleans, Louisiana

August 28-31, 1986 in Washington, D.C.

September 3-6, 1987 in Chicago, Illinois

September 1-4, 1988 in Washington, D.C.

August 31-September 3, 1989 in Atlanta, Georgia

### Calendar of Events for Conferences Listed in This Issue of *PS*

Date	Event
<b>1985</b>	
<b>June</b>	
9-11	Association for Health Services Research
9 through Oct.	Several Panels on Microcomputers and Public Policy Analysis
20-23	Using the Computer in Teaching Social Science
23-24	Designing Courseware for Social Science Classes
<b>July</b>	
23-26	Using the Computer in Teaching Social Science
<b>September</b>	
19-21	Symposium on Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom
<b>October</b>	
11-12	Studying Federal Social Policy in Twentieth Century United States
11-12	West Virginia Political Science Association
17-18	Ninth Annual Conference on the Interface of the Humanities and Technology
18-19	Constitutionalism in America—First Annual Conference
18-20	Biennial Conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society
24-26	Senator Jacob Javits Collection Inaugural Conference
25	Second Annual Justice, Safety and Loss Prevention Conference
25-26	1985 Western Conference on British Studies
29-31	Second Annual Corrections Symposium on "Corrections in Transition"
30-Nov. 4	III World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies
<b>December</b>	
9-13	International and Interdisciplinary Conference on Government-Owned Enterprises and Development
23-30	Annual Meeting of Association for Social Economics
<b>1986</b>	
<b>April</b>	
11-13	Pacific Northwest Marxist Scholars Conference
<b>October</b>	
	Constitutionalism in America—Second Annual Conference

### Correction

The location of the November 1985 meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association was incorrectly listed in the winter *PS*. The correct location is the Sheraton University Hotel, Philadelphia, PA.

## Spring Features

### Working with SPSS/PC

**Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff**  
Auburn University at Montgomery

SPSS/PC is a microcomputer version of the mainframe program SPSS<sup>x</sup>. The fact that SPSS/PC emulates its mainframe counterpart may be viewed as its major strength or weakness depending upon one's perspective. Based on our experience with the program, those with previous SPSS mainframe experience (in any of its formats) will view the program positively. Those without such experience, especially those who have come to computers through micros and menu driven microcomputer programs, are likely to regard the program less favorably.

In the discussion that follows, we will outline the major components of the SPSS/PC program and documentation. We will describe the minimum computer configuration necessary for its operation and the procedures for placing SPSS/PC on such a system. We will also discuss the operation of the system and evaluate its strengths and weaknesses.

#### The Necessary Equipment

The SPSS/PC package is designed to run on the IBM PC/XT and its compatibles that have a 10 megabyte hard disk and at least 320K RAM (Random Access Memory). At minimum this means the machine has one floppy disk and a hard disk. We tested it on a Zenith 150 with those characteristics. According to the documentation, SPSS/PC is capable of utilizing an 8087 coprocessor which

should substantially increase its speed.<sup>1</sup> We did not have such a coprocessor in place. SPSS/PC occupies over 3.1 megabytes of hard disk space.

#### The SPSS/PC Package

SPSS/PC is priced according to the number of copies purchased by a given organization within a three-year period. The scale is as follows:

<i>Number of Copies</i>	<i>Price per Copy</i>
1	\$795
2-5	\$635
6-9	\$555
10 +	\$475

This scale applies to an entire university campus but not to separate campuses. A replacement for a damaged copy protected key floppy disk costs \$50. Documentation is provided in a 1 ¼-inch thick 8½ × 11 inch notebook, and this documentation is supported by HELP messages in the program that may be invoked by the user. In addition, SPSS, Inc. supplies a telephone number for technical assistance.<sup>2</sup>

#### Description and Evaluation

SPSS/PC provides impressive raw power in terms of the statistical techniques it

<sup>1</sup>The 8087 coprocessor is a chip costing approximately \$175 that can be plugged into a computer circuit board and which substantially increases the speed of mathematical calculations with appropriate software such as SPSS/PC.

<sup>2</sup>SPSS, Inc., 444 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60611; (312) 329-2400.

## Quick Notes

contains, its data handling capacity, and speed. Furthermore, except for one point to be noted later, its documentation is full, clearly written, and well organized.

Like its mainframe relatives, SPSS/PC is command driven rather than menu driven. It operates by the user keying in a set of words that form SPSS's syntax. This syntax is composed of key words and specifications supplied by the user (otherwise default options are automatically invoked). Special delimiters (e.g., parentheses, apostrophes, quotation marks) may be required in some circumstances.

Three basic types of commands make up the syntax. Operation commands provide information on the way the SPSS/PC system operates, or they affect the way it works. For example, the HELP command gives on-screen descriptions of the various commands available for use in the program. The SET command allows the user to pick such options as sending the SPSS/PC output to the screen and/or printer and to specify the number of characters per line and the number of lines per screen or printed page.

Data definition and manipulation commands tell the computer how and where to read data, compute new variables, change existing variables, label output, etc. They also include instructions for bringing data into the system from other sources.

Procedure commands tell SPSS/PC what to do with the data. They include: statistical analysis procedures; production of plots, reports, and listings; and ways to save data to various files.

Experienced SPSS users will have little difficulty with the syntax or learning the commands since they are identical to or very similar to commands they have worked with in the past. New users, especially those who have come to rely on menu driven microcomputer programs, may find the going difficult and frustrating.

## Tutorial

One of the nine diskettes supplied is a tutorial that may be run on any IBM-PC compatible even without a hard disk. The

first 11 exercises on the tutorial disk include the following topics: Introduction to the Tutorial; Overview of SPSS/PC; Data Analysis Concepts; the DOS Environment; Entering Commands and Correcting Mistakes; Getting Online Assistance; Executing SPSS/PC Commands; the SET Command; Submitting Commands from an External File; and Producing Files. The directions contained in the exercises may be printed by taking advantage of the Print Screen key.

The tutorial also contains five practice exercises that utilize two sample data files to give the user practice in using the program itself. These files may be accessed only through SPSS/PC installed on the hard disk.

Working through the practice exercises is essential for the new user, but SPSS novices will probably find the exercises too simplistic an introduction to the program. The transition from tutorial to actual program operation may be extremely abrupt. Experienced users will find the tutorial useful as a refresher for SPSS terminology and to highlight some of the unique aspects of the microcomputer version.

## Key Disk

One of the disks is labeled the Key Diskette. Whenever the program is run, this disk must be located in the Program Drive (Drive A). The key or lock aspect of this disk is copy protected. All the nonlock functions of the disk can be copied as can the Tutorial and program disks. Attempts to break the copy protection to make a backup copy of the key proved unsuccessful. Since only one key disk is provided and replacements are \$50, prospective purchasers on limited budgets should think carefully about allowing general access to this package.

## Program Disks

The program disks must be transferred to the hard disk. This installation process is extremely easy to perform. One simply places the Key Diskette in Drive A and keys in A:MAKESPSS. Screen prompts appear periodically to tell the user to insert a new disk in Drive A or to provide

error messages (e.g., to tell the user that the wrong disk has been inserted). After the program is installed, the manual gives step by step instructions for processing a test run.

The instructions in the manual warn that the SPSS system should not be accessed directly. They advise the user to operate the program through another program directory in order to safeguard the files. One is instructed to use the MS-DOS PATH command instructions in the MS-DOS manual, not the easiest manual for a novice microcomputer user to follow. This is one area where more explicit discussion of the topic should have been placed in the SPSS/PC documentation itself. The short tutorial treatment of this subject essentially duplicates the manual.

Following the PATH instructions, we chose to enter our SPSS/PC files through the VolksWriter word processing program directory which was already on our hard disk. Having VolksWriter on the same hard disk also proved useful later in the entering and editing of data. As we will discuss later, SPSS/PC is designed for data entry through sources other than the keyboard.

### **The SPSS/PC Manual**

The manual is divided into six sections plus an index. An introductory section orients the user to SPSS/PC, the disk tutorial, and the manual. The Statistics Guide details procedures for preparing and transforming data and for using each statistical procedure. This section contains many clearly explained examples.

The Command Reference section gives an alphabetical listing of the command words and subcommands that operate the program. Each one is described briefly, default options are given and the basic syntax required is outlined. Limitations on the command's use are clearly stated and example material highlighted. A shorter version of this material is presented on a convenient reference card.

The final sections of the manual include examples and a glossary. In addition, instructions are given for data file transfers between SPSS<sup>x</sup> and SAS and be-

tween SPSS<sup>x</sup> and the SPSS/PC program. Appendixes follow with one explaining how files may be transferred from various text editor, spreadsheet, and database systems to SPSS/PC.

### **SPSS/PC Features**

Table 1 lists the statistical procedures available on SPSS/PC. Each of the procedures is supported by a list of statistical options and/or output format options.

Even though we tested SPSS/PC on a minimum configuration without an 8087 coprocessor, we were greatly impressed with its speed and data handling capacity. For example, it required only 1 minute 30 seconds to perform a seven-factor factor analysis on a data set consisting of 67 variables and 500 cases. The program's data handling capacity depends on both the size of the data set and the procedures being utilized. The maximum number of variables it will handle is 200. The number of cases is limited only by the amount of storage space available on the hard disk.

The program has the full range of data transformations and case manipulations one would need (see Table 2). In addition, the labeling capabilities are the same as those found on the mainframe versions. Both variables and values may be fully labeled; however, the maximum number of characters for variable and value labels together is approximately 5,000. These features allow the top quality, easy to read tables for which SPSS has become famous.

Error messages are highly detailed, allowing the user to pinpoint the origin of a problem. Unfortunately, if an error message appears near the bottom of the screen and there is insufficient room on the screen for it, the screen clears and the message appears at the top of a new screen. This has the effect of eliminating a flawed command from view making it unnecessarily difficult to interpret the error message. SPSS, Inc. should correct this problem by allowing the screen to scroll just enough to make room for the error message at the bottom of the screen.

SPSS/PC is designed to read files pro-

**TABLE 1**  
**SPSS/PC Statistical Procedures**

FREQUENCIES	raw frequency, percentage frequency, valid percentage, cumulative percentage; bar charts; descriptive statistics
DESCRIPTIVES	compact table of descriptive statistics
CROSSTABS	counts joint occurrence of responses—raw frequency and row, column and table percentages; measures of association
HISTOGRAM	low resolution graphic
MEANS	calculates means, sums, standard deviations and variances
PLOT	low resolution scatterplots—bivariate or with control variable; scatterplot plus regression statistics; contour plots; overlay plots
CORRELATION	Pearson product-moment correlations
T-TEST	for independent and paired samples
ONE-WAY	one-way analysis of variance and appropriate statistics
ANOVA	N-way analysis of variance and appropriate statistics
REGRESSION	multiple regression with forward selection, backward elimination, and stepwise options
HILOGLINEAR	hierarchical log-linear technique for modeling the number of cases in a cell of a multidimensional crosstabulation
NPAR TESTS	nonparametric tests including Mann-Whitney (Wilcoxon), Wilcoxon Signed Ranks, Wald-Wolfowitz Runs, Kolmogorov-Smirnov, and others
FACTOR	factor analysis with various factor rotation options
CLUSTER	cluster analysis with appropriate statistics

duced elsewhere. The manual cautions the user against entering data directly from the keyboard since the program does not have a built-in editing capability. While at first glance it may seem strange that a program this sophisticated and costly would omit such a fundamental feature, it is actually quite convenient. It allows the user to enter data at any computer. Data may thus be transferred from a mini or mainframe or prepared on floppy using a microcomputer without hard disk and even less than 320K RAM.

Through the use of the Kermit file located on the SPSS/PC program and available with SPSS\*, the mini or mainframe transfer is made possible. There is also a transfer facility sold for SAS.

Since the program will read and create ASCII files, data may be entered and edited through various word processing, spreadsheet, and data base management programs. We tested this process by entering data originally developed with

Knowledgeman, Lotus 1-2-3, and Number Cruncher. To do this we had the VolksWriter word processing program located on our hard disk retrieve our data files as if they were text copy. Then we used the editing capabilities of VolksWriter to remove all labels and symbols found on the data file. The clean data file was then saved and brought into the SPSS/PC program using the GET command. If the original files had been prepared without column or row labels, they could have been read directly by SPSS/PC. Some data-base management programs will allow the data to be saved in ASCII form without their accompanying labels. Original data could also be entered directly into a word processing program file. The manual clearly outlines the characteristics an ASCII file must have to be read by SPSS/PC.

SPSS/PC's low resolution graphics are serviceable, but some users may not regard them as being of presentation quality. For example, histograms consist

**TABLE 2**  
**Available Data Transformations and Case Manipulations**

<b>Data Transforms</b>	
RECODE	changes a variable's values
COMPUTE	creates new variables by numeric transformations of the existing variables
COUNT	creates a variable that records for each case the number of times a value or list of values occurs
IF	establishes a new variable through conditional transforms based on logical operators
<b>Case Manipulations</b>	
SELECT IF	selects a subset of cases to be used throughout an SPSS/PC analysis run
PROCESS IF	selects a subset of cases for analysis for only the following set of instructions
SAMPLE	draws a random sample of cases to be used throughout an SPSS/PC analysis run
N	selects for analysis the first "N" number of cases in a data file
WEIGHTING	defines a weighting variable and accomplishes the weighting of cases
SORT CASES	reorders data by values of a specific variable or variables—ascending or descending order sorts

of asterisks or Xs and graph axes are made up of hyphens and ls. The high resolution graphics shown on some pages of the manual are beyond the capabilities of the version of SPSS/PC we tested.

### Conclusions

The decision to purchase SPSS/PC or any software package should be based not on just the performance of that one software package but on overall needs and resources available. This means that hardware as well as software and maintenance considerations are important. Other packages that are not quite as powerful as SPSS/PC but also less expensive, easier to use, not copy protected, and do not require a hard disk may be more appropriate to your needs and your department's situation.

### Quick Notes

"Transfer" is a utility program that allows ASCII files (including entire BASIC

programs and word processing files) to be transferred in either direction between a TRS-80 I, III, or 4 and a MS-DOS computer such as an IBM-PC. It also permits a TRS-80 computer to format a MS-DOS 1.0 compatible disk. Newer versions of MS-DOS can read a 1.0 disk. According to its documentation, "Transfer" is designed to work with all TRS-80 Model III disk operating systems currently on the market. We tested it using a TRS-80 III with TRSDOS 1.3 and a Zenith 150 with MS-DOS 2.0.

It is an easy to use, menu-driven program, and it comes with clear documentation. Every transfer we tried worked the first time as did the MS-DOS formatting procedure.

Although this is an extremely useful program, the prospective buyer should be aware of its limitations. First, files must be in ASCII format before the transfer can occur. Second, because word processing packages use a variety of control codes, the transfer itself may include a variety of control characters not used by the program one is using on the second

## Quick Notes

computer. One must remove such characters and reformat the text. Third, a TRS-80 BASIC program that contains commands such as PRINT@ that are not used by IBM-PC BASIC or GW-BASIC will be copied in its entirety. The user must perform the translation into the different version of BASIC. This is still easier than rekeying the entire program.

"Transfer," MichTron, Inc., 6655 Highland Road, Pontiac, MI 48054; (313) 666-4800, \$59.95.

\* \* \*

"Sidekick" operates on most IBM-PC compatible computers and is an extraordinarily handy package. It resides in memory and is designed to operate simultaneously with virtually all other programs. "Sidekick" includes a limited word processor called a notepad, a calculator, perpetual calendar with daily appointment indicator, automatic telephone dialer, and ASCII table. Each of these programs has a remarkable array of features. For example, the notepad handles block moves and other block commands, tabs, search, search and replace, and entry of control characters (for underlining among many other purposes).

Once "Sidekick" and the main program with which one is working are loaded, "Sidekick" can be activated by hitting both shift keys. Many commands are identical to those used in "Wordstar," and some can also be performed using the function keys. When activated, the "Sidekick" menu appears as a window on part of the screen over the main program. One then selects from the menu to use the notepad, calculator, or other features. They can also be used simultaneously. If a "Sidekick" window is obscuring something that the user wants to see, the "Sidekick" window can be moved and/or shrunk.

Perhaps the most powerful notepad feature is its ability to mark a block of alphanumeric text, numbers, punctuation marks, and standard nongraphic characters such as parentheses in a program such as "KnowledgeMan" or "Lotus

1-2-3" and save it as an ordinary ASCII file that can then be read by other programs. Thus "Sidekick" becomes an inexpensive linking tool between any two programs if the one to which material is being transferred can read an ASCII file.

We use this superb program in several ways. First, in writing instructional materials centering on a particular program (e.g., a statistics package) we run the program and simultaneously use the notepad to write a description of its operation. Using the block transfer feature described above, we duplicate especially interesting screens and include them in our description.

Programming is also enhanced with "Sidekick." Notes can be kept, and lost variables in someone else's program can be found using import and then the search command. The ready availability of the calculator is also helpful especially since it contains hexadecimal capability and will handle up to eight nested calculations.

"Sidekick" is easy to operate, and its documentation is excellent. We have tested it while using database management programs, a statistics package, spreadsheets, and BASIC, and it interfered with none of them. However, its notepad has several limitations. First, it does not wrap around. In other words, the user must hit "RETURN" at the end of each line. Second, it has no automatic reformat command; when text has been edited so that lines vary widely in length, reformatting must be performed manually. Third, there is no convenient command for adjusting a printer's type font. Nevertheless, for a "notepad" working with another program it contains a remarkable array of features, and if one's notes need more sophisticated editing than "Sidekick" can conveniently provide, they can be transferred to a sophisticated word processing package.

A copy-protected version retails at \$49.95 while a non-copy-protected version sells for approximately \$79.95, although some retailers are selling them for less. Since "Sidekick" is handiest when installed on disks containing the



programs with which it will work, the more expensive version may be a better choice.

"Sidekick" is manufactured by Borland International, 4113 Scotts Valley Drive, Scotts Valley, CA 95066. □

## National Political Science Associations

Each spring *PS* updates and publishes the names, officers, publications, and meeting dates of national political science associations around the world. Further additions and/or corrections for this list will be welcome as well as news items on activities and programs of national associations.

\*Information on these associations is from previous editions of *PS*.

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
<b>*AFRICA</b> African Political Science Association P.O. Box 35042, University of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	President: Mohamed Bouzidi, Faculte de Droit Vice Presidents: C. W. Nabudare, East Africa; N. M. Shamyarira, Southern Africa; Halmey Sharawi, North Africa; Wang Metuge, Central Africa; Emanuel Hansen, West Africa General Secretary and Treasurer: Ibbo Mandaza, University of Zimbabwe, Southern Africa	AAPS Bulletin, S. S. Mushi, University of Tanzania, Editor	Bi-annual Conference
<b>ARGENTINA</b> Argentine Society for Political Analysis Pueyreddon 510, 7 mo. piso, 1032- Buenos Aires	President: Oscar Oszlak Vice Presidents: Mario R. Dos, Santos Vocales, Oscar Landi, Juan Carlos Herrera, Eduardo Rabussi, Liliana de Riz, Juan Carlos Portantiero, Nestor Labarnie	Sociedad Argentina de Analisis Politico	
<b>AUSTRALIA</b> Australasian Political Studies Association (APSA), c/o Department of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600	President: David Goldsworthy Vice President: Marian Sawyer Treasurer: Don Aitkin Secretary: Gillian O'Loughlin	Politics, Patrick Weller, Editor	
<b>AUSTRIA</b> Austrian Political Science Association Stumpergasse 56 A-1060 Vienna	President: Anton Pelinka, University of Innsbruck Vice Presidents: Volkmar Lauber, University of Salzburg and Birgitt Haller General Secretary: Rainer Baubock, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna Treasurer: Sieglinde Rosenberger, University of Innsbruck	Osterreichische Zeitschrift fur Politikwissenschaft, Herbert Dachs, Margit Scherb, Karl Ucakar, Editors	

## National Political Science Associations

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
<p><b>*BELGIUM</b>  Institut de Science  Politique, c/o Fonds  National de la  Recherche Scientifique,  Rue d'Egmont 5  B-1050, Brussels,  Belgium</p>	<p>President: Ch. Goossens,  Universite de Liege  Vice President: A. Frogner,  Universite de Louvain  Directeur: A. Philippart,  Universite Libre de  Bruxelles  Secretary: J. Leclercq,  Universite de Mons  Treasurer: M. P.  Herremans, C.R.I.S.P.  Executive Committee: J.  Beaufays, S. Bernard, J.  Buchmann, E. Cerexhe, P.  Claeys, F. Delperee, J.  Gotovitch, G. Gorlely, X.  Mabille, M. Molitor, F.  Perin, M. Piraux, N.  Vosswinkel</p>		
<p><b>*Politologisch Instituut</b>  (Flemish Political  Science Association)  E. Van Evenstraat, 2B,  B-3000, Leuven,  Belgium</p>	<p>President: Hugo Van  Hassel, University of  Leuven  Vice Presidents: Maurice  Boeynaems, Royal Military  Academy; Wilfried  Dewachter, University of  Leuven; Jan Ceuleers,  University of Brussels  Secretary: Maurice  Boeynaems  Treasurer: Jan Ceuleers</p>	<p>Res Publica: Belgian  Journal of Political Science  (articles in Dutch,  French, and English),  Wilfried Dewachter,  Editor, Egmontstraat, 11,  B-1050 Brussels,  Belgium</p>	
<p><b>*BRAZIL</b>  Sociedade Brasileira de  Instrucao, Praca XV de  Novembro, 101 Rio de  Janeiro, Brazil  21-231-2946</p>	<p>Administrator: Martha  Pimenta De Moraes</p>	<p>Revista de Ciencia  Politica, Armando de  Oliveira Marinho, Editor</p>	
<p><b>*BULGARIA</b>  Bulgarian Political  Science Association,  1040 Sofia, Sofia  University "Kliment  Ochridsky" Boulevard  Rousky 15, Research  Laboratory on the  Political Life in  Bulgaria</p>	<p>President: Dimitar Dimitrov,  Higher School of  Economics  Secretary: Ivan Nedev,  Sofia University,  "Kliment Ochridsky"</p>		
<p><b>CANADA</b>  Canadian Political  Science Association  12 Henderson Avenue,  University of Ottawa,  Ottawa, Ontario  K1N 6N5</p>	<p>President: Kal Holsti,  University of British  Columbia  President-Elect: Frederick  Engelmann, University  of Alberta  Secretary-Treasurer:  Sharon L. Sutherland,  Carleton University</p>	<p>Canadian Journal of  Political Science, Robert  Boardman, Dalhousie  University; and Francois-  Pierre Gingras, University  of Ottawa, Co-Editors  Bulletin, Allan Tupper,  University of Alberta,  Editor</p>	<p>May 31, June 1-2,  1985  University of Montreal  Montreal, Quebec</p>
<p>Societe quebecoise de  science politique,  Departement de  science politique,  Universite du Quebec  a Montreal, C.P. 888,</p>	<p>President: Edward Cloutier,  University of Montreal  Vice President: Paul Noble  Treasurer: Diane Ethier,  University of Ottawa</p>	<p>Revue canadienne de  science politique, Robert  Boardman, University of  Saskatchewan; and  Francois-Pierre Gingras,  University of Ottawa,</p>	<p>May 22-24, 1985  University of Quebec  at Chicoutimi</p>

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
Succ. A, Montreal, Quebec H3C 3P8		Co-Editors Politique, Philippe Faucher, University of Montreal, Directeur	
CHINA Chinese Association of Political Science 102, Kuang Fu S. Road, 10th Fl., Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China	President: Lei Fei-lung, National Chengchi University Secretary-General: Tsao Jiun-han, National Taiwan University	Annals of the Chinese Association of Political Science Occasional papers, Tsai Cheng-wen, National Taiwan University, Editor	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA Czechoslovak Political Science Association Narodni 18, 116 91 Praha 1 Phone: 20 38 38	President: Milan Matous, Institute of Marxism- Leninism, Valdestejnska 14, Praha 1 Vice Presidents: Josef Blahoz, Institute of Law, Narodni 18, Praha 1; Milan Clc, Institute of Law, Klemensova 19, Bratislava Secretary-General: Josef Skala, Institute of Law, Narodni 18, Praha 1	Bulletin of Czechoslovak Association of Political Science, Josef Blahoz, Editor	April 1-5, 1985 Institute of Govern- ment and Law Prague
DENMARK Danish Political Science Association (Dansk Selskab for Statskundskab), Institute of Political Science, Aarhus Uni- versity, Universitets- parken, DK-8000 Aarhus C Phone: 06/130111	President: Hans Jorgen Nielsen, University of Copenhagen Vice President: Erik Damgaard, University of Aarhus Secretary: Poul Erik Mouritzen, Odense University Treasurer: Tove Lise Schou, University of Copenhagen Executive Committee: Niels Amstrup, Aarhus Univer- sity; Staffan Zetterholm, University of Aalborg	Newsletter (3-4 times a year)	Annual Meeting May
*FINLAND Finnish Political Science Association Aleksanterinkatu 7 00100 Helsinki 10, Finland	President: Raimo Vayry- nen, University of Helsinki Vice President: Hannu Nurmi, University of Turku Secretary: Kirsti Aaltonen, University of Helsinki	Political Science in Finland Series; Poliitikka, Hannu Nurmi, Editor; Poliitika tutkimus & yhteiskunta, Kirsti Aaltonen, Editor	
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Politikwissenschaft e.V., c/o Ulrich Matz, Gottfried-Keller-Str. 6, 5000 Koln 41	Chairman: Ulrich Matz, Cologne University Vice Presidents: Werner Link, University of Trier; Karl Dietrich Bracher, University of Bonn; Gesine Schwan, Univer- sity of Berlin; Rudolf Wildenmann, University of Mannheim	Zeitschrift fur Politik (Sonderheft-Reihe)	Annual November
Deutsche Vereinigung fur Politische Wissenschaft Allende-Platz 1	President: Hans-Hermann Hartwich Vice-Presidents: Carl Bohret; Klaus Landfried	Politische Vierteljahres- schrift; Politische Vierteljahres- schrift-Literatur	Annual October

## National Political Science Associations

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
2000 Hamburg 13	General-Secretary: Gottrik Wewer		
FRANCE Association Francaise de Science Politique 27 Rue Saint- Guillaume, 75007 Paris Phone: 260.39.60	President: Georges Vedel President d'Honneur: Francois Goguel Secrétaire-general: Jean Luc Parodi Assistante: Fabienne Reboul	Revue française de science politique, Georges Lavau, Directeur	
*GERMAN DEMO- CRATIC REPUBLIC National Association for Political Science of the GDR 1086 Berlin (GDR). Otto-Nuschke-Strasse, 10/11, German Democratic Republic	President: Wolfgang Weichert, Institute for Theory of State and Law, Academy of Sci- ences of the GDR, Berlin Vice President: Karl-Heinz Roder, Institute for Theory of State and Law, Academy of Sciences of the GDR, Berlin	Staat und Recht, Academy for State and Law, Potsdam-Babelsberg	Annual
*GREECE Hellenic Political Science Association Omirou 19, Athens 10672, Greece	President: A.-I.D. Metaxas, University of Athens Secretary-General: Paschalis M. Kitromilides, University of Athens	Occasional collective volumes on the Greek political system and other political issues	Periodic professional conferences on specific political theme
*HUNGARY Hungarian Political Science Association 1068. Budapest, Benczur u. 33	President: Peter Janos	Tarsadalmi tudományi Közlemények, Halay Tibor, Editor Allam és Jogtudomány, Kovács István, Editor, Budapest 1, Országház 30 Politikai Fiskola Közleményei, Tomori Lajos, Editor, Budapest XIV, Ajtosi Dürer 19	
INDIA Indian Political Science Association c/o L. S. Rathore, General Secretary and Treasurer, Department of Political Science, New Campus, Univer- sity of Jodhpur, Jodhpur-342001	President: C. A. Perumal, Madras University Vice-Presidents: R. K. Nayak, Bhubaneshwar; Surendra Chopra, Amritsar Secretary-Treasurer: L. S. Rathore, University of Jodhpur	Indian Journal of Political Science, Delhi, R. B. Jain, Editor Quarterly News Bulletin, L. S. Rathore, Editor	Annual Conference December, 1985 Madras University
ISRAEL Israel Political Science Association c/o Department of Political Science, University of Haifa, Haifa 31999	President: Gabriel Ben-Dor, University of Haifa Secretary: Yair Zalmarovitel, University of Haifa	News Bulletin	Annual Conference
ITALY Società Italiana di Scienza Politica Villa Fabbricotti, Via Vittorio Emanuele II, n. 64, 50131 Firenze	President: Alberto Spreafico, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Università di Firenze Secretary: Roberto D'Allmonte, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Università di Firenze	Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, Leonardo Morlino, Editor	Annual Conference
JAPAN	President: Tomakazu	The Annual of JPSA,	Annual Conference

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
The Japanese Political Science Association Faculty of Law, Kobe University, Rokkodai, Nada-ku, Kobe 657	Nishikawa, Kobe University Secretary: Kazuo Indo, Kobe University Treasurer: Makoto Iokibe, Kobe University	Editorial Board of JPSA JPSA Newsletter, Head Office of JPSA	Oct. 5-6, 1985 Tokyo University
*KOREA Korean Political Science Association, Room 203, Namdo Building, 119 Suh So Mun-Dong, Choong-Ku, Seoul, Korea	President: Bae-Ho Hahn, Korea University Vice Presidents: Byoung-Chun Min, Tongguk University; Chi-Young Park, Hanyang University Secretary-Treasurer: Sang-il Han, Kukmin University	The Korean Political Science Review, Sang-Woo Rhee, Segang University, Editor	
*LEBANON P.O. Box 3865, Beirut	President: Bechir Aridi		
MEXICO Asociacion Mexicana de Ceincia Politica, Av. Anillo Periferico Oriente No. 2500 Col. Rinconada Coapa 14330, Mexico, D.F., Mexico	Presidente: Enrique Gonzalez Pedrero Vice Presidentes: Raul Bejar Navarro, Jorge Carpizo, Andres Caso Lombardo, Hugo Castro Aranda, Raul Cardiel Reyes, Julio Labastida, Jose Luis Reyna, Leopoldo Solis, Abelardo Villegas, Francisco Casanova Alvarez, Julieta Guevara Bautista Secretario General: Roberto Salcedo Aquino Tesorero: Jose Salgado Comision Consultiva: Lucio Mendleta y Nunez, Modesto Seara Vazquez Secretaria Tecnica: Martha Hernandez		
*MOROCCO Faculte de Droit, B.P. 721 Rabat	President: Mohamed Bouzidi, 24 rue Onum Errabia, Rabat (Agdal)		
NETHERLANDS Dutch Political Science Association TH Twente/BSK, Postbox 217, 7500 AE Enschede, Holland Phone: 053-894635	President: A. Hoogerwerf, Twente University of Technology Secretary-Treasurer: J. A. M. Maarse	Acta Politica, K. Koch, Editor. Business Correspondence: Boom Publishing Cy., P.O. Box 58, Meppel. Editorial Correspondence: Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen, Erasmus Universiteit, P.O. Box 1738, 3000 D.R. Rotterdam	
*NEW ZEALAND New Zealand Political Science Association c/o School of Political Science and Public Administration, Victoria University of Wellington, Private Bag, Wellington, New Zealand	President: Raj Vasli, Victoria University Executive Secretary: John Morrow, Victoria University Treasurer: S. Krishnamurthy, Victoria University	POLS Newsletter, Nigel Roberts, Victoria University, Editor	

## National Political Science Associations

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
<p>*NIGERIA</p> <p>Nigerian Political Science Association c/o Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Benin, Nenin City, Nigeria</p>	<p>President: Sam E. Oyovbaire, University of Benin</p> <p>Vice President: Y. Bangura, Ahmadu Bello University</p> <p>Secretary: Elone J. Nwabuzor, University of Benin</p> <p>Assistant Secretary: I. B. Bello-Imam, University of Ibadan</p> <p>Treasurer: G. E. Idise, University of Benin</p> <p>Executive Members: B. J. Takaya, University of Jos; A. Nweke, University of Nigeria</p>	<p>NPSA Newsletter, Elone J. Nwabuzor, University Benin, Editor</p> <p>Studies in Politics and Society; Journal of the NPSA, Sam E. Oyovbaire, University of Benin, Editor</p>	
<p>NORWAY</p> <p>Norwegian Political Science Association Institute of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen, Christiesgt. 15, N-5000 Bergen</p>	<p>President: Stein Kuhnle, University of Bergen</p> <p>Treasurer: Berit Bratbak, University of Bergen</p>	<p>Statsviteren, Paul Roness, University of Bergen, Editor</p> <p>Scandinavian Political Studies, published by the Nordic Political Science Association: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden</p>	<p>Annual Conference</p>
<p>*PAKISTAN</p>	<p>President: Mrs. Afsar Saleem Khan, c/o General Manager, Flight Operations, Air Malta, Malta</p> <p>Secretary: Muneer Ud-din Chughtal, Chairman, Political Science Department, University of Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan</p>		
<p>PHILIPPINES</p> <p>Philippine Political Science Association, c/o Philippine Social Science Center, U.P., P.O. Box 205, Diliman, Quezon City 3004, Philippines</p>	<p>President: Loretta Makasiar Sicat, University of the Philippines</p> <p>Vice President: Wilfrido Villacorta, De La Salle University</p> <p>Secretary: Shirley C. Advincula, Ateneo University</p> <p>Treasurer: Carolina Hernandez, University of the Philippines</p>	<p>Philippine Political Science Journal, Temrio Rivera, University of the Philippines, Editor</p>	
<p>POLAND</p> <p>Polish Political Science Association 00-330 Warszawa, Nowy Swiat 72, Palac Staszica</p>	<p>President: Czeslaw Mojsiewicz, Uniwersytet im Adama Mickiewicza, Poznan</p> <p>1st Vice President: Longin Pastusiak, Polish Institute of International Affairs</p> <p>Secretary-General: J. Pawel Georgica</p>	<p>Polish Political Science Yearbook, Longin Pastusiak, Editor</p> <p>Studia Nauk Politycznych, Arthur Bodnar, Editor</p>	<p>Nov. 29-30, 1985 Torun</p>
<p>*ROUMANIA</p> <p>Soseana Kiseleff, No. 49 Bucurest 1, cod. 7000</p>	<p>President: George Macoveacu, Universite de Bucurest, 1, cod. 7000</p>	<p>Vittorul Social: Association romaine des sciences politiques et Academia des sciences sociales et politiques, 11 rue Onesti, Bucurest 1, cod. 7000</p>	

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
		Politikon, Michael Sinclair, Editor	
SOUTH AFRICA Political Science Association of South Africa, P.O. Box 1041, Florida 1710	President: David Welsh Vice President: Gerhard Totemeyer Secretary-Treasurer: Ian de Uries	Politikon, Koos van Wyk and Henne Katze, Editors	
* SPAIN Plaza de la Marina Espanola 9 Madrid 13. c/o Centro de Estudios Constitu- cionales 2415000	President: Manuel Ramirez Jimenez, Universidad de Zaragoza, Facultad de Derecho, Zaragoza Secretary-General: Julian Santamaria Ossorio, Universidad Complutense, Madrid Executive Secretary: Doria Schilling		
SWEDEN Swedish Political Science Association c/o Department of Political Science, University of Stock- holm, 106 91, Stockholm	President: Kjell Goldmann Secretary-General: Lavery	Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, Lennart Lundquist, Department of Political Science, University of Lund, Box 5131 S-22005, Lund, Editor Politologen (for members), c/o Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm, S-106 91, Stockholm	Oct. 1985 Stockholm
SWITZERLAND Forschungsstelle fur Politische Wissen- schaft, Weinbergstrasse 59 CH08006, Zurich	President: Ulrich Klotl, Universitat Zurich Secretary: Kurt Nussli, Universitat Zurich Treasurer: Werner Bussmann, Bundesamt fur Justiz, Bern	Schweizerisches Jahrbuch fur Politische Wissen- schaft, Gerhard Schmid, Basel, Editor Annee Politique Suisse, Paul Haupt Verlag, CH-3001, Bern	Spring 1986
* TURKEY Siyasal Bilgiler Fakultesi Cebeci- Ankara	President: Bahri Savci Vice-President: Nermin Abadan-Unat Secretary-General: Ersin Onulduran, Faculty of Political Science, Univer- sity of Ankara, Cebeci- Ankara	Turk Parlamentoculugunun: Demokrasiyi Kurami, trsn. Demokrasiyi denetum Mekanizmalari Uluslarasi Uluslarasi politika—for all publications please contact the President	
* UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS Soviet Political Science Association, Moscow, Frunze, Str. 10 Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences	President: Georgii Shakh- nazarov, Institute of State and Law First Vice President: Vladimir Chirkin, Institute of State and Law Vice Presidents: Fiodor Burlatskii, Vladimir Tumanov, Institute of State and Law; Michael Marchenko, Moscow State University Secretary: Alexander Torshin, USSR Academy of Sciences Treasurer: Marina Usacheva	Annual of the Soviet Political Science Association, Djangir Kerimov, Institute of State and Law, USSR, Editor	February of each year

## National Political Science Associations

Associations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
UNITED KINGDOM Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom Department of Government, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, England	Chairman: Maurice Gold- smith, Exeter University Honorable Secretary: Colin Rallings, Plymouth Polytechnic Honorable Treasurer: John Barlow, Preston Poly- technic Members: Robert Bene- wick, University of Sussex; Roger King, Huddersfield Polytechnic; Jack Lively, University of Warwick, Elizabeth Meehan, University of Bath; Mick Moran, University of Man- chester; Philip Norton, University of Hull; Raymond Plant, University of Southampton; Freida Stack, University of Southampton; Ursula Vogel, University of Manchester	Political Studies, Jack Lively, University of Warwick Politics, Ursula Vogel, University of Manchester Newsletter, Roger King, Huddersfield Polytechnic	
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA American Political Science Association 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036	President: Richard F. Fenno, Jr., University of Rochester President-Elect: Aaron Wildavsky, University of California, Berkeley Vice-Presidents: Robert Gilpin, Princeton Uni- versity; Samuel P. Huntington, Harvard University; Donna E. Shalala, Hunter College, CUNY Secretary: Robert Axelrod, University of Michigan Treasurer: Susan Welch, University of Nebraska, Lincoln Executive Director: Thomas E. Mann Program Chair: Joseph Cooper, Rice University	American Political Science Review, Dina Zinnes, University of Illinois, Editor PS, Catherine E. Rudder, APSA, Editor NEWS for Teachers of Political Science; this Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle, Sheilah Mann, APSA, Editor (See APSA Publications List at back of PS)	Annual Aug. 29-Sept. 1 New Orleans Hilton New Orleans, LA
VENEZUELA Asociacion Venezolana de Ciencia Politica, c/o Hermann Petzold- Pernia, Calle 34 No. 13B-85, Apartado (PO Box) 361, Maracaibo, 4001-A	President: Hermann Petzold-Pernia, Universidad del Zulia Treasurer: Anton Zambrano, Universidad del Zulia		December 1985 Maracaibo
YUGOSLAVIA Union of Political Science Association of Yugoslavia, 11000 Beograd, 74, Proleterskih brigada	President: Jovan Djordjevic, University of Beograd Secretary: Stojan Tomic, University of Sarajevo Treasurer: Danka Firaunovic	Archives for Social Science and Jurisprudence, Jovan Djordjevic, Editor-in-Chief	Mar. 15-16, 1985



## **1985 Annual Business Meeting**

### **1985 Rules for the Annual Business Meeting and Association Elections**

The following rules proposed by the Association's Rules Committee will be presented to the Council for approval at its April 12 meeting.

#### **1. Annual Business Meeting: Attendance and Participation**

The right "to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association" is constitutionally accorded "all members, upon payment of such registration fees as the Council may approve." (Art. III, sec. 7).

1.1 Attendance at the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee and to registered representatives of the media. Participation in the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee.

1.2 Members upon registration shall be issued nontransferable badges readily distinguishable from badges issued non-member registrants and representatives of the media.

1.3 The Registration Desk shall be open (in addition to the normal registration hours) at least during the first hour of the Annual Business Meeting or, if the Meeting is held in separate time periods, during the first hour of each such meeting.

1.4 A prospective candidate for elective office of the Association must become a dues-paying member upon filing for office.

1.5 One hundred members are necessary for a quorum (as required by Article VII, Section 1 of the Constitution).

#### **2. Conduct of the Annual Business Meeting**

2.1 The agenda of each Annual Business meeting will be: nomination and

election of officers, Constitutional amendments, resolutions, and other business.

2.2 The Council shall prepare and publish a full agenda for each Annual Business Meeting, including the texts of all proposed amendments and resolutions, with statements of the Council's recommendation on each, such full agenda to be made available to members at the beginning of the Annual Business Meeting.

2.3 On any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution, the first signer of a proposed amendment or resolution (or signer's designee) shall be recognized as the first speaker on that amendment or resolution and shall be allotted a maximum of five minutes.

2.4 In accordance with the Council's constitutional authority to make recommendations on all proposed amendments and resolutions (Art. VIII; Art. IX, sec. 1), the second speaker on any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution not sponsored by the Council shall be a member designated by the Council to present its views. That member shall also be allotted a maximum of five minutes.

2.5 Each speaker after the first two speakers specified in Rules 2.3 and 2.4 shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the proposed amendment or resolution being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.

2.6 The proposer of any amendment offered from the floor to a proposed amendment or resolution shall be recognized as the first speaker on that floor amendment, and shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. Any amendment offered from the floor to a proposed amendment or resolution shall require a second. Each subsequent speaker on that floor amendment shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the floor amendment being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.

## 1985 Annual Business Meeting Rules

2.7 Debate on any proposed amendment or resolution or amendment from the floor shall close and a vote be taken when a member moves the previous question and a majority supports the motion.

2.8 Any amendment that fails to gain support of 40 percent of those members present and voting shall be defeated; any amendment supported by at least 40 percent of those members present and voting shall be referred to the full membership by mail ballot. (Art. IX, sec. 2). Whenever one-third or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in support of any resolution, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail on the question. (Art. VIII).

2.9 In accordance with the mail ballot requirements specified in Sec. 2.8, a motion to table, postpone, or defer an amendment must be supported by at least 60 percent of the members present and voting to pass. A motion to table, postpone, or defer a resolution must be supported by at least two-thirds of the members present and voting to pass. If an amendment has been tabled, it may be lifted from the table if at least one-third of the members present and voting cast votes to do so.

2.10 If the total of the minority vote and abstentions shall equal or exceed the plurality vote but the minority vote shall fall below the percentage required for a mail ballot, a motion shall be entertained to present the issue to the membership on a mail ballot. No debate shall be permitted on such a motion which shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes actually cast.

2.11 In order that the members may have the materials available to study prior to the Annual Meeting, reports of officers and committees of the Association shall be published and distributed to members prior to the Annual Meeting. Copies of such reports shall be received by the Executive Director no later than June 1.

2.12 Normally no oral reports of officers and committees of the Association shall

be presented at the Annual Business Meeting, except for the report of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee, a Budget summary by the Treasurer, and the certification of candidates by the Elections Committee. However, an opportunity for members to question and discuss the written reports shall be provided.

2.13 Except as otherwise provided in the Constitution, By-Laws, and these Rules of Procedure, the Annual Business Meeting shall be governed by the rules set forth in the most recent edition of Sarah Corbin Robert (ed.), *Robert's Rules of Order* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co.).

### 3. Proposal of Resolutions and Constitutional Amendments

The present Constitution provides, "Amendments to the Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council." (Art. IX, sec. 1)

"The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of the Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent (40%) of those members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment will be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise." (Art. IX, sec. 2)

A resolution may be proposed by the Council under its general responsibilities and constitutional mandate to "give its

recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting." (Art. VII, sec. 2). The Constitution contemplates the initiation of resolutions by others than the Council but is silent upon the specifics of such initiation. (Art. VIII). Accordingly, a resolution may be proposed by a single member of the Association.

The Constitution requires that every resolution and proposed constitutional amendment (unless initiated by the Council itself) shall be referred to the Council for consideration and recommendation before submission to the Association at its Annual Business Meeting, and that every thus-referred resolution and proposed amendment, regardless of Council recommendation on it, shall be submitted by the Council to the Association for action at its Annual Business Meeting. (Arts. VIII and IX)

To implement these Constitutional requirements, the Rules Committee proposes the following rules:

3.1 No resolution or proposed constitutional amendment shall be considered by the Council or transmitted to the Annual Business Meeting unless it bears the personal signatures of the fifty proposers in the case of a constitutional amendment or at least one proposer in the case of a resolution. In the former case any of the proposers may authorize their identification as proposers by a signed communication to the Executive Director specifically indicating the proposed amendment they support.

3.2 In publishing a proposed constitutional amendment, only the constitutionally required number of signatures in the sequence originally presented will normally be listed.

3.3 The Constitution stipulates that "the Council shall have any proposed [constitutional] amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting." (Art. IX, sec. 2). To implement this requirement, all proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be published in the Summer issue of *PS*. The texts and the signatures or authorizations of the sponsors of any such amendment shall

therefore be received by the Executive Director no later than June 1.

3.4 The Constitution stipulates that "all resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission of the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting." (Art. VIII). The By-Laws require that all material to be considered by the Council must be in the hands of the Council members fourteen days prior to the Council meeting. To implement these provisions, all resolutions (except those proposed by the Council) shall be received by the Executive Director no later than August 8. However, to encourage full discussion and consideration by the membership as well as the Council, proposers of resolutions are urged to deliver them to the Executive Director by June 3 so that they may be published in the Summer issue of *PS*.

#### **4. Nominations and Elections of Officers**

To implement the procedures for making nominations for elected officers and for conducting contested elections by mail ballot for the entire membership (Art. V), the following rules shall be followed:

4.1 Each notification of proposed additional nominations (whether for a slate of nominees for all offices, for a set of nominees for certain offices, or for a nominee for one office) shall be valid only if it carries the personal signatures of at least ten members on the official forms which shall be made available by the Association. There shall also be available candidate consent forms as provided below. Such documents shall also include a signed assent to the candidacy by the proposed nominee or an attestation by the election agent that the nominee has agreed to the candidacy. In the event of attestation by the agent, the candidacy shall be deemed valid only upon receipt of a letter mailed to the Chairperson of the Elections Committee in care of the Association headquarters and post-marked within 7 days of the close of the Annual Meeting.

4.2 The Chairperson of the Elections Committee shall receive at the Associa-

## 1985 Annual Business Meeting Rules

tion's Washington offices, or after Monday, August 26, 1985 at the Association's Annual Meeting office in the headquarters hotel, all nominations and any individual certifications by members of authority for the inclusion of their names on the original nominating document. In accordance with Article V, section 2 of the Constitution, all such nominations and certifications must be received at least 24 hours before the session of the Annual Business Meeting at which the nomination and election of officers is scheduled to take place.

4.3 The official nominating document shall identify the individual who will act as Election Agent for the candidate or candidates. The Agent shall be responsible for the requirements for valid nomination and the responsibilities listed in section 4.1.

4.4 Well in advance of the Annual Business Meeting the President shall appoint three members of the Council to serve as the Committee on Elections, and shall designate one member as Chairperson. Notification to the Chairperson of the Committee on Elections shall be deemed to be the notification to the Secretary as required by Article V of the Constitution. The Committee on Elections shall implement the Constitution's requirements and the Council's rules in the preparation and mailing of the ballots and the information supplements to be mailed with the ballots both for election of officers, and for referenda on proposed amendments to the Constitution, or resolutions. In so doing, it acts as Agent of the Council which retains primary responsibility for conduct of elections.

4.5 At the session of the Annual Business Meeting at which nominations are made, the Chairperson of the Elections Committee shall certify the candidacies properly qualified. The Chairperson of the Elections Committee shall also separately list candidates qualified pending receipt of written consent. The Chairperson of the Elections Committee shall also announce the names of the designated Election Agents. A complete list of such certifications shall also be given or sent to each Election Agent and candidate and posted at the official Association Meeting office in the headquarters hotel.

4.6 A request to withdraw from nomination previously assented to by the candidate must be made by the candidate by registered mail postmarked within 7 days of the end of the Annual Meeting and sent to the Chairperson of the Elections Committee in care of the Association.

The election agent may inform the Chairperson of the Elections Committee in care of the Association if a substitution has been agreed to by six or more members of the nominating group. If such notification is received within 14 days of the close of the Business Meeting, the substitute nomination shall appear upon the ballot. Official assent by the candidate must be received within 15 days of the close of the Business Meeting. In the case of withdrawals of persons named by the Association's Nominating Committee, a substitute nomination will be accepted within a like period if made with a consent of a majority of Committee members.

The Chairperson of the Association's Nominating Committee shall be the Election Agent for its nominees.

The Chairperson of the Elections Committee shall mail promptly to all candidates and agents notice of any withdrawals and substitutions of candidates.

4.7 In the event of death, a nominating group shall be permitted to substitute candidates until the time of the printing of the ballot subject to requirements above.

4.8 If two or more persons are nominated for any Association office and a mail ballot is thereby necessitated, each candidate shall be permitted a statement of no more than 100 words for the description of the candidate's professional career and accomplishments and 300 words for a statement of views. Sponsoring groups shall also be permitted a statement of position of no more than 500 words filed by the agent. Candidates and agents should be encouraged to file such materials with the original nomination petition. Statements will also be accepted if postmarked within 14 days of the close of the Annual Meeting, as will modifications of statements filed earlier. Printer's copy of the ballots shall be circulated by registered mail, return

receipt requested, to each candidate and to each election agent. Author changes shall not be made in biographical statements and statements of view of candidates other than correction of typographical errors except at the expense of the author. Changes must be filed by telephone or telegram immediately upon receipt.

4.9 In preparing the ballots, the Committee on Elections shall make sure that:

- 1) Each office or set of offices is listed on the ballot separately, in an "office-group" ballot form.
- 2) The candidates in each office group are listed in alphabetical order of their surnames.
- 3) Under each candidate's name appears:
  - a) His or her current institutional affiliation; and
  - b) The names of the persons, group, or groups nominating the candidate.

4.10 The Committee on Elections shall, within the time limits stipulated by the Constitution (Art. V, sec. 1), fix the date on which the ballots will be mailed out and the date by which they must be returned.

4.11 The ballots will be mailed to all members of the Association in good standing as of the close of business on the last working day prior to the mailing date. All ballots to members residing overseas shall be sent by Air. An official notice from the Elections Committee shall be sent by August 30 to all whose membership would lapse in the quarter prior to the election giving warning of the last date at which dues can be received guaranteeing eligibility to vote.

In counting the preferential ballots, all the first choices will first be tallied and a winner determined if any nominee has at least fifty (50) percent of the valid votes cast for that office. If no nominee is thus elected, the next step is to eliminate the nominee with the fewest first-preference votes, adding these second preferences to the first-preference votes cast for each of the other nominees. If any of these other nominees thus receives a total vote

(original first preferences plus second preferences from the eliminated nominee's ballots) which is at least fifty (50) percent of the valid votes cast, that nominee shall be elected. If a winner is not then determined (as might be the case when there are more than three nominees), the next step is to eliminate the nominee with the second fewest votes (from original first preferences and any already added second preferences from the first-preference ballots of the previously eliminated nominee) and to count the second preferences marked on this nominee's first-preference ballots and also to count the third preferences marked on those first-preference ballots cast for the nominee first eliminated and which had subsequently been assigned to the now-eliminated nominee on the basis of their second-preference designations; the votes thus counted are to be added to the first-preference votes cast for the remaining nominees. If any of these nominees now has a total vote of at least fifty (50) percent of the valid votes cast, that nominee shall be elected. If a winner is not yet determined as a result of this second additional count (as might be the case when there are more than four nominees), a similar procedure shall be followed with respect to the ballots cast for the nominee with the third fewest votes, and, if necessary, with respect to ballots cast for the nominee with the fourth fewest votes and, if necessary, successively with respect to ballots cast for any other nominee ranking as the lowest remaining below the first two. Any questions that might arise about the count, including how to handle ties, shall be resolved according to the procedures followed in elections (as of 1975 and 1977) for the Australian House of Representatives.

Voters are not required to list more than one preference in order to have their vote counted.

In calculating the total number of valid votes cast, valid votes are all of those that have an operative preference on a given count. Those excluded are ballots on which the only preferences listed are for candidates who have already been eliminated.

## **1985 Annual Business Meeting Rules**

4.12 The Committee on Elections shall also implement the Council's rules in preparing the mail ballot on referenda and constitutional amendments. The Committee on Elections shall make sure that:

- 1) The referendum ballot contains, or is accompanied by
  - a) The complete text of any amendments or constitution, as the case may be, on which the membership is being asked to vote by mail ballot.
  - b) The complete text of any resolution on which the membership is being asked to vote by mail ballot.
- 2) The referendum ballot or ballots is accompanied by a statement of views including:
  - a) A statement giving the position of the Council on each proposed amendment or resolution;
  - b) A statement supporting each proposed amendment or resolution by the principal proposer or his designee; and
  - c) In those cases where there is manifest opposition to an amendment or resolution, a critical statement by a leading opponent or his designee.

4.13 The Association shall prepare a pamphlet or leaflet which shall include constitutional provisions and rules with respect to elections. It shall make these available to anyone requesting petitions and to groups who nominated candidates the previous year. The Elections Committee may publish a brief statement on election rules in the summer issue of *PS* covering major elements of election practices in the Association. The Elections Committee may schedule a meeting early in each convention to acquaint members with election procedures.

4.14 Mailing address labels of the APSA may be purchased at cost from the Association by any nominating group.

4.15 Notice of challenges shall be sent to all election agents and candidates.

4.16 Election Agents shall immediately bring any charges of irregularity in the conduct of the election to the Elections Committee which shall investigate such

charges. The Committee shall communicate any rulings it may make as a result of such charges, or on other matters affecting the conduct of elections, to all agents and to those movers of resolutions and amendments who may be concerned and to the Council.

4.17 Release of election results shall be the duty of the Elections Committee. It shall promptly inform the Executive Director of the Association, who shall inform all candidates, agents, sponsors, proponents and opponents of issues and may use other appropriate means to inform the membership. In addition, it shall certify results to the President and the Executive Director, and report on such results to the Council. In addition, it shall report on any new rulings that may have been applied.

4.18 Recounts shall be held at the discretion of the Elections Committee or upon reasonable request of a candidate, agent, proponent or opponent of a resolution or amendment submitted to the Chairperson of the Elections Committee within 30 legal working days after the mailing of the election results. Candidates and Agents involved shall be notified in advance of the time and place of the recount and shall be entitled to be present. Requests for recounts which are denied by the Committee may be appealed to the Council.

4.19 If recounting shall not resolve a tie, the decision shall be made by secret ballot of the certified officers and Council members.

## **5. Council Meeting: Observers**

5.1 Meeting of the Council shall be open to attendance by members of the Association.

5.2 Members attending Council meetings under Rule 5.1 are entitled to observe, but not participate in the Council's discussions.

## **6. Calendar of Deadlines**

### **Constitutional Amendments Monday, June 3, 5:00 p.m.**

All proposed constitutional amendments together with the required fifty signa-

tures shall be filed with the Executive Director.

**Officers and Committee Reports  
Monday, June 3, 5:00 p.m.**

Reports of officers and committees must be filed with the Executive Director.

**Resolutions**

If proposers of Resolutions file them with the Executive Director by Monday, June 3, they will be published in the Summer PS.

**Monday, August 5, 5:00 p.m.**

All proposed resolutions must be filed with the Executive Director.

**Membership Notice**

By August 30, an official notice will be sent by the Elections Committee to all individuals whose membership will expire in the quarter prior to the election.

**Nominations**

If nominations are submitted prior to the Annual Meeting, they should be filed together with the required ten signatures with the Chairperson of the Elections Committee in care of the Association no less than four days prior to the Annual Meeting. If nominations are filed at the Annual Meeting, they must be filed with the Chairperson of the Elections Committee, at the APSA Office at the convention hotel, according to the Constitution, by

at least twenty-four hours prior to the Annual Business Meeting.

**7. 1985 Annual Business Meeting**

**Saturday, August 31, 5:30 p.m.\*  
Business Meeting Order of Business**

- I. Nominations of Officers
- II. Constitutional Amendments
- III. Resolutions
- IV. Certification of Nominees by the Election Committee
- V. Report of the Treasurer

Sponsors of candidates, resolutions, amendments, and other matters to be attended to at the business meeting are encouraged, but not required, to meet with the presiding officer in the meeting room one-half hour ahead of time to facilitate the flow of business.

*Editor's Note: APSA's constitution can be found in PS, Spring, 1984, pp. 338-342. Individual copies of the constitution are available by request from the national office. The by-laws of the Association are printed in PS, Summer, 1984, pp. 718-725 and are also available upon request.*

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\*If necessary, a second Business Meeting will be held at 9:30 a.m. on Sunday, September 1.

An open forum with candidates for APSA offices will be held at 12:15 p.m., Thursday, August 29.

# PS Appendix

## APSA Publications List

### PERIODICALS

**The American Political Science Review.** Quarterly journal of scholarly articles and book reviews in political science. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$20 per copy; \$80 per volume.

**PS.** Quarterly journal of Association news and articles of professional concern. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$5 per copy; \$20 per volume. (\$6 for the spring issue containing the preliminary program.)

**The NEWS for Teachers of Political Science.** Quarterly newspaper on education and the curriculum. Included in APSA membership. \$7 annual subscription fee for non-APSA members.

**this Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle.** Quarterly magazine with articles and information on the Bicentennial. The magazine is supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and is a joint publication of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association. \$8 subscription for APSA members.

### DIRECTORIES

**APSA Membership Directory, 1985.** Alphabetical listing of current members, their training, affiliations and areas of specializations. Index includes list of women members, black members, and hispanic members, members by fields of interest and geography. \$15 for members and \$20 for non-members.

**Directory of Undergraduate Political Science Faculty, 1984.** Lists nearly 500 separate departments of political science with name, address, phone number, and names and specializations of faculty members. \$8, APSA members; \$12, nonmembers.

**Annual APSA Directory of Department Chairpersons.** Names and addresses of chairpersons in departments offering political science at four-year institutions. \$20 each. Annual, November.

**Directory of Librarians and Information Scientists in Political Science.** Edited by Robert Goehlert, Indiana University. Biographical information on social science librarians and information scientists. \$5 for members, \$7 for non-members. 1979.

### INDEXES

**Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review.\*** 1906-1968, \$6.50.

**Cumulative Index to the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting.\*** Key word index to all papers included in proceedings of Annual Meetings for 1904-1912, 1956-1970. \$18.50.

### INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

**SETUPS: American Politics** (Supplementary Empirical Teaching Units in Political Science). New computer-related instructional materials whereby students learn important substantive topics in American politics as they learn methods of analysis. *Voting Behavior: The 1976 Election* by Bruce D. Bowen, C. Anthony Broh, Charles L. Prysby. *Political Socialization Across the Generations* by Paul Allen Beck, Jere W. Bruner, L. Douglas Dobson. *The Supreme Court in American Politics: Policy Through Law* by John Paul Ryan, C. Neal Tate. 2nd edition. *The Dynamics of Political Budgeting: A Public Policy Simulation* by Martin K. Hoffman. *The Fear of Crime* by Wesley G. Skogan and William R. Klecka. *Voting Behavior: The 1980 Election* by C. Anthony Broh and Charles L. Prysby. *Election and the Mass Media* by David W. Blomquist. *Campaign 80* by Richard Joslyn and Janet Johnson. *Presidential Popularity in America* by Stephen Frantzich. *Policy Responsiveness and Fiscal Strain in 51 American Communities* by Paul David Schumaker, Russell W. Getter, and Terry Nichols Clark. \$6 each, lower price on bulk orders. For information and price list write APSA Division of Educational Affairs.

\*Available from Customer Service Department, University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.



### **SETUPS: Cross-National and World Politics**

(Supplementary Empirical Teaching Units in Political Science). Computer-related instructional materials whereby students learn important substantive topics in cross-national and world politics as they learn methods of analysis. *Comparative Budgeting: Policy and Processes* by John Creighton Campbell and John M. Echols. *Are Political Values Really Changing?* by Charles Lewis Taylor. *Comparing Political Parties* by Robert Harmel with Kenneth Janda. May 1977, revised editions. \$6 each, lower price on bulk orders. For information and price list, write APSA Division of Educational Affairs.

**Instructional Resource Monographs.** Guides on materials and methods for teaching and learning in political science. *PSI and Political Science: Using the Personalized System of Instruction to Teach American Politics*, edited by Ralph B. Earle, Jr., \$3.50 paperback, April 1975. *Simple Simulations II*, edited by Charles Walcott, \$5 paperback, 1980. *Computer-Assisted Instruction in Political Science*, edited by Jonathan Pool, \$4 paperback, March 1976. *U.S. Census Data for Political and Social Research: A Resource Guide*, by Phyllis G. Carter, \$4, November 1976.

**Project '87 Conference Monographs.** *The American Constitutional System Under Strong and Weak Parties*, edited by Patricia Bonomi, James MacGregor Burns and Austin Ranney, Praeger Publishers, 1981. (This book can be ordered only from Praeger Publishers, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017.) \$19.95 ea. *The Constitutional Convention as an Amending Device*, edited by Kermit L. Hall, Harold M. Hyman and Leon V. Sigal, published jointly by the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, 1981. \$6.50 ea. for paper and \$10.50 ea. for hardcover. *Teaching About the Constitution in American Secondary Schools*, edited by Howard D. Mehlinger, published jointly by the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, 1981. \$6.50 ea. for paper and \$10.50 ea. for hardcover. *Liberty and Equality Under the Constitution*, edited by John Agresto, published jointly by the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, 1983. \$7.50 ea./\$12.95 hard.

### **CAREER OPPORTUNITIES**

#### **Alternative Careers for Political Scientists.**

A monograph of practical advice for obtaining nonacademic employment. \$5 for APSA members; \$10 for nonmembers.

#### **Careers and the Study of Political Science: A Guide for Undergraduates.** A monograph

discussing the relationship between political science knowledge skills and careers in law, government, business, journalism, teaching, etc. \$1.50, bulk rates available, 3rd edition, 1981.

**Personnel Service Newsletter.** Eleven-month listing of positions for political scientists. APSA members: \$13 academic-year subscription (Oct. through Aug.); \$18 for overseas foreign.

**Personnel Service Guidelines for Employers and Applicants.** Pamphlet containing information and guidelines for members of the APSA Personnel Service and for employers listing their vacancies in the Personnel Service Newsletter. No charge.

**Storming Washington: An Intern's Guide to National Government,** by Stephen Frantzich. A monograph on Washington, D.C. internships. \$2 each. August, 1977.

### **STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

**Political Science and State and Local Government.** A volume on the current and future state of research and educational programs in the field of state and local government. \$3.75 each. 1973.

### **ANNUAL MEETING PUBLICATIONS**

**Annual Meeting Program.** Final program for APSA Annual Meeting. Included in Annual Meeting registration. (Extra copies, \$6.50 for members, \$10.50 for non-APSA members.)

**APSA Meeting Papers.\*** Hard copies, \$15 each.

**APSA Annual Meeting Proceedings.\*** Microfilm reels of all papers, 1904-1913, 1956-1976; contact University Microfilms for individual prices. 1977-1982, \$179.20 per year; 1983, \$158.20. The 1984 Proceedings will be \$166.20.

### **MAILING LISTS**

**APSA membership mailing lists and labels.** For information and price list, contact Membership Secretary, APSA.

**APSA political science department chairpersons mailing labels.** For information and price list, contact APSA Departmental Services Program.

### **RESEARCH AND STUDY GUIDES**

**Guide to Graduate Study in Political Science, 1984.** The *Guide* lists over 300 Ph.D. and M.A. programs in political science in the U.S. and Canada. The description of each program includes information about specializa-

## PS Appendix

tion(s), tuition charges and financial aid, admission and degree requirements. The *Guide* also lists over 4,500 faculty, by name, with their highest degree, fields of specialization and current position.

The *Guide* has a faculty and geographical index and comprehensive data for each program on student admissions, enrollments, degrees awarded and financial aid.

The price is \$12 for APSA members and \$15 for non-members.

**Research Support for Political Scientists.** A monograph containing detailed listings of public and private agencies that fund research fellowships, grants, and contracts. Includes section on strategic thinking about funding research and a guide to preparing research proposals. \$6 each. 2nd edition, 1981.

## TELECOURSE

**Congress: We the People** is a telecourse produced by WETA and APSA with support from the Annenberg/CPB Project. For more information or to order the video cassettes, contact Annenberg/CPB Project, 1213 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, IL 60091. Or call 1-800-LEARNER (532-7637); in Illinois call (312) 256-3200.

APSA distributes a *Study Guide* for students enrolled in a course on Congress that uses the program. The *Study Guide* price is \$12.95; there is a 20 percent discount on each copy for bookstores. *For colleges licensing the entire telecourse for distant learners*, APSA provides free of charge a desk copy of the *Study Guide* for faculty and a *Faculty/Administrative Guide*.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**Political Science: The State of the Discipline.** Edited by Ada W. Finifter. Includes 19 chapters by many of the country's leading political scientists reviewing the present state and future directions of research in the subfields of the discipline. 1983. Paper: \$15 for APSA members and classroom adoptions placed through bookstores; \$25 for non-members. Cloth: \$35. Include \$2 for postage and handling. Bulk rate for bookstores \$12 (10 or more copies) 20% discount.

**Annual APSA Survey of Departments.** Annual report of the results of an extensive questionnaire sent to all four-year institutions offering political science. Includes salary information, enrollment trends and many other items of current interest. \$20 each. Annual, May.

**Blacks and Political Science**, edited by Maurice C. Woodard. Three essays on the status of black American political scientists. \$4 for members and non-members. August, 1977.

**Guide to Publication in Political Science.** Co-sponsored by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women and the Women's Caucus for Political Science. \$2. Fall 1975.

**Political Science Journal Information** by Fenton Martin and Robert Goehlert. A definitive listing of scholarly journals available to political scientists and the specific review and publication procedures followed by these journals. \$6 for members, \$12 for non-members. Revised 1984.

**Women in Political Science: Studies and Reports, 1969-71, of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession.\*** PB 486, \$6 microfilm; \$16.50 Xerographic reprint (U.S. prices).

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### **PS Index to Quarterly Features**

PS publishes lists and reports as follows:

<b>List/Report</b>	<b>Issue</b>	
AAUP and CAUT Censure Lists	Summer	
Annual Meeting Preliminary Program	Spring	
APSA Committees	Winter	
APSA Constitution	Spring	
APSA Executive Director's Report	Summer	
APSA Publications List	Quarterly	
APSA Rules for the Annual Business Meeting and Association Elections	Spring	
APSA Treasurer's Report	Fall	
APSR Managing Editor's Report	Fall	
Area Studies Organizations	Summer	
		Grievance Procedures and Advisory Opinions on the APSA Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms Winter
		Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science Fall
		National Political Science Associations Spring
		Organizations Related to the Study of Political Science Fall
		PS Index of Authored Articles Winter
		Regional and State Political Science Associations Winter
		PS welcomes items for its professional sections. Submissions should be submitted in the PS format, whenever possible.

# **PRELIMINARY PROGRAM**

**1985 Annual Meeting  
of the  
American Political Science Association  
to be held in  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
Thursday, August 29 through  
Sunday, September 1, 1985**

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# General Information

## PRE-REGISTRATION

Pre-registration greatly facilitates meeting attendance. Anyone who wishes to pre-register may do so by mail up to August 1 and thereby speed up obtaining a Program, a Book of Abstracts and a badge cover at the meeting. These materials are available for pre-registrants in an express line at the "Pre-registered" desk on the first floor convention registration area in the New Orleans Hilton Hotel.

Another advantage of pre-registering is that it reduces the cost of attending the meeting.

Pre-registration forms are available in this issue of *PS*. Also, all program participants (paper givers, discussants and panel chairpersons) **must** pre-register no later than June 1 in order to be listed in the final Program.

	Pre-registration	Registration
Student Member of APSA	\$15.00	\$15.00
APSA member	25.00	30.00
Non-member	50.00	55.00

## REGISTRATION

For those who have not pre-registered, registration desks also will be on the first floor convention registration area of the New Orleans Hilton Hotel. Registration will be open the following days and hours:

Wednesday, August 28	1:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.
Thursday, August 29	8:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.
Friday, August 30	8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.
Saturday, August 31	8:30 a.m. to close of Business Meeting
Sunday, September 1	8:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.

Upon registering each person will receive a Program, a Book of Abstracts, a badge and a badge cover. Safeguard your Program and Abstracts; lost or missing ones cannot be replaced. Your badge must be displayed to attend any panel or meeting or to leave children at the APSA Child Care Service.

## LOCATION OF MEETINGS

Panel meetings, general sessions and special meetings will be held at the New Orleans Hilton Hotel and at the International Hotel. Any exceptions will be noted in the Program distributed to registrants at the meeting.

## HOTEL RESERVATIONS

An application for hotel reservations is included in this issue of *PS*. Completed forms should be sent to: New Orleans Hilton Hotel, Reservations Department, Attn: Corliss Harker, Poydras at the Mississippi River, New Orleans, LA 70140.

## **APSA MEMBERSHIP AND SERVICES**

We welcome inquiries about membership in the Association. A membership desk will be maintained adjacent to the registration area. Membership rates are based on gross professional income: under \$20,000—\$40.00; \$20,000–29,999—\$50.00; \$30,000–39,999—\$65.00; \$40,000 and over—\$75.00; student members—\$15.00; retired members (after 25 years of membership)—\$20.00; associate members (for non-political scientists who want no journal subscriptions)—\$25.00. Information about membership services, including insurance programs and Personnel Service, will be available at the desk in the registration area.

## **PROFESSIONAL PLACEMENT SERVICE**

APSA will maintain a Professional Placement Service for meeting registrants in the Napoleon Ballroom on the third floor of the New Orleans Hilton Hotel. It will be open daily throughout the meeting. It is not necessary to be a member of APSA's Personnel Service to use the Convention Placement Service.

## **PRESS FACILITIES**

Accredited members of the press may use the press facilities available in the APSA Convention Office.

## **PANEL PAPERS**

Papers presented at the meeting will be available for sale at \$1.00 each in the Panel Papers Area in the APSA Book Exhibit in the Grand Ballroom on the first floor of the New Orleans Hilton Hotel. After the meeting, copies of papers collected for The Proceedings will be available from University Microfilms International in Ann Arbor, Michigan for \$15.00 each. The Panel Paper Area will be open the same hours as the Exhibit Hall. See below for days and hours.

## **EXHIBITS**

Exhibits will be located in the Grand Ballroom on the first floor of the New Orleans Hilton Hotel. Exhibits will be open the following days and hours:

Thursday, August 29	9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.
Friday, August 30	9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.
Saturday, August 31	9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.
Sunday, September 1	9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon

## **CHILD CARE SERVICE**

The Association will be maintaining a Child Care Service in the New Orleans Hilton Hotel. Children of meeting registrants will be cared for at no charge. Parents should display badges when arranging for use of the service. The service will be located in the Windsor Room on the third floor of the New Orleans Hilton. The service will be available the following days and hours:

Thursday, August 29	8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.
Friday, August 30	8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.
Saturday, August 31	8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.
Sunday, September 1	8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

## **PRELIMINARY PROGRAM LISTING AND INDEX**

The Preliminary Program and Index of Participants is comprised of persons whose names have been listed as participants of panels submitted by March 1, 1985. Each of these individuals must be pre-registered by June 1, 1985, in order for their names to appear in the Program which will be distributed to registrants at the Annual Meeting.

## **SMOKING**

Because of the small meeting rooms and the discomfort to others, smokers are urged not to smoke while attending panel sessions.

### **PERSONAL SECURITY**

Members of the Association are reminded to be attentive to their personal security and the protection of their property while at the Annual Meeting. Last year a member was assaulted upon entering a hotel room. While this kind of occurrence is quite infrequent, such unfortunate incidents can be eliminated altogether by taking a few simple precautions:

- Do not leave valuables in your hotel room.
- Enter and alight from vehicles directly at hotel entrances.
- Use caution in taking evening walks. Go out in the evening with at least one other person.
- Before entering your hotel room, make sure no one is following you.
- Upon entering your hotel room, lock your door immediately.
- Make sure all locks are secured when you go to bed at night.
- Do not open the door to your hotel room to strangers.



# **The Daily Schedule 1985 Annual Meeting**

Included here is a chronological summary description of the activities being held at the Annual Meeting, including Official Program panels, Organized Section panels, APSA business and committee meetings, unaffiliated panels and meetings and receptions.

## **TUESDAY, AUGUST 27**

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8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—APSA Short Course: Professional Development Workshop:  
Job Clinic

## **WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28**

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8:30 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.—APSA Convention Office and Press Room

9:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m.—APSA Short Course: Writing a Research Proposal for the  
National Science Foundation

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—APSA Council Meeting

10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.—APSA Short Course: Professional Development Workshop:  
Job Clinic

1:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.—APSA Registration

1:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.—APSA Short Course: Writing a Research Proposal for the  
National Endowment for the Humanities

1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.—APSA Short Course: Administrative Law and Political Science

1:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.—APSA Short Course: Reaching New Political Science  
Students with Television

2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.—APSA Short Course: Professional Development Workshop:  
Job Clinic

7:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.—APSA Short Course: Professional Development Workshop:  
Job Clinic

## **THURSDAY, AUGUST 29**

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8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Professional Placement Service

8:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.—APSA Registration

8:30 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.—APSA Convention Office and Press Room

8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.—APSA Child Care Service

9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Exhibits

9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Panel Paper Sales

8:45 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.

APSA Program Committee Panels

1–8. Approval Voting: Status Report

3–8. Historical Sources of Antiliberal Thought

- 4-1. Political Theory and Conceptual Change
- 6-10. Political Participation of Women in the Third World
- 7-1. The Growth of Big Government: A Comparative Perspective
- 8-2. Roundtable on Marxism and Rational Choice Theory: Part I
- 10-9. The Media and Public Opinion
- 11-1. Political Action Committees
- 12-1. The Social Impacts of Deregulation
- 13-3. Committees in the Legislative Process
- 14-6. Presidential Leadership, Foreign Policy and Public Opinion
- 16-4. Political Change and the Regulatory Process
- 17-3. Issues in State and Local Economic Development Policy
- 18-4. Politics and Policy Implementation
- 19-3. Psychology of Conflict
- 20-5. National and Transnational Challenges to International Hierarchy
- 21-7. The International Law and Politics of Collective Sanctions
- 22-10. Toward a Theory of Intelligence
- 23-1. Translating Political Science to the Policy Maker:  
Problems and Prospects

#### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Panel 2
  - Bureaucracy, Policy Implementation, and Control in Intergovernmental Contexts
- Legislative Studies—Panel 4
  - Executive-Legislative Relations
- Policy Studies—Panel 9
  - Health, Education, Welfare and Public Policy
- Public Administration—Panel 8
  - Bureaucratic Politics
- Representation and Electoral Systems—Panel 2
  - A Roundtable on the Federal Voting Rights Act

#### **Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Association for Politics and the Life Sciences—Panel 2
  - Emerging Issues in Biopolitics
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Roundtable 1
  - Religion and the 1984 Election: A Religious Sub-Group Analysis
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 4
  - The Founders on the Problem of Founding
- Claremont Institute—Panel 1
  - Can There Be a Christian Prince?
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 5
  - The Politics of Urban Economic Development
- Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 2
  - Post-Structuralist Strategies
- Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society—Panel 2
  - Challenges to Deterrence in the 1990s: Technology
- Middle East Studies Association—Panel 2
  - Change in the Middle East: The International Perspective
- Political Scientists Specializing on Japan—Panel
  - Changing Patterns of Policymaking in Japan
- Women's Caucus for Political Science—Panel 2
  - Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity: Justice, Equity or Policy Failure

**10:45 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.**

#### **APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 1-3. Agenda Formation and the Theory of Voting
- 2-1. New Methods for Analyzing the 1984 Rolling Cross-Section
- 3-2. Theories of Political Change in Plato and Aristotle
- 4-3. The Empirical Study of Normative Reasoning
- 6-1. Public Confidence and Political Support for Democracy:  
Latin American and European Perspectives

- 7-2. Comparative Subnational Policy Making
- 8-2. Roundtable on Marxism and Rational Choice Theory: Part II
- 9-5. The Floating Voter
- 11-5. Consequences of Party Reform
- 11-8. Topics in Campaign Finance
- 12-2. The New Federalism and the Rise of a New Class Society
- 13-9. Change and Reform in Congress
- 14-9. Historical Perspectives on the American Executive
- 15-9. Biology, Culture and Constitution
- 16-12. The State of Public Administration Theory: An Assessment
- 17-2. State Electoral Changes
- 18-11. Regulation Politics
- 19-5. Models of Conflict and Political Change
- 22-7. Domestic Constraints on American Foreign Policy:  
Causes and Consequences

#### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Public Administration—Panel 2
  - Cultural Administration As Public Administration
- Representation and Electoral Systems—Panel 1
  - Proportional Representation in Local Governments

#### **APSA Committee Sponsored Meetings**

- Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession
  - Open Meeting
- Publications Committee
  - Open Meeting—Meet The New Editors of Political Science Journals

#### **Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 5
  - The Politics of Emotion: Revolutionary Reconstruction  
of the Self and Society
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Panel 2
  - Women, Religion and Politics
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 1
  - Democracy and the Constitution
- Claremont Institute—Panel 2
  - Weber, Rationality, and Modernity
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 2
  - Continuity and Change in the American Welfare State
- Roundtable 11—Non-Judicial Dispute Settlement
- Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 3
  - Foundations of Politics
- International Christian Studies Association—Panel
  - Capitalism, Socialism and Human Rights: Interdisciplinary  
Christian Perspectives
- Society for Greek Political Thought—Panel 3
  - Plato
- Stateless Nations Colloquia and Symposia—Panel 1
  - Stateless Nations Compared

#### **12:30 p.m. to 1:00 p.m.—APSA Foreign Grantees Meeting**

#### **12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.—Business Meetings**

- APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations
- APSA Organized Section: Legislative Studies
- Conference Group on French Politics and Society
- Midwest Political Science Association's Committee on the Status  
of Women in the Profession

#### **1:30 p.m. to 3:15 p.m.**

#### **APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 1-4. The Evaluation of Voting Systems
- 3-9. Kant's Groundwork After 200 Years
- 4-7. Democratic Participation and the Redrawing of the  
Public/Private Distinction

- 5-7. New Social Movements
- 6-7. Mass and Elite Attitudes and Behavior in Communist Systems
- 7-6. Social Welfare Policy in the 1980s:  
Lessons of International Comparison
- 8-9. Development and Democracy
- 10-10. Generational Politics of the 1980s
- 11-15. Interest Groups and PACs
- 12-11. A Global Look at the Political and Economic Roles of Women:  
Thoughts on Concluding the U.N. Decade
- 13-6. Economic and Fiscal Policymaking in Congress
- 14-1. Roundtable on Presidents, Prime Ministers and Their Roles
- 16-6. State Revenue Policy: Determinants and Impacts
- 17-4. The Study of Public Policy in the States: Changing Approaches
- 18-2. Political Institutions and Public Policy
- 20-9. The Politics of Growth and Inequality in the International  
Political Economy
- 22-9. Japanese Economic Policy and U.S.-Japan Relations
- 23-8. Political Risk Analysts and the Private Sector

#### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Conflict Processes—Panel 5  
Regime Instability and Coercive Behavior
- Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Panel 4  
Party Nationalization or Federalization? Intergovernmental  
Relations Perspectives on Party Renewal
- Legislative Studies—Panel 6  
Change in Congress: A Historical Perspective
- Policy Studies—Panel 1  
Marketplace Strategies in Public Policy Implementation
- Presidency Research—Panel 1  
Informal Groups in the National Policymaking Process
- Public Administration—Panel 6  
Organization Theory and the Problem of Policy Implementation

#### **Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 6  
The Quest for Democracy and Development in Nicaragua
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Roundtable 3  
Jewish Contributions to the Understanding of Political Life
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Roundtable 2  
Reagan and the Courts
- Claremont Institute—Panel 3  
Modern Subjectivity and Political Psychology
- Conference Group on French Politics and Society—Roundtable 2  
The Study of French Politics
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 6  
The Future of Economic Democracy
- Panel 12—Socialist States in Capitalist International Economic Regimes
- Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 7  
Statesmanship and the Cold War
- Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society—Panel 1  
Challenges to Deterrence in the 1990s: Policy
- Microcomputer Users' Group—Roundtable 1  
Microcomputers in Teaching
- Stateless Nations Colloquia and Symposia—Panel 2  
Stateless Nations Compared

**3:30 p.m. to 5:15 p.m.**

#### **APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 1-6. Models of Imperfect Information in Politics
- 2-11. Presidential Leadership and the Coalition-Building Process
- 3-3. Roundtable: What is Progress?
- 4-12. For Foucault
- 5-1. Military and Society

- 6-5. Dynamics of Citizen Support for Democratic Regimes:  
Macro and Micro Perspectives
- 7-4. Public Policy Toward Dissent
- 8-1. Modeling Political Development
- 9-7. Elections and Popular Control of Government
- 10-2. Liberalism and Conservatism
- 11-9. Party Deserters and Switchers
- 12-8. Electing Women, Blacks and Latinos at the State and Local Level
- 13-1. Woodrow Wilson's Congress 100 Years Later
- 14-11. Roundtable on the Reagan Presidency: Assessments and Projections
- 15-2. Perspectives on Constitutional Politics
- 16-2. Power and the Study of Organizations
- 17-1. Changing Perspectives on State Legislatures
- 18-5. Development, Regulation and Redistribution in a Federal System
- 19-9. Game Theoretic Analyses of International Processes
- 21-1. Structuring Change in the International System
- 22-14. Normative Thought and Foreign Policy: New Research

#### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Panel 5
  - New Judicial Federalism in the States
- Policy Studies—Panel 7
  - Urban and State Policy Problems
- Public Administration—Panel 4
  - The Administration of Intergovernmental Relations
- Representation and Electoral Systems—Panel 5
  - The Elective Higher Education Boards: Five Case Studies

#### **Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 7
  - The Treatment of the Left in Contemporary Political Science
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Panel 4
  - Religion in the Crossfire: Trends in American Politics
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 7
  - Conservatism in America
- Claremont Institute—Panel 4
  - The Body Politics
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 4
  - Constitutionalism, Realignment and Bureaucracy
- Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 6
  - Political Theory, Policy, and Justification
- Microcomputer Users' Group—Roundtable 2
  - Microcomputers in Research
- North American Society for Social Philosophy—Panel 1
  - Reconstructing Liberal Theory
- Society for Greek Political Thought—Panel 1
  - Aristotle
- Women's Caucus for Political Science—Panel 3
  - The Epistemological Foundations of Research on Women and Politics

**5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.**—APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession—Film: "Not One of The Boys"

**5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.**—APSA Organized Section: Presidency Research  
Business Meeting

**5:30 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.**—Midwest Political Science Association: Executive Council Meeting

#### **6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.—Receptions**

- APSA Committee of Applied Political Scientists
- APSA Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession
- APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession
- American University
- Florida State University
- Foundations of Political Theory Group

University of Iowa  
Loyola University  
*Social Science Microcomputer Review*  
University of New Orleans  
University of Rochester  
University of South Carolina  
Women's Caucus for Political Science

**8:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.—APSA Plenary Session 1. Presentation of Awards and Presidential Address**

## **FRIDAY, AUGUST 30**

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**7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.—*The Review of Politics* Editorial Advisory Board Meeting**

**7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.—Women's Caucus for Political Science: Business Meeting 1**

**7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.—*Publius* Editorial Advisory Board Meeting**

**8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Professional Placement Service**

**8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Registration**

**8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Convention Office and Press Room**

**8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.—APSA Child Care Service**

**9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Exhibits**

**9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Panel Paper Sales**

**8:45 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.**

### **APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 2-4. Computer Simulation in Political Science
- 3-1. Political Change and the Origins of Political Theory
- 6-9. The Dynamics of Political Support and Alienation  
in Western European Democracies
- 7-10. Policy Making in the Third World
- 8-6. Political Transformation in Liberal Democracies
- 9-2. The Dynamics of Candidate Choice
- 10-7. Gender and Political Orientations
- 11-7. Interest Group Politics
- 13-2. Rules and Strategies in Congress
- 14-2. Political Executives: Comparative Approaches
- 15-1. Judicial Review and Democracy
- 16-8. New Directions in Budgeting Theory
- 17-6. Workshop in Urban Political Economy
- 18-1. The Politics of Energy in the 1980s
- 19-1. The Exercise of Power: USA/USSR
- 20-2. The State in the International Political Economy: I
- 22-5. Policymaking on Issues of North-South Relations in  
Selected OECD Member States
- 23-3. Where the Action Is: Political Scientists in Campaigns

### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Panel 3
- Federalism and Industrial Policy
- Legislative Studies—Panel 5
- Influence on State Legislative Decision-Making
- Public Administration—Panel 3
- Comparative Perspectives: Public and Private Administration Organization
- Representation and Electoral Systems—Panel 4
- The Single Member District System

**APSA Program Committee Sponsored Workshop**  
Workshop on Federal Campaign Finance Data

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 10
- The European Greens: Mass or Elite Phenomenon
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Panel 5
- Prophetic Politics: III
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 9
- Constitutionalism in Congress
- Claremont Institute—Panel 5
- Are the Slavery Provisions of the Constitution Consistent with the Concept of Liberty and Equality?
- Conference Group on French Politics and Society—Panel 1
- The Conservative Opposition in France
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 3
- Labor and the Liberal State
- Direct Democracy Research Group—Panel
- Direct Democracy in the 1980s
- Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 1
- Explorations in Post-Cartesian Political Theory
- Max Weber Colloquia and Symposia—Panel
- Max Weber's Legacy Today
- North American Society for Social Philosophy—Panel 2
- Popular Politics Through Literature

**8:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.**—International Studies Association  
Governing Council Meeting

**10:45 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.**

**APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 3-11. Nietzsche, Aesthetics and Politics
- 4-10. Roundtable on Parfit and Politics
- 5-4. Environmentalism: A Vehicle for Value Change?
- 6-4. Beliefs, Roles and Voting Behavior in Comparative Perspective
- 7-11. Policy Making in Socialist States
- 8-4. State Theories, Development and Women
- 9-1. The Presidential Election of 1984
- 10-1. Changing Perspectives on Political Thinking
- 11-3. Presidential Primaries
- 13-13. Roundtable on Congressional Committee Research:  
A Panel Honoring Richard F. Fenno, Jr.
- 14-8. Studies in the Institutionalized Presidency
- 15-3. Interest Input, Policy Output, and Appellate Supervision  
in the Federal Judiciary
- 16-5. Public Organizations and Environmental Change
- 20-4. An Emerging Global State
- 21-3. Changing Patterns of US-IGO Participation
- 22-2. The Constitution and Foreign Affairs: Power Sharing in Practice
- 23-2. Political Scientists as Political Actors

**APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Conflict Processes—Panel 1
- Formal Models of War
- Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Workshop 6
- Reliance on State Constitutions in a Federal System
- Law, Courts and Judicial Process—Panel 4
- Executive Branch Influences and Constraints Upon the Federal Courts:  
Some New Explorations
- Policy Studies—Panel 3
- Canada, Public Policy and the United States
- Public Administration—Panel 13
- Planning for and Implementing Change in Public Organizations
- Representation and Electoral Systems—Panel 3
- The Initiative and the Referendum

**APSA Committee Sponsored Meeting**

Departmental Services Committee Forum for Department Chairs  
Recruitment and Retention of Minority Graduate Students  
in Political Science

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

Caucus for a New Political Science—Roundtable 2  
Contemporary Threats to Academic Freedom: Race, Sex and Ideology  
in the University  
Caucus on Faith and Politics—Roundtable 6  
Power and Authority in the Bible  
Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 10  
Oliver Wendell Holmes and the Constitution  
Claremont Institute—Panel 6  
Eidos/Problem  
Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis—Panel 2  
Economic Growth and Development of Social Systems  
Conference Group on German Politics—Panel 1  
The GDR and "Inner-German" Relations  
Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 17  
Social Security and the Crisis of the State  
Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 5  
Kant Celebration Session  
Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 3  
The American Founding

**12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.**—APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies  
Awards Luncheon

**12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.**—APSA Organized Section: Representation  
and Electoral Systems—Business Meeting

**12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.**—Association for Politics and the Life  
Sciences: Steering Committee Meeting

**12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.**—Southwestern Political Science Association:  
Executive Council Meeting

**1:30 p.m. to 3:15 p.m.**

**APSA Program Committee Panels**

1-5. Bureaucracy and Hierarchical Processes  
2-2. Modeling and Estimating Survey Responses  
3-4. The Roman Experience: Change and Continuity  
5-9. Canada and the United States in Comparative Perspective  
6-12. Ideological Change in Post-Industrial Society  
7-5. Comparative National Security Policy  
8-10. State, Economy and Democratic Stability  
11-11. Roundtable on Research on Party Organizations  
12-12. Roundtable on Social Protest Movements:  
A Cross-Disciplinary Discussion  
13-14. Roundtable on The Future of the Congressional Budget Process  
15-7. Roundtable on Political Culture and Judicial Behavior  
16-1. Reconsidering Some Myths of Public Administration  
19-6. National Security and Economic Considerations  
20-8. Roundtable on North South Relations: Structural Change and  
Conceptual Ambiguities  
21-5. Changes in Scholarship Concerning International Organizations  
and Interdependence  
22-12. Foreign Policy: The Impact of Process on Outcomes  
23-4. Political Knowledge for What? Two New Books on the State  
of the Discipline

**APSA Organized Section Panels**

Conflict Processes—Panel 3  
Systematic Approaches to International Intervention  
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Workshop 7



The Theory of Federalism and the Study of Public Administration  
 Law, Courts and Judicial Process—Panel 2  
 Wither Judicial Biography? A Roundtable Discussion  
 Public Administration—Panel 1  
 A Roundtable on Quality Management

**APSA Committee Sponsored Panels**

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession—Panel 1  
 The Black Vote in the 1984 Election: A Review and A Critique  
 Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession—Panel 1  
 Negotiating for Retirement: Gender and Other Issues

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

Association for Politics and the Life Sciences—Panel 4  
 Biobehavioral Research: Political Elites  
 Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America—Panel 1  
 Political Development in South Korea: 1945-1985  
 Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 8  
 Marxism and Democracy  
 Caucus on Faith and Politics—Panel 7  
 Role of Religion in Defining Political Problems and Issues  
 Claremont Institute—Panel 7  
 Theory and Practice: Part I  
 Conference Group on German Politics—Panel 2  
 Brave New World?: New Social Movements in the Federal Republic  
 Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 18  
 Economic Cycles and Political Impacts in the Semiperiphery:  
 A Comparative Perspective  
 Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 10  
 Death, Extinction and Fear: Modern Holocausts and the End of Modernity  
 Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 8  
 Policy Debate in the Soviet Union: Its Nature and Implications  
 North American Society for Social Philosophy—Panel 5  
 Religion and the American Economy

**2:00 p.m. to 3:15 p.m.**—APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies  
 Business Meeting

**3:30 p.m. to 5:15 p.m.**

**APSA Program Committee Panels**

2-3. Linking Public Opinion and Public Policy:  
 Research Strategies and Examples  
 3-15. Roundtable on the Development of Plato's Political Theory  
 4-4. The Crisis of Contemporary Liberalism  
 6-2. Etiology of Protest and Rebellion:  
 Historical and Comparative Analyses  
 7-3. Roundtable on Area Studies and Theory Building in Comparative  
 Politics: A Stocktaking  
 10-4. Thinking About Politics  
 11-14. Interest Groups in the American States:  
 Changing Patterns of Power and Strategies  
 12-4. The Politics of Voter Registration  
 13-10. Leaders and Followers in the Congress  
 14-13. The Presidency and American Political Culture  
 16-3. Political Responsiveness of Bureaucracies: The Case of  
 Regulatory Enforcement  
 17-7. Local Decision-Making in a Changing Environment: Allocating Resources  
 18-7. Comparative State Policy-Making  
 19-10. Roundtable on the Future Evolution of the International System  
 20-7. Cycles of Domination: Hierarchy, Dependence and the Basic Rhythms  
 of Political Change  
 22-13. Executive Branch Policymaking in Three Issue Areas  
 23-9. Roundtable on the Selling of the Social Sciences: Achieving  
 Public Understanding of the Disciplines

**APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Workshop 8
- Bicommunal Coexistence, Cooperation, and Conflict
- Policy Studies—Panel 6
- Microcomputers and Public Policy Analysis
- Presidency Research—Panel 2
- Presidency Textbooks in the 1980s
- Public Administration—Panel 5
- Theory of Public Organization

**APSA Committee Sponsored Panel**

- Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession—Panel 2
- Roundtable on Incorporating Materials on Women and Politics in Textbooks

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- American Politics Quarterly*—Editorial Board Meeting
- British Politics Group—Panel
- Regionalism in British Politics
- Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 11
- The Crisis of Liberal Political Thought
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Panel 8
- New Directions in Research on Religion and Politics
- Claremont Institute—Panel 8
- Theory and Practice: Part II American Democracy
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 10
- The Rule of Law, Corporation and Pluralism
- Panel 13—Democratic Capitalism Past the Crossroads?
- Competing Perspectives on European Political Economy
- Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 9
- Revisiting Liberalism Again
- Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 5
- Eric Voegelin
- Middle East Studies Association—Panel 1
- Change in the Middle East: The Comparative Perspective

**5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Business Meetings**

- APSA Organized Sections:
- Law, Courts and Judicial Process
- Political Organizations and Parties

**5:30 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.—*American Journal of Political Science***

- Editorial Board Meeting

**5:30 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.—Western Political Science Association**

- Executive Council and Program Committee Meeting

**6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.—Receptions**

- APSA Reception for Graduate Students
- APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process
- APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession
- Association for Politics and the Life Sciences
- University of California, Davis
- University of California, Los Angeles
- University of California, Riverside
- University of California, Santa Barbara
- University of Chicago
- Claremont Institute
- Emory University/*Journal of Politics*
- Harvard University
- University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
- International Christian Studies Association
- Johns Hopkins University
- Louisiana State University
- University of Michigan
- University of Minnesota
- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
- Ohio State University

University of Oklahoma  
Tulane University  
University of Virginia  
University of Washington, Seattle  
University of Wisconsin, Madison  
Women's Caucus for Political Science  
Yale University

**8:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—Plenary Session 2. Reform of the American Political System**

**10:30 p.m. to 12:00 p.m.—Nightcap Receptions**

APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession  
Washington University, St. Louis

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## **SATURDAY, AUGUST 31**

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**7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.—Breakfast Meetings**

Conference Group of Mormon Political Scientists  
Political Scientists Specializing on Japan

**7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.—Women's Caucus for Political Science:**  
Business Meeting 2

**8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Professional Placement Service**

**8:00 a.m. to close of Annual Business Meeting—APSA Registration**

**8:30 a.m. to close of Annual Business Meeting—APSA Convention Office  
and Press Room**

**8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.—APSA Child Care Service**

**9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Exhibits**

**9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Panel Paper Sales**

**9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.—*State of the Nation* Editorial Board**  
Breakfast Meeting

**8:45 a.m. to 10:30 p.m.**

### **APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 1-7. American Elections in Light of the Spatial Model
- 2-10. Using Error Terms and Missing Data
- 3-6. The Family in Political Philosophy
- 4-6. Deconstructing Feminism
- 5-5. Roundtable on Institutional Change in the Western European  
University System: 1945-1985
- 7-8. Responses to Deindustrialization: Privatization vs. Planning
- 8-11. State and Peasantry in the Third World
- 9-8. Roundtable on Research Dimensions of Religion  
in American Politics
- 11-10. Third-Party and Non-Party Politics
- 12-5. American Indians: Participation in the American Political System
- 13-4. Presidential-Congressional Relations: The Battle for Turf
- 15-6. A Critique of the Doctrinal and Decisional Dynamics of the  
Burger Court: The First Amendment and Federalism Revisited
- 16-11. Administering Public Policy in Minority Communities
- 17-9. New Federalism: Policy and Program Implications of the First  
Reagan Administration and Implementation for the Future
- 18-9. Policy Toward Public Enterprise
- 19-7. Terrorism: Organizational Dynamics
- 22-3. The State in the International Political Economy: I
- 23-5. The Theory of Teaching Political Concepts

### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

Conflict Processes—Panel 4  
New Directions in the Analysis of International Conflict

Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Roundtable 1  
 Administrative Issues in American Federalism  
 Law, Courts and Judicial Process—Panel 3  
 Archiving Data for the Law and Judicial Politics Community:  
 Roundtable Discussion on the Supreme Court Decision-Making Project  
 Policy Studies—Panel 10  
 Public Policy Formation and Evaluation  
 Panel 13—The Influence of Agricultural Groups in World Agriculture  
 Public Administration—Panel 7  
 Administration at the Local Level

#### **Unaffiliated Group Panels**

Association for Politics and the Life Sciences—Roundtable 5  
 Health Disabilities and Political Decision Making  
 Caucus for a New Political Science—Roundtable 12  
 The Role of the Self and Psychological Transformation in  
 Contemporary Radical Politics  
 Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 6  
 The Religion Question and Current American Politics  
 Claremont Institute—Panel 9  
 Winston Churchill on Foreign Policy  
 Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 4  
 Rousseau and the Paradoxes of Sexual Politics  
 National Endowment for the Humanities—Panel  
 Political Science and the Study of the Constitution  
 North American Society for Social Philosophy—Panel 6  
 Defending Liberalism  
 Society for Social Studies of Science—Panel  
 Science Policy

**10:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.**

#### **APSA Program Committee Panels**

2-5. New Strategies and Paths to Theory Building in  
 Comparative Politics  
 3-10. Adam Smith: History, Morals, and Politics  
 4-2. Changing the Political Subject  
 6-3. Elite Attitudes and Democratization from Authoritarianism  
 8-7. Roundtable on Internal vs. External Factors in Political Development:  
 An Evaluation of Recent Historical Research  
 9-6. Processes of Partisan Transformation  
 10-5. Group Influence and Political Thinking  
 11-12. The Media's Role in Elections-U.S.A.  
 12-7. What's Left? Problems and Prospects  
 13-8. Legislative Recruitment and Elections  
 14-10. Presidential Selection  
 18-6. Urban Politics and Public Policy  
 20-1. The Dominant Powers and Their Dependencies: The USSR in Eastern  
 Europe and the U.S. in Latin America  
 21-2. Changes in National Interests, International Institutions  
 and the International System  
 22-8. Protectionism and Trade Policymaking: Can We Still Cope?

#### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

Conflict Processes—Panel 7  
 Foreign Policy and Peace  
 Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations—Panel 9  
 Urban Political Cultures under Fiscal Austerity  
 Policy Studies—Panel 12  
 Civil Liberties, Civil Rights and Public Policy  
 Presidency Research—Panel 3  
 The Presidential Appointments System, 1969-1985  
 Public Administration—Panel 10  
 Political Leadership and Public Administration

#### **APSA Committee Sponsored Panels**

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession—Panel 3

Subtle and Not So Subtle Discrimination Against Women in  
Academic Institutions  
Program Committee Sponsored Panel  
Roundtable in Honor of Charles Hyneman: Theory and Research  
on Democratic Government

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America—Panel 2  
Political Development in North Korea: 1945–1985  
Bagehot Research Council on National Sovereignty—Panel  
Recruitment for National Interest  
British Politics Group—Business Meeting and Colloquium  
The Past Year in British Politics  
Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 9  
The Left and Electoral Politics in the 1980s  
Caucus on Faith and Politics—Roundtable 9  
Religion and the 1984 Election: A Comparative Context  
Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 3  
Civic Education in the American Republic  
Committee for Party Renewal—Panel 2  
Congress and Strategies for Party Renewal  
Committee on Health Politics—Panel 1  
Health Policy, Politics and the Aging  
Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 1  
Was 1984 A Critical Election?  
Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 8  
Recent Approaches to the History of Political Theory  
Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 1  
Plato  
Personal Computer Users' Group—Panel  
Applications of the Conflict Analysis Personal Computer Program  
Society for Social Studies of Science—Open Meeting

**12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.—Business Meetings**

Association for Politics and the Life Sciences  
Committee for Party Renewal  
Committee on Health Politics  
Conference Group on Italian Politics

**1:30 p.m. to 3:15 p.m.**

**APSA Program Committee Panels**

1–1. Formal Models of Political Dynamics  
2–6. New Approaches to Time Series  
3–5. Citizenship in the Progressive Era  
4–11. New Perspectives on Political Power  
5–6. Bureaucracies, Public and Para-Public  
6–11. The Middle East in Transition: Transformation of Old Elites  
and Emergence of New Elites  
8–13. Political Elites in Cross-National Perspective  
9–4. Party Realignment and Partisan Change  
10–8. Models of Political Thought and Behavior  
11–13. The Media's Role in Elections—International  
12–6. Minority Politics, Public Policy and Political Change  
13–5. Coalition Politics in the Congress  
14–3. Presidential Decisionmaking and Advising  
15–4. Public Opinion and the American Judiciary:  
Implications and Assessments  
16–9. The Impact of Policy Analysis on Policymaking  
17–8. Individual and Groups Demands in Urban Settings:  
Citizen Contacts, Neighborhood Groups and Service Delivery  
19–4. Conflict and the Measurement of National Capability  
21–6. Knowledge, Power and Progress in International Relations  
22–1. Organizational and Process Influences in U.S. Foreign Policy  
Making: Research in Progress  
23–7. Political Scientists in Congress: The Role of Staff  
in the Policy Process

**APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Conflict Processes—Panel 9
  - A Vertical Look at Conflict and Escalation
- Policy Studies—Panel 4
  - Privacy, Technology and Public Policy
- Public Administration—Panel 14
  - The Psychology of Administration

**APSA Committee Sponsored Panel**

- Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession—Panel 2
  - Black Election Study on the 1984 Presidential Election: Some Preliminary Findings and Observations

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America—Panel 3
  - Two Koreas in World Politics
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Plenary Session
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 8
  - On the Margin of the Constitution: Institutional Innovation, Governance and Accountability
- Churchill Association—Panel 1
  - The Strategic Capabilities of the U.S.S.R., Then and Now: A Churchillian Perspective
- Conference Group on Italian Politics—Panel
  - The Left in France and Italy
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 9
  - The Paradox of Knowledge and Power: Michel Foucault
- Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 7
  - Charismatic Leadership and the Theory of Democracy
- North American Society for Social Philosophy—Panel 7
  - Practices of Political Speech and Action
- Women's Caucus for Political Science—Panel 5
  - The 1984 Elections and the Ferraro Factor

**1:30 p.m. to 5:15 p.m.**—Study Group on Political Information Processing—  
Workshop: Computational Modes of Political Decision Making

**3:30 p.m. to 5:15 p.m.**

**APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 2-7. Dynamic Modeling and Contextual Effects
- 3-13. Mannheim and Conservatism Revisited
- 4-9. Marxian Theory and Social Change
- 5-2. Roundtable on *In Search of France, From the Sixties to the Eighties*
- 6-13. Religion and Politics
- 7-9. Social Welfare Policy in Comparative Perspective
- 8-12. Regimes and Social Change
- 10-6. Economic Voting: Another Look
- 11-2. State and Local Election Campaigns
- 12-3. Policy Networks and Social Welfare Policy:  
Sub-Governments Revisited
- 13-7. Congressional Policies and Legislative Voting
- 14-4. The Great Society from Johnson to Reagan
- 16-10. Multivariate Analysis of Agency Decisions
- 17-5. Political Change and Changing Perspectives of Federalism  
and Intergovernmental Relations
- 18-10. Public Choice vs. Private Choice
- 19-8. Alliance Formation, Diffusion and Security
- 20-3. The Decline of Hegemony and Change in the International  
Political Economy
- 22-4. Guns, Butter and Growth: Managing the Trade Offs
- 23-6. Roundtable on Humanities Teaching and Research  
by Political Scientists

**APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Conflict Processes—Panel 11

Fights, Games, Debates: A New Look  
Law, Courts and Judicial Process—Panel 1  
Roundtable on Comparative State Judicial Research  
Policy Studies—Panel 5  
Politics of Rural Development  
Public Administration—Panel 9  
Public-Private Policymaking Partnerships

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 1  
The Production of Knowledge in Contemporary Society: A Critical  
Analysis of the University  
Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 5  
The Constitutional Understandings of Hamilton and Jefferson  
Churchill Association—Panel 2  
The United States Strategic Defense Initiative: Pro and Con  
Conference Group on German Politics—Panel 3  
Arms Control and Atlantic Relations  
Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 7  
The Politics of Time  
Panel 19—Democracy and Deterrence  
Conference Group on the Middle East—Roundtable 1  
Ethnic Determinants of Middle Eastern International Relations: Part I  
Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 2  
Rousseau  
Law and Political Process Study Group—Panel  
Law and the Political Process Study Group  
National Elections Studies—Information Session  
North American Society for Social Philosophy—Panel 3  
Re-Examining Marx: The Locus of Authority  
Women's Caucus for Political Science—Panel 1  
Women, Violence and the Political System

**5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—APSA Annual Business Meeting**

**5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Business Meetings**

APSA Organized Sections:  
Conflict Processes  
Public Administration

**5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and  
Judicial Process—Executive Committee Meeting**

**5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Indian Policy Network Meeting**

**6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.—*International Organization* Editorial Board Meeting**

**8:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—Plenary Session 3. Arms Control: Problems and Prospects**

**10:30 p.m. to 1:30 a.m.—APSA Jazz Concert**

## **SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1**

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**8:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.—APSA Professional Placement Service**

**8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.—APSA Registration**

**8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.—APSA Convention Office and Press Room**

**8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.—APSA Child Care Service**

**9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.—APSA Exhibits**

**9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.—APSA Panel Paper Sales**

**8:45 a.m. to 10:15 a.m.**

**APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 1-2. Roundtable on Schools of Public Choice:  
Problems, Theories, and Methods
- 2-8. Empirical Tests of Legitimacy Theory
- 3-14. Approaches to Community
- 4-8. Changing Critical Theory
- 5-3. The State and Modernization
- 6-8. Partisan Dealignment and Realignment in Western Democracies
- 7-12. Decision Process and Policy Outcome: A Crossnational Perspective
- 8-8. Institutional Bases of Class Action in Developing Countries
- 10-3. Values and Political Change
- 11-6. Political Ambition and Electoral Politics
- 12-9. The Interdependence of Gender, Race and Class in American Politics
- 13-11. Constituents, Party and Legislative Voting
- 14-12. Alternatives to the Constitutional Separation of Power in  
Presidential-Congressional Relations
- 15-5. New Perspectives on the Supreme Court
- 16-7. Organizations in an Urban Environment
- 17-10. The Context of State and Local Legislatures:  
Districting, Slating and Lobbyists
- 18-8. Interest Groups and Public Policy
- 20-6. International Determinants of Domestic Political Structures
- 21-8. International Economic Institutions and the Third World
- 22-11. Democratic Politics and Foreign Policy
- 23-10. The Policy Analyst and Political Science Research in State  
and Local Government

**APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Legislative Studies—Panel 3  
A Roundtable on Legislative Oral Histories
- Policy Studies—Panel 8  
Environmental and Energy Policy Problems
- Public Administration—Panel 12  
Of Centennials and Bicentennials: Constitutional Foundations  
of the Administrative State

**Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Asian Political Scientists Group—Panel 1  
East Asia and Regional Stability: Intraregional Policies of Nations
- Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 3  
Developments in Workplace Democratization in the United States:  
Co-optation or Steps Toward Fundamental Change
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 12  
The Item Veto
- Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis—Panel 1  
Theoretical Approaches to Decision-Making: A Comparative Analysis
- Conference Group on Cultural Policy and the Arts—Panel 1  
Comparative Cultural Policymaking
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Roundtable 8  
Freedom and Community
- Panel 14—Thatcherism and Reaganism Compared: Part I
- Foundations of Political Theory Group—Panel 11  
Political Deliberation, Rhetoric and Evaluation
- Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 6  
Varieties of Naturalism in Political Theory
- North American Society for Social Philosophy—Panel 4  
Reason in Policy

**10:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.**

**APSA Program Committee Panels**

- 2-9. New Areas for Formal Analysis
- 3-7. Roundtable: Perspectives on Recent Interpretations of Machiavelli
- 3-12. The Political Anthropology of Liberal Thinkers
- 4-5. Roundtable on "Patriotism" in Political Discourse



- 5-8. Does Changing the Rules Change Politics?
- 6-6. Political Crises, Violence and Terrorism
- 7-7. Government Policy Strategies in Postindustrial Societies
- 8-3. Changing States and the Breakdown of Hegemony
- 9-3. Economic Attitudes and Political Action
- 11-4. Party Activists
- 12-10. Toward Equality in the City: Group Mobilization for Political Change
- 13-12. Policy Subsystems and Legislative Voting
- 14-7. Perspectives on Presidential Influence
- 15-8. Legal Services After Twenty Years: An Assessment
- 16-13. Roundtable on Intergovernmental Aid Dependency and Fiscal Stress
- 18-3. Politics and Economic Policy-Making
- 19-2. Analysing Power Cycle Theory
- 21-4. Policies, Politics and International Institutions: The Changing Mixture
- 22-6. Explaining the Foreign Policy Behavior of Third World States

#### **APSA Organized Section Panels**

- Conflict Processes—Panel 10
  - Paths to Peace or War: Alliances, Arms Control, and Dyadic Conflict
- Policy Studies—Panel 11
  - Cross-National and International Policy Analysis
- Public Administration—Panel 11
  - Problems of Administrative Responsibility

#### **Unaffiliated Group Panels**

- Asian Political Scientists Group—Panel 2
  - Politics of Olympics '88 in South Korea
- Association for Politics and the Life Sciences—Panel 3
  - Biobehavioral Research: Non Elite Behavior
- Caucus for a New Political Science—Panel 4
  - The Internationalization of Capital
- Caucus on Faith and Politics—Panel 10
  - The Bishops Pastoral Letter and the Economy
- Center for the Study of the Constitution—Panel 11
  - Civil-Military Relations Under the Constitution
- Committee on Health Politics—Panel 2
  - Roundtable on Political Institutions and Health Policy
- Conference Group on Political Economy—Panel 15
  - Thatcherism and Reaganism Compared: Part II
- Conference Group on the Middle East—Roundtable 2
  - Ethnic Determinants of Middle Eastern International Relations: Part II
- Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics—Panel 4
  - The Bishops and the Economy
- Society for Greek Political Thought—Panel 2
  - The Political Theory of the Greek Historians
- Women's Caucus for Political Science—Panel 7
  - The Difference Women Make in the Legislative Process

# Annual Meeting Dates To Remember

- June 30:** Deadline for receipt of camera-ready copy of abstracts for 1985 Proceedings.
- July 12:** Roommate Matching Service Applications due.
- July 15:** Child Care Service Information requests due.
- July 29:** Advance Registration due for Personnel Placement Service.
- August 1:** Advance Registration due for Annual Meeting.\*
- August 1:** Deadline for completion and mailing of APSA panel papers.
- August 1:** Completed Child Care Service registration forms due.
- August 15:** Cut-off date for Annual Meeting Hotel Reservations.
- August 27-28:** APSA Short Courses.
- August 29-September 1:** 1985 Annual Meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana.
- December 1:** Deadline for receipt of paper proposals for 1986 Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C.

\* Lower fee for pre-registration.

# Summary of Official Program

Joseph Cooper, *Rice University* Program Chair

**Plenary Session 1** ..... Thursday, 8:30 p.m.

Presentation of Awards  
Presidential Address

**Plenary Session 2** ..... Friday, 8:30 p.m.

Reform of the American Political System

**Plenary Session 3** ..... Saturday, 8:30 p.m.

Arms Control: Problems and Prospects

The theme of the 1985 Annual Meeting is Political Change. Due to the importance of this theme and the efforts of the 1985 Program Committee, a rich variety of panels in all areas of the Program focus on the analysis and understanding of change. Thus, no small subset of theme panels can or need be identified; the theme rather pervades the Program.

## Program Committee Sections

### SECTION 1. POSITIVE POLITICAL THEORY

Nicholas R. Miller, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

- 1-1. Formal Models of Political Dynamics ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 1-2. Roundtable on Schools of Public Choice:  
Problems, Theories, and Methods ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 1-3. Agenda Formation and the Theory of Voting ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 1-4. The Evaluation of Voting Systems ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 1-5. Bureaucracy and Hierarchical Processes ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 1-6. Models of Imperfect Information in Politics ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 1-7. American Elections in Light of the  
Spatial Model ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 1-8. Approval Voting: Status Report ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

### SECTION 2. EMPIRICAL THEORY AND RESEARCH METHODS

Michael Lewis-Beck, *University of Iowa*

- 2-1. New Methods for Analyzing the  
1984 Rolling Cross-Section ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 2-2. Modeling and Estimating Survey Responses ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 2-3. Linking Public Opinion and Public Policy:  
Research Strategies and Examples ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 2-4. Computer Simulation in Political Science ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 2-5. New Strategies and Paths to Theory Building in  
Comparative Politics ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 2-6. New Approaches to Time Series ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 2-7. Dynamic Modeling and Contextual Effects ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 2-8. Empirical Tests of Legitimacy Theory ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 2-9. New Areas for Formal Analysis ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

- 2-10. Using Error Terms and Missing Data ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.  
 2-11. Presidential Leadership and the  
       Coalition-Building Process ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

### **SECTION 3. POLITICAL THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY: HISTORICAL APPROACHES**

Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Brown University*

- 3-1. Political Change and the Origins of  
       Political Theory ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.  
 3-2. Theories of Political Change in Plato and Aristotle Thursday, 10:45 a.m.  
 3-3. Roundtable: What is Progress? ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.  
 3-4. The Roman Experience: Change and Continuity .... Friday, 1:30 p.m.  
 3-5. Citizenship in the Progressive Era ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.  
 3-6. The Family in Political Philosophy ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.  
 3-7. Roundtable: Perspectives on Recent  
       Interpretations of Machiavelli ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.  
 3-8. Historical Sources of Antiliberal Thought ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.  
 3-9. Kant's Groundwork After 200 Years ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.  
 3-10. Adam Smith: History, Morals, and Politics ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.  
 3-11. Nietzsche, Aesthetics and Politics ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.  
 3-12. The Political Anthropology of Liberal Thinkers .... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.  
 3-13. Mannheim and Conservatism Revisited ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.  
 3-14. Approaches to Community ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.  
 3-15. Roundtable on the Development of Plato's  
       Political Theory ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

### **SECTION 4. POLITICAL THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY: ANALYTICAL AND CRITICAL APPROACHES**

Terence Ball, *University of Minnesota*

- 4-1. Political Theory and Conceptual Change ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.  
 4-2. Changing the Political Subject ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.  
 4-3. The Empirical Study of Normative Reasoning .... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.  
 4-4. The Crisis of Contemporary Liberalism ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.  
 4-5. Roundtable on 'Patriotism' in Political Discourse .. Sunday, 10:45 a.m.  
 4-6. Deconstructing Feminism ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.  
 4-7. Democratic Participation and the Redrawing of  
       the Public/Private Distinction ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.  
 4-8. Changing Critical Theory ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.  
 4-9. Marxian Theory and Social Change ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.  
 4-10. Roundtable on Parfit and Politics ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.  
 4-11. New Perspectives on Political Power ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.  
 4-12. For Foucault ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

### **SECTION 5. COMPARATIVE POLITICS: INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE**

Suzanne Berger, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

- 5-1. Military and Society ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.  
 5-2. Roundtable on *In Search of France* From  
       the Sixties to the Eighties ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.  
 5-3. The State and Modernization ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.  
 5-4. Environmentalism: A Vehicle for Value Change? .... Friday, 10:45 a.m.  
 5-5. Roundtable on Institutional Change in the  
       Western European University System: 1945-1985 ... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.  
 5-6. Bureaucracies, Public and Para-Public ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.  
 5-7. New Social Movements ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

- 5-8. Does Changing the Rules Change Politics? ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.  
 5-9. Canada and the United States in Comparative  
 Perspective ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 6. COMPARATIVE POLITICS: MASS AND ELITE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR**

Edward N. Muller, *University of Arizona*

- 6-1. Public Confidence and Political Support for Democracy:  
 Latin American and European Perspectives ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.  
 6-2. Etiology of Protest and Rebellion: Historical  
 and Comparative Analyses ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.  
 6-3. Elite Attitudes and Democratization from  
 Authoritarianism ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.  
 6-4. Beliefs, Roles and Voting Behavior  
 in Comparative Perspective ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.  
 6-5. Dynamics of Citizen Support for Democratic Regimes:  
 Macro and Micro Perspectives ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.  
 6-6. Political Crises, Violence and Terrorism ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.  
 6-7. Mass and Elite Attitudes and Behavior  
 in Communist Systems ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.  
 6-8. Partisan Dealignment and Realignment  
 in Western Democracies ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.  
 6-9. The Dynamics of Political Support and Alienation  
 in Western European Democracies ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.  
 6-10. Political Participation of Women in the  
 Third World ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.  
 6-11. The Middle East in Transition: Transformation  
 of Old Elites and Emergence of New Elites ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.  
 6-12. Ideological Change in Post-Industrial Society ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.  
 6-13. Religion and Politics ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 7. COMPARATIVE POLITICS: PUBLIC POLICIES AND POLICY MAKING**

Donald R. Kelley, *University of Arkansas*

- 7-1. The Growth of Big Government:  
 A Comparative Perspective ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.  
 7-2. Comparative Subnational Policy Making ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.  
 7-3. Roundtable on Area Studies and Theory Building  
 in Comparative Politics: A Stocktaking ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.  
 7-4. Public Policy toward Dissent ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.  
 7-5. Comparative National Security Policy ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.  
 7-6. Social Welfare Policy in the 1980s: Lessons  
 of International Comparison ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.  
 7-7. Government Policy Strategies in Postindustrial  
 Societies ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.  
 7-8. Responses to Deindustrialization:  
 Privatization vs. Planning ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.  
 7-9. Social Welfare Policy in Comparative Perspective .. Saturday, 3:30 p.m.  
 7-10. Policy Making in the Third World ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.  
 7-11. Policy Making in Socialist States ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.  
 7-12. Decision Process and Policy Outcome:  
 A Crossnational Perspective ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

## **SECTION 8. COMPARATIVE POLITICS: DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE**

Richard Sisson, *University of California, Los Angeles*

- 8-1. Modeling Political Development ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 8-2. Roundtable on Marxism and Rational Choice  
Theory: Part I ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 8-2. Roundtable on Marxism and Rational Choice  
Theory: Part II ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 8-3. Changing States and the Breakdown of  
Hegemony ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 8-4. State Theories, Development and Women ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 8-5. Roundtable on Area Studies and Theory-Building in  
Comparative Politics: A Stocktaking ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 8-6. Political Transformation in Liberal Democracies ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 8-7. Roundtable on Internal vs. External Factors in  
Political Development: An Evaluation of Recent  
Historical Research ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 8-8. Institutional Bases of Class Action in  
Developing Countries ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 8-9. Development and Democracy ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 8-10. State, Economy and Democratic Stability ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 8-11. State and Peasantry in the Third World ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 8-12. Regimes and Social Change ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 8-13. Political Elites in Cross-National Perspective ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 9. ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR AND POPULAR CONTROL**

Nancy H. Zingale, *College of St. Thomas*

- 9-1. The Presidential Election of 1984 ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 9-2. The Dynamics of Candidate Choice ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 9-3. Economic Attitudes and Political Action ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 9-4. Party Realignment and Partisan Change ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 9-5. The Floating Voter ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 9-6. Processes of Partisan Transformation ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 9-7. Elections and Popular Control of Government ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 9-8. Roundtable on Research Dimensions of Religion  
in American Politics ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 9-9. The Politics of Voter Registration ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 10. PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY**

Pamela Johnston Conover, *University of North Carolina*

- 10-1. Changing Perspectives on Political Thinking ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 10-2. Liberalism and Conservatism ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 10-3. Values and Political Change ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 10-4. Thinking About Politics ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 10-5. Group Influence and Political Thinking ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 10-6. Economic Voting: Another Look ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 10-7. Gender and Political Orientations ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 10-8. Models of Political Thought and Behavior ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 10-9. The Media and Public Opinion ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 10-10. Generational Politics of the 1980s ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 11. PARTIES, CAMPAIGNS, AND INTEREST GROUPS**

Gary Jacobson, *University of California, San Diego*

- 11-1. Political Action Committees ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 11-2. State and Local Election Campaigns ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 11-3. Presidential Primaries ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

- 11-4. Party Activists ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 11-5. Consequences of Party Reform ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 11-6. Political Ambition and Electoral Politics ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 11-7. Interest Group Politics ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 11-8. Topics in Campaign Finance ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 11-9. Party Deserters and Switchers ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 11-10. Third-Party and Non-Party Politics ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 11-11. Roundtable on Research on Party Organizations ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 11-12. The Media's Role in Elections—U.S.A. .... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 11-13. The Media's Role in Elections—International ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 11-14. Interest Groups in the American States: Changing  
Patterns of Power and Strategies ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 11-15. Interest Groups and PACs ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 12. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, POLITICAL POWER, AND THE POLITICS OF DISADVANTAGED GROUPS**

Joyce Gelb, *City College*

- 12-1. The Social Impacts of Deregulation ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 12-2. The New Federalism and the Rise of a New  
Class Society ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 12-3. Policy Networks and Social Welfare Policy:  
Sub-Governments Revisited ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 12-4. The Politics of Voter Registration ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 12-5. American Indians: Participation in the  
American Political System ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 12-6. Minority Politics, Public Policy and Political  
Change ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 12-7. What's Left? Problems and Prospects ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 12-8. Electing Women, Blacks and Latinos  
at the State and Local Level ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 12-9. The Interdependence of Gender, Race and Class  
in American Politics ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 12-10. Toward Equality in the City: Group Mobilization  
for Political Change ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 12-11. A Global Look at the Political and Economic  
Roles of Women: Thoughts on Concluding the  
U.N. Decade ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 12-12. Roundtable on Social Protest Movements:  
A Cross-Disciplinary Discussion ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 13. LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES AND POLITICS**

Susan W. Hammond, *American University*

- 13-1. Woodrow Wilson's Congress 100 Years Later ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 13-2. Rules and Strategies in Congress ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 13-3. Committees in the Legislative Process ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 13-4. Presidential-Congressional Relations: The Battle  
for Turf ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 13-5. Coalition Politics in the Congress ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 13-6. Economic and Fiscal Policymaking in Congress .. Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 13-7. Congressional Policies and Legislative Voting .... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 13-8. Legislative Recruitment and Elections ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 13-9. Change and Reform in Congress ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 13-10. Leaders and Followers in the Congress ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 13-11. Constituents, Party and Legislative Voting ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 13-12. Policy Subsystems and Legislative Voting ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

- 13-13. Roundtable on Congressional Committee Research:  
A Panel Honoring Richard F. Fenno, Jr. .... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 13-14. Roundtable on The Future of the Congressional  
Budget Process ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 14. POLITICAL EXECUTIVES AND THE PRESIDENCY**

Larry Berman, *University of California, Davis*

- 14-1. Roundtable on Presidents, Prime Ministers  
and Their Roles ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 14-2. Political Executives: Comparative Approaches ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 14-3. Presidential Decisionmaking and Advising ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 14-4. The Great Society from Johnson to Reagan ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 14-5. Presidential-Congressional Relations: The Battle  
for Turf ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 14-6. Presidential Leadership, Foreign Policy and  
Public Opinion ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 14-7. Perspectives on Presidential Influence ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 14-8. Studies in the Institutionalized Presidency ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 14-9. Historical Perspectives on the American Executive Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 14-10. Presidential Selection ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 14-11. Roundtable on the Reagan Presidency:  
Assessments and Projections ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 14-12. Alternatives to the Constitutional Separation of  
Power in Presidential-Congressional Relations ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 14-13. The Presidency and American Political Culture ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 15. PUBLIC LAW AND JUDICIAL POLITICS**

William J. Daniels, *Union College*

- 15-1. Judicial Review and Democracy ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 15-2. Perspectives on Constitutional Politics ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 15-3. Interest Input, Policy Output, and Appellate  
Supervision in the Federal Judiciary ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 15-4. Public Opinion and the American Judiciary:  
Implications and Assessments ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 15-5. New Perspectives on the Supreme Court ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 15-6. A Critique of the Doctrinal and Decisional Dynamics  
of the Burger Court: The First Amendment and  
Federalism Revisited ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 15-7. Roundtable on Political Culture and  
Judicial Behavior ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 15-8. Legal Services After Twenty Years:  
An Assessment ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 15-9. Biology, Culture and Constitution ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

## **SECTION 16. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION THEORY**

Kenneth J. Meier, *University of Oklahoma*

- 16-1. Reconsidering Some Myths of Public  
Administration ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 16-2. Power and the Study of Organizations ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 16-3. Political Responsiveness of Bureaucracies: The Case  
of Regulatory Enforcement ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 16-4. Political Change and the Regulatory Process ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 16-5. Public Organizations and Environmental Change ... Friday, 10:45 a.m.



- 16-6. State Revenue Policy: Determinants and Impacts . Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 16-7. Organizations in an Urban Environment ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 16-8. New Directions in Budgeting Theory ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 16-9. The Impact of Policy Analysis on Policymaking ... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 16-10. Multivariate Analysis of Agency Decisions ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 16-11. Administering Public Policy in Minority  
Communities ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 16-12. The State of Public Administration Theory:  
An Assessment ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 16-13. Roundtable on Intergovernmental Aid Dependency  
and Fiscal Stress ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

## **SECTION 17. COMPARATIVE STATE POLITICS, URBAN POLITICS, AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS**

Anne H. Hopkins, *University of Tennessee*

- 17-1. Changing Perspectives on State Legislatures ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 17-2. State Electoral Changes ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 17-3. Issues in State and Local Economic  
Development Policy ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 17-4. The Study of Public Policy in the States:  
Changing Approaches ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 17-5. Political Change and Changing Perspectives  
of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations ... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 17-6. Workshop in Urban Political Economy ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 17-7. Local Decision-Making in a Changing Environment:  
Allocating Resources ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 17-8. Individual and Groups Demands in Urban Settings:  
Citizen Contacts, Neighborhood Groups and  
Service Delivery ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 17-9. New Federalism: Policy and Program Implications  
of the First Reagan Administration and Implementation  
for the Future ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 17-10. The Context of State and Local Legislatures:  
Districting, Slating and Lobbyists ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 17-11. Roundtable on Intergovernmental Aid Dependency  
and Fiscal Stress ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

## **SECTION 18. PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS**

Paul E. Peterson, *Brookings Institution*

- 18-1. The Politics of Energy in the 1980s ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 18-2. Political Institutions and Public Policy ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 18-3. Politics and Economic Policy-Making ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 18-4. Politics and Policy Implementation ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 18-5. Development, Regulation and Redistribution  
in a Federal System ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 18-6. Urban Politics and Public Policy ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 18-7. Comparative State Policy-Making ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 18-8. Interest Groups and Public Policy ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 18-9. Policy Toward Public Enterprise ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 18-10. Public Choice vs. Private Choice ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 18-11. Regulation Politics ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 18-12. The Impact of Policy Analysis  
on Policymaking ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 19. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

Charles F. Doran, *Johns Hopkins University, SAIS*

- 19-1. The Exercise of Power: USA/USSR ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 19-2. Analysing Power Cycle Theory ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 19-3. Psychology of Conflict ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 19-4. Conflict and the Measurement of National  
Capability ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 19-5. Models of Conflict and Political Change ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 19-6. National Security and Economic Considerations ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 19-7. Terrorism: Organizational Dynamics ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 19-8. Alliance Formation, Diffusion and Security ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 19-9. Game Theoretic Analyses of International  
Processes ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 19-10. Roundtable on the Future Evolution  
of the International System ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 20. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: HIERARCHY AND DEPENDENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

Elizabeth Crump Hanson, *University of Connecticut*

- 20-1. The Dominant Powers and Their Dependencies:  
The USSR in Eastern Europe and the  
U.S. in Latin America ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 20-2. The State in the International Political Economy: I ... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 20-3. The Decline of Hegemony and Change in the  
International Political Economy ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 20-4. An Emerging Global State ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 20-5. National and Transnational Challenges to International  
Hierarchy ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 20-6. International Determinants of Domestic Political  
Structures ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 20-7. Cycles of Domination: Hierarchy, Dependence and the  
Basic Rhythms of Political Change ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 20-8. Roundtable on North South Relations: Structural  
Change and Conceptual Ambiguities ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 20-9. The Politics of Growth and Inequality  
in the International Political Economy ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 21. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: ORGANIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

Harold K. Jacobson, *University of Michigan*

- 21-1. Structuring Change in the International System ... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- 21-2. Changes in National Interests, International  
Institutions and the International System ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 21-3. Changing Patterns of US-IGO Participation ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 21-4. Policies, Politics and International Institutions:  
The Changing Mixture ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 21-5. Changes in Scholarship Concerning International  
Organizations and Interdependence ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 21-6. Knowledge, Power and Progress in International  
Relations ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 21-7. The International Law and Politics of Collective  
Sanctions ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

- 21-8. International Economic Institutions and the  
Third World ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

## **SECTION 22. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: FOREIGN POLICY INFLUENCES AND PROCESSES**

I. M. Destler, *Institute for International Economics*

- 22-1. Organizational and Process Influences in U.S.  
Foreign Policy Making: Research in Progress ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 22-2. The Constitution and Foreign Affairs: Power  
Sharing in Practice ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 22-3. The State in the International  
Political Economy: II ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 22-4. Guns, Butter and Growth: Managing the  
Trade Offs ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 22-5. Policymaking on Issues of North-South Relations  
in Selected OECD Member States ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 22-6. Explaining the Foreign Policy Behavior of  
Third World States ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
- 22-7. Domestic Constraints on American Foreign Policy:  
Causes and Consequences ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- 22-8. Protectionism and Trade Policymaking: Can We  
Still Cope? ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- 22-9. Japanese Economic Policy and U.S.-Japan  
Relations ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 22-10. Toward a Theory of Intelligence ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 22-11. Democratic Politics and Foreign Policy ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- 22-12. Foreign Policy: The Impact of Process  
on Outcomes ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 22-13. Executive Branch Policymaking in  
Three Issue Areas ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 22-14. Normative Thought and Foreign Policy:  
New Research ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

## **SECTION 23. THE PRACTICE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Charles O. Jones, *University of Virginia*

- 23-1. Translating Political Science to the Policy Maker:  
Problems and Prospects ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- 23-2. Political Scientists as Political Actors ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- 23-3. Where the Action Is: Political Scientists in  
Campaigns ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- 23-4. Political Knowledge for What? Two New Books  
on the State of the Discipline ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- 23-5. The Theory of Teaching Political Concepts ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- 23-6. Roundtable on Humanities Teaching and  
Research by Political Scientists ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- 23-7. Political Scientists in Congress: The Role of Staff  
in the Policy Process ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- 23-8. Political Risk Analysts and the Private Sector .... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- 23-9. Roundtable on Selling of the Social Sciences:  
Achieving Public Understanding of the Disciplines .. Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- 23-10. The Policy Analyst and Political Science  
Research in State and Local Government ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

## APSA Organized Sections

### Conflict Processes

Manus I. Midlarsky, *University of Colorado, Boulder*, Program Organizer

1. Formal Models of War ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
  2. Roundtable on the Future Evolution of the International System ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
  3. Systematic Approaches to International Intervention .... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
  4. New Directions in the Analysis of International Conflict Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
  5. Regime Instability and Coercive Behavior ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
  6. Institutional Bases of Class Action in Developing Countries ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
  7. Foreign Policy and Peace ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
  8. The International Law and Politics of Collective Sanctions Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
  9. A Vertical Look at Conflict and Escalation ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
  10. Paths to Peace or War: Alliances, Arms Control, and Dyadic Conflict ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
  11. Fights, Games, Debates: A New Look ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- Organizational Meeting ..... Saturday, 5:30 p.m.

### Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations

Stephen L. Schechter, *Russell Sage College*, Program Organizer

1. Administrative Issues in American Federalism ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
  2. Bureaucracy, Policy Implementation, and Control in Intergovernmental Contexts ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
  3. Federalism and Industrial Policy ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
  4. Party Nationalization or Federalization? Intergovernmental Relations Perspectives on Party Renewal ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
  5. New Judicial Federalism in the States ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
  6. Reliance on State Constitutions in a Federal System .. Friday, 10:45 a.m.
  7. The Theory of Federalism and the Study of Public Administration ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
  8. Bicomunal Coexistence, Cooperation, and Conflict .... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
  9. Urban Political Cultures under Fiscal Austerity ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- Business Meeting ..... Thursday, 12:30 p.m.

### Law, Courts and Judicial Process

Burton Atkins, *Florida State University*, Program Organizer

1. Roundtable on Comparative State Judicial Research . Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
  2. Wither Judicial Biography? ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
  3. Archiving Data for the Law and Judicial Politics  
Community: A Roundtable Discussion on the  
Supreme Court Decision-Making Project ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
  4. Executive Branch Influences and Constraints Upon  
the Federal Courts: Some New Explorations ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- Business Meeting ..... Friday, 5:30 p.m.
- Executive Committee Meeting ..... Saturday, 5:30 p.m.
- Reception ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

### Legislative Studies

L. Sandy Maisel, *Colby College*, Program Organizer

1. Roundtable on Congressional Committee Research:  
A Panel Honoring Richard F. Fenno, Jr. .... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
  2. Coalition Politics in Congress ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
  3. A Roundtable on Legislative Oral Histories ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
  4. Executive-Legislative Relations ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
  5. Influence on State Legislative Decision-Making ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
  6. Change in Congress: A Historical Perspective ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- Business Meeting ..... Thursday, 12:30 p.m.

## **Policy Studies**

Stuart S. Nagel, *University of Illinois, Urbana*, Program Organizer

1. Marketplace Strategies in Public Policy  
Implementation ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
  2. Federalism and Industrial Policy ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
  3. Canada, Public Policy and the United States ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
  4. Privacy, Technology and Public Policy ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
  5. Politics of Rural Development ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
  6. Microcomputers and Public Policy Analysis ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
  7. Urban and State Policy Problems ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
  8. Environmental and Energy Policy Problems ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
  9. Health, Education, Welfare and Public Policy ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
  10. Public Policy Formation and Evaluation ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
  11. Cross-National and International Policy Analysis ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
  12. Civil Liberties, Civil Rights and Public Policy ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
  13. The Influence of Agricultural Groups in World  
Agriculture ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- Awards Luncheon ..... Friday, 12:30 p.m.  
Business Meeting ..... Friday, 2:00 p.m.

## **Political Organizations and Parties**

Alan R. Gitelson, *Loyola University of Chicago*, Program Organizer

1. Roundtable on Research on Party Organizations ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
  2. Interest Groups and PACS ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- Business Meeting ..... Friday, 5:30 p.m.

## **Presidency Research**

Paul C. Light, *National Academy of Public Administration*, Program Organizer

1. Informal Groups in the National Policymaking Process Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
  2. Presidency Textbooks in the 1980s ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
  3. The Presidential Appointments System, 1969-1985 .. Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- Business Meeting ..... Thursday, 5:30 p.m.

## **Public Administration**

Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr., *Auburn University*, Program Organizer

1. A Roundtable on Quality Management ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
2. Cultural Administration As Public Administration ... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
3. Comparative Perspectives: Public and Private Administration  
Organization ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
4. The Administration of Intergovernmental Relations ... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
5. Theory of Public Organization ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
6. Organization Theory and the Problem of Policy  
Implementation ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

7. Administration at the Local Level ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
8. Bureaucratic Politics ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
9. Public-Private Policymaking Partnerships ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
10. Political Leadership and Public Administration ..... Saturday 10:45 a.m.
11. Problems of Administrative Responsibility ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.
12. Of Centennials and Bicentennials: Constitutional  
Foundations of the Administrative State ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
13. Planning for and Implementing Change in Public  
Organizations ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
14. The Psychology of Administration ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- Business Meeting ..... Saturday, 5:30 p.m.

### **Representation and Electoral Systems**

Joseph F. Zimmerman, *SUNY at Albany*, Program Organizer

1. Proportional Representation in Local Governments .. Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
2. A Roundtable on the Federal Voting Rights Act ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
3. The Initiative and the Referendum ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
4. The Single Member District System ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
5. The Elective Higher Education Boards:  
Five Case Studies ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- Business Meeting ..... Friday, 12:30 p.m.

## **APSA Short Courses**

1. Professional Development Workshop: Job Clinic ..... Tuesday 8:00 p.m.  
..... Wednesday, 10:00 a.m., 2:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m.
2. Writing a Research Proposal for the National  
Science Foundation ..... Wednesday, 9:00 a.m.
3. Writing a Research Proposal for the National  
Endowment for the Humanities ..... Wednesday, 1:00 p.m.
4. Administrative Law and Political Science ..... Wednesday, 1:00 p.m.
5. Reaching New Political Science Students  
with Television ..... Wednesday, 1:30 p.m.

## **APSA Committee-Sponsored Panels and Meetings**

### **Committee of Applied Political Scientists**

Reception ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

### **Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession**

1. The Black Vote in the 1984 Election: A Review  
and A Critique ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
2. Black Election Study on the 1984 Presidential Election:  
Some Preliminary Findings and Observations ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Nightcap Reception

Honoring Twiley Barker, *University of Illinois, Chicago*, and

E. Wally Miles, *San Diego State University* ..... Friday, 10:30 p.m.

### **Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession**

Reception Honoring F. Chris Garcia, *University of New Mexico* ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

### **Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession**

Open Meeting ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Film: "Not One of the Boys" ..... Thursday, 5:30 p.m.

A documentary film on women in political life, presented by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, the Eagleton Institute of Politics.

The following are co-sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science:

1. Negotiating for Retirement: Gender and Other Issues ... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
2. Roundtable on Incorporating Materials on Women and Politics  
in Textbooks ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
3. Subtle and Not So Subtle Discrimination Against Women  
in Academic Institutions ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Reception ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

### **Departmental Services Committee**

Forum for Department Chairs ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

### **Program Committee Sponsored Panel**

Roundtable in Honor of Charles Hyneman:

Theory and Research on Democratic Government ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

### **Program Committee Sponsored Workshop**

Workshop on Federal Campaign Finance Data ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

### **Publications Committee**

Open Meeting with New Editors of Political Science Journals Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

## **Other Official APSA Meetings**

### **1986 Program Committee**

Luncheon Meeting ..... Saturday, 12:30 p.m.

**APSA Annual Business Meeting** ..... Saturday, 5:30 p.m.

**APSA Foreign Grantees Meeting** ..... Thursday, 12:30 p.m.

**Jazz Concert** ..... Saturday, 10:30 p.m.

**Reception for Graduate Students** ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

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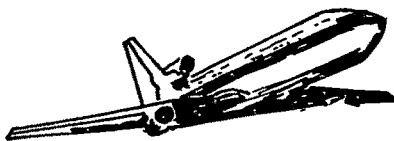
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# Daily Listing of Official Program

## **TUESDAY, 8:00 P.M.**

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### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

#### **Professional Development Workshop: Job Clinic**

Richard Irish, *Trans-Century Corporation*

This three-day workshop will concentrate on self-assessment and skills analysis, developing an effective job campaign, including resume writing, interviewing and salary negotiation.

The job clinic will be directed by Richard Irish, author of the best selling *Go Hire Yourself An Employer* and *If Things Don't Improve Soon, I May Ask You to Fire Me* and co-founder and Vice President of Trans-Century Corporation, a Washington management and consulting firm.

Fee: \$150 APSA members  
\$225 Non-members

## **WEDNESDAY, 9:00 A.M.**

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### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

#### **Writing a Research Proposal for the National Science Foundation**

Lee Sigelman, *National Science Foundation*

The course will concentrate on the basics of preparing research grant proposals for NSF. Application procedures will be described, as well as the basic requirements of a good political science research proposal.

Fee: \$35.00

## **WEDNESDAY, 10:00 A.M.**

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### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

#### **Professional Development Workshop: Job Clinic**

## **WEDNESDAY, 1:00 P.M.**

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### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

#### **Writing a Research Proposal for the National Endowment for the Humanities**

John Walters, *Division of Education Program, NEH*

The course will deal with the fundamentals of preparing research grant proposals. It will identify the basic requirements of a good political science research proposal. Procedures will be explained, and areas within NEH will be identified for the prospective applicant. Fee: \$35.00

### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

#### **Administrative Law and Political Science**

Lief Carter, *University of Georgia*

This short course will assist political science teachers who seek an information base on which to design and teach courses in administrative law in undergraduate and graduate cur-

ricula. It will: (a) define the boundaries of the field; (b) explain basic concepts and issues (e.g., right to a hearing and tort liability of administrators) and apply them in sample problems; (c) suggest reasons for offering courses in administrative law within a political science framework; (d) provide bibliographic materials categorized by issue to assist in course design; (e) discuss varying methods of organizing and sequencing the materials in one quarter/one semester courses.

The course will assemble a panel of experienced administrative law teachers and scholars who will discuss recent developments in the field and discuss questions raised by course members. Case materials for class discussion and bibliographic materials will be provided.

Fee: \$35.00

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## **WEDNESDAY, 1:30 P.M.**

### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

**Reaching New Political Science Students with Television**

Will Philipp, *Public Broadcasting Service, Adult Learning Services and the Annenberg/CPB Project*

In this short course you will learn how faculty across the country are adapting the new breed of high quality television courses to their unique curricular requirements with a high degree of success. Meet the academic developers of *Congress: We The People* and faculty who teach this remarkable television course—discover how you can make television invigorate your curriculum and reach new students.

Fee: \$35.00

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## **WEDNESDAY, 2:00 P.M.**

### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

**Professional Development Workshop: Job Clinic**

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## **WEDNESDAY, 7:00 P.M.**

### **APSA SHORT COURSE**

**Professional Development Workshop: Job Clinic**

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## **THURSDAY, 8:45 A.M.**

### **1-8. Approval Voting: Status Report**

Chair: Steven Brams, *New York University*

Papers: "Evaluating the Desirability of Approval Balloting with Alternative Decision Rules"

Samuel Merrill, *Wilkes College* and

Jack Nagel, *University of Pennsylvania*

"Sophisticated Voting Under Plurality and Approval Voting"

Daniel Felsenthal and Zeev Maoz, *University of Haifa*

"Mapping Candidate Systems Via Approval Voting"

Gerald De Maio and Douglas Muzzio, *Baruch College, CUNY* and

George Sharrard, *New York University*

Disc.: Gary Cox, *University of Texas, Austin*

Richard Niemi, *University of Rochester*

### **3-8. Historical Sources of Antiliberal Thought**

Chair: William Galston

Papers: "Can There be a Post-Modernist Political Theory?"

Ian Shapiro, *Yale University*

"Rights, Revolution, and Community: Hegel's Critique of the Liberal State"

Steven B. Smith, *Yale University*

"Republicanism vs. Liberalism? A Reinterpretation"

Jeffrey Isaacs, *Fordham University*

Disc.: Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Brown University*

William Galston

#### **4-1. Political Theory and Conceptual Change**

Chair: Terence Ball, *University of Minnesota*

Papers: "When Words Lose Their Meanings"

James Boyd White, *University of Michigan*

"The Problem of Conceptual Change"

James Farr, *University of Wisconsin*

Disc.: To be announced

#### **6-10. Political Participation of Women in the Third World**

Chair: Eliz Sanasarian, *University of Southern California*

Papers: "Women Political Elites in Columbia: The Slow Process of Change"

Robert E. Biles, *Sam Houston State University*

"'Reserved Seats' and the Election of Women to Legislative Bodies in Taiwan"

Janet Clark, *University of Wyoming* and

Bih-er Chou, *Chung Yuan Christian University*

"Political Participation and Islamic Reformism: A Case Study of Iran"

Eliz Sanasarian, *University of Southern California*

"Protest as Participation: Women and State Power in Africa"

Catharine Newbury, *Wesleyan University*

Disc.: Kathleen Staudt, *University of Texas, El Paso*

Jeanne-Marie Col, *Sangamon State University*

#### **7-1. The Growth of Big Government: A Comparative Perspective**

Chair: Donald R. Kelley, *University of Arkansas*

Paper: "The Growth of Big Government: A Comparative Perspective"

Richard Rose, *University of Strathclyde*

Disc.: Robert Putnam, *Harvard University*

#### **8-2. Roundtable on Marxism and Rational Choice Theory: Part I**

Chair: Brian Barry, *California Institute of Technology*

Paper: "Marxism and Theories of Rational Choice"

Jon Elster, *University of Chicago* and *University of Oslo*

Participants: John Ferejohn, *Stanford University*

Samuel L. Popkin, *University of California, San Diego*

Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Michael Wallerstein, *University of California, Los Angeles*

#### **10-9. The Media and Public Opinion**

Chair: Joseph Koshansky, Jr., *Centenary College of Louisiana*

Papers: "When Bias is Better: The Surprising Impact of Televised Editorial Endorsements"

Donald T. Cundy, *SUNY at Albany*

"Editorial Page Perspectives on American Political Economy:  
The Case of Wage and Price Controls during World War II and the Nixon  
Years"

Gordon P. Henderson, *Purdue University*

"TV News and Changes in Public Opinion"  
Benjamin I. Page, *University of Texas, Austin*  
Robert Y. Shapiro, *Columbia University* and  
Glenn Dempsey, *NORC*

Disc.: Dan Nimmo, *University of Tennessee*

#### **11-1. Political Action Committees**

Chair: Frank J. Sorauf, *University of Minnesota*

Papers: "The Microeconomy of Political Action Committees"

Theodore J. Eismeier, *Hamilton College* and  
Philip H. Pollock, *University of Central Florida*

"The Determinants of Variation in Corporate Political  
Activity: A Logit Analysis"

Marick Masters and Gerald Keim, *Texas A&M University*

"Business Political Action Committees, 1963-1982"

Wade Dyke, *Oxford University*

Disc.: Kay L. Schlozman, *Boston College*

#### **12-1. The Social Impacts of Deregulation**

Chair: Susan J. Tolchin, *George Washington University*

Papers: "The Nuclear Regulatory Experience"

Regina Axelrod and Hugh Wilson, *Adelphi University*

"Regulatory Issues and Red Herrings in the Governance of Biotechnology"

Gregory A. Daneke, *Arizona State University*

"The Changing Tides of Antitrust Policy"

Robert A. Katzmann, *Brookings Institution*

"The Negative Effects of Deregulation on Innovations in Regulatory Strategies"

Kathryn E. Newcomer, *George Washington University*

"The Role of Economic Analysis in Pro-Competitive Regulatory Reform"

Paul Quirk, *University of Pennsylvania*

"Deregulation as Social Policy: A Critique"

Susan J. Tolchin, *George Washington University*

Disc.: Howard Palley, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

#### **13-3. Committees in the Legislative Process**

Chair: Heinz Eulau, *Stanford University*

Papers: "House Committees and Agenda Setting"

Mary Etta Cook, *Congressional Research Service*

"Subcommittee Influence in Congressional Committees"

C. Lawrence Evans, *University of Rochester*

"Making Subcommittees Work: The Case of the House Committee on Energy  
and Commerce"

Charles M. Tidmarch, *Union College*

Disc.: Charles Bullock, *University of Georgia*

Glenn R. Parker, *Florida State University*

#### **14-6. Presidential Leadership, Foreign Policy and Public Opinion**

Chair: Barbara Kellerman, *Fairleigh Dickinson University*

- Papers: "Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion: The Hardening of American Attitudes toward East-West Relations"  
Valerie Bunce, *Northwestern University*
- "The Evaluation of Presidential Performance in Foreign Affairs"  
Ryan J. Barilleaux, *University of Texas, El Paso*
- "Presidential Demands: Persuasion and Leadership, 1963-1984"  
Kathy Smith, *Wake Forest University* and  
Craig Smith, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
- Disc.: George C. Edwards, III, *Texas A&M University*

#### **16-4. Political Change and the Regulatory Process**

- Chair: Anthony Brown, *Oklahoma State University*
- Papers: "Managing Regulatory Relief: The Reagan Strategy and Its Impact"  
Marshall R. Goodman and Margaret Wrightson, *Georgetown University*
- "Science, Law and Regulatory Policy"  
Gary Bryner, *Brigham Young University*
- "Administrative Regulation of the Professions: Determinants of State Professional Licensure"  
Saundra K. Schneider, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
- "Regulatory Reform and the Reagan Administration: Attempts Toward Reducing Government"  
Sharon S. Tunstall, *Oakland University*
- Disc.: John P. Plumlee, *University of North Florida*

#### **17-3. Issues in State and Local Economic Development Policy**

- Chair: Robert K. Whelan, *University of New Orleans*
- Papers: "Capital Budgeting in States"  
Michael A. Pagano, *Miami University*
- "Corporations and Communities: An Assessment of Corporate Control of Community Economic Development"  
Russell Smith, *University of South Dakota*
- "Corporatism, Democracy, and Industrial Policy: Why Rhode Island's Greenhouse Compact Failed"  
Hilary Silver, *Brown University*
- Disc.: Mark L. Matulef, *National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials*

#### **18-4. Politics and Policy Implementation**

- Chair: Edward Litt, *University of Connecticut*
- Papers: "The 'Generation Gap' in Policy for the Developmentally Disabled"  
Irene Fraser Rothenberg, *Barat College*
- "Policy Without Patrons—Anticipating Futures That Fail to Come"  
Lauriston R. King, *Texas A&M University*
- "The Farmers Home Administration: Social Politics in the Pork Barrel"  
Nathan H. Schwartz, *University of Kentucky*
- Disc.: Philip Melanson, *Southeastern Massachusetts University*  
Henry Pratt, *Wayne State University*

#### **19-3. Psychology of Conflict**

- Co-sponsored by the International Society of Political Psychology.
- Chair: Betty Glad, *University of Illinois, Urbana*
- Papers: "When Does Messianism Lead to Terror?"  
David C. Rapoport, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"Crisis Prevention in U.S.-Soviet Relations: The Austrian State Treaty"  
Deborah Larson, *Columbia University*

"The Domino Theory: Psychological Assumptions Reviewed in the Light of  
Contemporary Psychology"  
Charles Taber and Betty Glad, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Disc.: Jerry Rosenberg, *Kansas State University*

## **20-5. National and Transnational Challenges to International Hierarchy**

Chair: Thomas J. Biersteker, *Yale University*

Papers: "David Versus Goliath: Self Reliant Transnationalism Versus Mercantilist  
Statism"  
Ann Tickner, *College of the Holy Cross*

"Accomplishments, Limitations and Contradictions of Third World Economic  
Nationalism"  
Thomas Biersteker, *Yale University*

"Ideological Constraints on French Foreign Economic Policy"  
David Sylvan, *Syracuse University*

## **21-7. The International Law and Politics of Collective Sanctions**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "Effectiveness of International Sanction During the Iran Hostage Crisis"  
Francis A. Boyle, *University of Illinois*

"Arab Boycott Against Israel: Lessons for Law and Politics in the 1980s"  
Christopher Joyner, *George Washington University*

"Political Problems of Imposition and Enforcement of Sanctions in the UN"  
Robert S. Junn, *Grand Valley State College*

"Sanctions as Measures of the International Legal System"  
Don Piper, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Disc.: Lloyd Brown-John, *University of Windsor*  
Clifton Wilson, *University of Arizona*

## **22-10. Toward a Theory of Intelligence**

Chair: Loch Johnson, *University of Georgia*

Papers: "The Politicization of Intelligence"  
Harry Ransom, *Vanderbilt University*

"The Intelligence Producer-Consumer Linkage"  
Arthur S. Hulnick, *Central Intelligence Agency*

"Congressional Control of Intelligence"  
Glenn P. Hastedt, *James Madison University*

Disc.: Anne Karalekas, *McKinsey & Company*  
Michael Handel, *U.S. Army War College*

## **23-1. Translating Political Science to the Policy Maker: Problems and Prospects**

Chair: J. A. "Dolph" Norton, *University of Virginia*

Papers: "The Problem-Solving Relevance of Political Science: An Exploration of the At-  
titudes of State and Local Policy Makers"  
Delmer D. Dunn, Frank K. Gibson and Joseph W. Whorton, Jr.,  
*University of Georgia*

"Working with Public Officials: Lessons from Experience"  
Alan Rosenthal, *Rutgers University*

Disc.: Patricia Florestano, *University of Maryland, College Park*  
John Turcotte, *Mississippi Legislature*

## **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

### **Panel 2. Bureaucracy, Policy Implementation, and Control in Intergovernmental Contexts**

Chair: William Waugh, Jr., *Georgia State University*

Papers: "Protecting the Rights and Opportunities of Persons with Disabilities: A Study of Public Policy Implementation"

Stephen Percy, *University of Virginia*

"Intergovernmental Relations, Environmental Protection, and the Reagan Administration: An Assessment of Change"

Richard Tobin, *SUNY at Buffalo*

"Local Bureaucratic Control of the Use of Intergovernmental Aid: The 'Flypaper Effect' "

Mark Schneider, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

Disc.: James M. Brasfield, *Webster University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Legislative Studies**

### **Panel 4. Executive-Legislative Relations**

Chair: Jon R. Bond, *Texas A&M University*

Papers: "The Adequacy of Congressional Oversight"

Joel D. Aberbach, *University of Michigan*

"Presidential-Legislative Conflicts over Regulatory Agency Control"

Jeffrey Cohen, *University of New Orleans*

"Reagan and Congress: Economic and Industrial Policy"

David M. Olson, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*

"Presidential Roll Calls on Civil Rights"

Steven A. Shull, *University of New Orleans*

Disc.: Richard S. Fleisher, *Fordham University*

James C. Garand, *Louisiana State University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

### **Panel 9. Health, Education, Welfare and Public Policy**

Chair: Keith J. Mueller, *University of Nebraska*

Papers: "The Development of Health Policy in the U.S. Congress"

Keith J. Mueller, *University of Nebraska*

"Health Care Cost Containment Policies: An Analysis of Policy Effectiveness"

Samuel Bookheimer, *University of Houston*

"The Abolition of Child Labor and the Origins of Child-Centered Welfare Programs"

John Drew, *Cornell University*

"Evaluation Research as Policy Analysis: Examples from Compensatory Education"

Jonathan Z. Shapiro, *Louisiana State University*

Disc.: Alan R. Posner, *Michigan State University*

Beth Furlong, *Creighton University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

### **Panel 8. Bureaucratic Politics**

Chair: H. Brinton Milward, *University of Kentucky*

Papers: "The Politics of Confinement"

Susan L. Rhodes, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

"Causes of Bureaucratic Expansionism: The Case of American State Administrators"

Peter Haas, *Virginia Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission*

"Decision Chains and Federal Budgetary Decision Making"  
Max O. Stephenson, Jr., *West Virginia University*

"The Bureaucratic Polity at Bay"  
James F. Guyot, *Baruch College, CUNY* and  
Paisan Suriamonkol, *National Institute for Development  
Administration, Bangkok, Thailand*

Disc.: Harold Seidman, *Brookings Institution*

## **APSA Organized Section: Representation and Electoral Systems**

### **Panel 2. A Roundtable on the Federal Voting Rights Act**

Chair: Abigail M. Thernstrom, *The Twentieth Century Fund*

Participants: Katherine Butler, *University of South Carolina*  
Timothy G. O'Rourke, *University of Virginia*

## **THURSDAY, 10:45 A.M.**

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### **1-3. Agenda Formation and the Theory of Voting**

Chair: Nicholas R. Miller, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

Papers: "Endogenous Agenda Formation in Voting Bodies"  
Nicholas R. Miller, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*  
"A Multidimensional Framework for Centralized Vote-Trading and Agenda Control"  
Kenneth J. Koford, *University of Delaware*

Disc.: Thomas Schwartz, *University of Texas, Austin*

### **2-1. New Methods for Analyzing the 1984 Rolling Cross-Section**

Chair: Henry Brady, *Harvard University*

Participants: James Stimson, *University of Houston*  
Douglas Rivers, *California Institute of Technology*

### **3-2. Theories of Political Change in Plato and Aristotle**

Chair: Morris Davis, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Participants: Carnes Lord, *University of Virginia*  
Mary Nicholas, *Catholic University*  
John Wallach, *Vassar College*  
Kurt Raaflaub, *Brown University*

### **4-3. The Empirical Study of Normative Reasoning**

Chair: Robert E. Lane, *Yale University*

Papers: "Ordinary Reasoners"  
James Fishkin, *University of Texas, Austin*  
"Atypical Reasoners"  
Jane Mansbridge, *Northwestern University*  
"Representative Reasoners"  
Jennifer Hochschild, *Princeton University*

Disc.: Donald Moon, *Wesleyan University*

### **6-1. Public Confidence and Political Support for Democracy: Latin American and European Perspectives**

Chair: Enrique A. Baloyra, *University of North Carolina*

Papers: "Public Evaluation, Democracy and Dictatorship:  
A Venezuelan Example"  
Enrique A. Baloyra, *University of North Carolina*



"Political Support for Democracy Before and After Transition:  
The Case of Spain"

Rafael Lopez-Pintor, *Universidad Autonoma de Madrid*

"Political Confidence in Democratic Institutions: Argentina"

Enrique Zuleta-Puceiro, *Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires*

Disc.: To be announced

## **7-2. Comparative Subnational Policy Making**

Chair: Lee Schlenker, *University of Grenoble*

Papers: "Local Government Finance in the United States and West  
Germany"

Arthur B. Gunlicks, *University of Richmond*

"Comparative Local Strategies in Educational Policy in Europe"

Benny Hjern, *University of Umea*

"The Recent Evolution of Local Industrial Policy in France  
and West Germany"

Lee Schlenker, *University of Grenoble*

Disc.: Raphael Zariski, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

## **8-2. Roundtable on Marxism and Rational Choice Theory: Part II**

Chair: Brian Barry, *California Institute of Technology*

Paper: "Marxism and Theories of Rational Choice"

Jon Elster, *University of Chicago* and *University of Oslo*

Participants: John Ferejohn, *Stanford University*

Samuel L. Popkin, *University of California, San Diego*

Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Michael Wallerstein, *University of California, Los Angeles*

## **9-5. The Floating Voter**

Chair: Priscilla L. Southwell, *University of Oregon*

Papers: "Electoral Change and the Floating Voter"

Richard W. Boyd, *Wesleyan University*

"A Comparison of the Presidential and Midterm Electorates"

James E. Campbell, *University of Georgia*

"Partisan Stability, the Floating Voter and Turnout in the 1984 Election"

Michael Binford, *Georgia State University*

"The Voters—and Non-Voters—of 1984: Mobilization and Fluctuations in  
Turnout"

Carole J. Uhlaner, *University of California, Irvine*

Disc.: Herbert B. Asher, *Ohio State University*

Phillip L. Gianos, *California State University, Fullerton*

## **11-5. Consequences of Party Reform**

Chair: F. Christopher Arterton, *Yale University*

Papers: "The Courts and Party Reform"

Stephen E. Gottlieb, *Union University*

"Party Reform and the Nationalization of American Politics:

Applications to the Study of Converging Patterns of Southern-Nonsouthern  
Politics"

Robert P. Steed, *The Citadel*

Disc.: David Price, *Duke University*

## **11-8. Topics in Campaign Finance**

Chair: Ruth Jones, *Arizona State University*

- Papers: "Public Attitudes toward Campaign Finance Reform"  
J. Theodore Anagnoson, *California State University, Los Angeles*  
"Financing a Comeback, Campaign Finance Laws and Prospects  
for Political Party Resurgence"  
Andrew L. Aoki and Mark Rom, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*  
"PACs and the Lesser Planets"  
Anne Bedlington

Disc.: John C. Green, *Furman University*

## **12-2. The New Federalism and the Rise of a New Class Society**

Chair: Marian Lief Palley, *University of Delaware*

- Papers: "Black Power and Social Change in a Capitalist Society:  
The Case of Mississippi"  
David Colby, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*  
"The Politics of Preventive Services for Disadvantaged Populations"  
Donna Wilson Kirchheimer, *Columbia University*  
"The New Federalism and the State Response"  
Marilyn Gittell, *City University of New York*

Disc.: Joseph Stewart, Jr., *University of West Virginia*  
James F. Sheffield, Jr., *Wichita State University*

## **13-9. Change and Reform in Congress**

Chair: Susan Webb Hammond, *American University*

- Papers: "Representatives, Committees and Policymaking: Floor Amendments to Ap-  
propriations Bills in the House of Representatives 1964-1984"  
Stanley Bach, *Congressional Research Service*  
"The U.S. Senate in the 1950s: Stability Preceding Change"  
Robert L. Peabody, *Johns Hopkins University* and  
Norman J. Ornstein, *American Enterprise Institute*  
"Change in Senate Decisionmaking: 1955-1980"  
Barbara Sinclair, *University of California, Riverside*

Disc.: Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *University of Rochester*  
Walter Oleszek, *Congressional Research Service*

## **14-9. Historical Perspectives on the American Executive**

Chair: Michael Nelson, *Vanderbilt University*

- Papers: "John Adams' Classical Conception of the Executive"  
Bruce Miroff, *SUNY at Albany*  
"The Pre-Civil War Cabinet's Role in Presidential Policy Making, with a Special  
Focus on the Administration of John Quincy Adams"  
Robert R. Thompson, *Luther College* and  
Michael Birkner, *Concord Monitor*

Disc: Myron Q. Hale, *Purdue University*  
MaryAnne Borrell, *Harvard University*

## **15-9 Biology, Culture and Constitution**

Co-sponsored by the Association for Politics and the Life Sciences

Chair: Thomas C. Wiegale, *Northern Illinois University*

- Papers: "Bioconstitutional Politics: Towards an Interdisciplinary Paradigm"  
Ira Carmen, *University of Illinois, Urbana*  
"Rite, Rights and Ritual: The Biology of Conflict Control"  
Richard Hartigan, *Loyola University of Chicago*  
"Are there 'Laws' of Cultural Evolution?"  
Claude Phillips, *Western Michigan University*

"Toward the Democratic Single System"  
Bruce Pollard, *Sussex College of Technology*

Disc.: To be announced

#### **16-12. The State of Public Administration Theory: An Assessment**

Chair: Robert B. Denhardt, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Participants: Gary Wamsley, *Virginia Tech University*  
Hal Rainey, *Florida State University*  
John Nalbandian, *University of Kansas*  
Michael Harmon, *George Washington University*  
Michael Urban, *Auburn University*

#### **17-2. State Electoral Changes**

Chair: Sarah Morehouse, *University of Connecticut, Stamford*

Papers: "Electoral Change in U.S. States: System versus Constituency Competition"  
Harvey Tucker, *Texas A&M University* and  
Ronald E. Weber, *Louisiana State University*  
"Have Gubernatorial Elections Been Nationalized?"  
Mark Tompkins, *University of South Carolina*

Disc.: David Olson, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*

#### **18-11. Regulation Politics**

Chair: Donald Brand, *University of Pennsylvania*

Papers: "Business' Response to the New Social Regulation"  
Richard A. Harris, *Rutgers University*  
"The Politics and Processes of Issue Translation: A Fresh  
Look at the Process of Policy Formation"  
Mark P. Petracca, *University of California, Irvine*  
Title unknown  
Ed Haeefe, *University of Pennsylvania*

#### **19-5. Models of Conflict and Political Change**

Chair: Manus I. Midlarsky, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Papers: "Arms Races and Instability"  
Michael D. Intriligator, *University of California, Los Angeles* and  
Dagobert L. Brito, *Rice University*  
"Polarity, Systemic Conflict, and the Long Cycle"  
William R. Thompson, *Claremont Graduate School*  
"International War and Political Reliability Theory, 1495-1975"  
Claudio Cioffi-Revilla, *University of Illinois, Urbana*  
"Conflict Behavior and Systemic War in the Twentieth Century"  
Manus I. Midlarsky, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Disc.: Randolph M. Siverson, *University of California, Davis*

#### **22-7. Domestic Constraints on American Foreign Policy: Causes and Consequences**

Chair: Bruce W. Jentleson, *University of California, Davis*

Papers: "The Failure of Detente and the Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy"  
Bruce W. Jentleson, *University of California, Davis*  
"Elites and Masses: Another Look at Attitudes Towards America's World Role"  
Eugene Wittkopf, *University of Florida*  
"The Water's Edge and Beyond: Defining The Boundaries of Domestic In-  
fluence on U.S. Middle Eastern Policy"  
Mitchell Bard, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"American Foreign Policy and the Law of the Sea: The Role of Domestic Interest Groups"

James E. Harf and William Echols, *Ohio State University*

Disc.: Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., *Louisiana State University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

### **Panel 2. Cultural Administration As Public Administration**

Co-sponsored by the Conference Group on Cultural Policy and the Arts.

Chair: Kevin V. Mulcahy, *Louisiana State University*

Papers: "Entrepreneurial Leadership and the Administration of the National Endowment for the Arts"

Margaret Wyszomirski, *Georgetown University*

"The Politics and Administration of State Arts Agencies"

Anthony Radich, *National Conference of State Legislatures*

"The Administration of Public Broadcasting in the United States"

Kevin V. Mulcahy, *Louisiana State University* and

Joseph Widoff, *Corporation for Public Broadcasting*

Disc.: Milton Cummings, *Johns Hopkins University*

Noelle LeBlanc, *Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism*

## **APSA Organized Section: Representation and Electoral Systems**

### **Panel 1. Proportional Representation in Local Governments**

Chair: V. Jerone Stephens, *Bowling Green State University*

Papers: "The Case for P.R."

George H. Hallett, Jr. and Lucian A. Vecchio

"The Record of P.R. in American Local Government: A Critical View"

Ferdinand A. Hermens and

William A. Gangl, *St. John's University*

Disc.: Leon Weaver, *Michigan State University*

## **APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession**

### **Open Meeting**

## **APSA Publications Committee**

### **Open Meeting**

#### **Meet The New Editors of Political Science Journals**

Chair: Doris Graber, *APSA Publications Committee*

Participants: Samuel Patterson, *American Political Science Review*

Michael Giles, *Journal of Politics*

John Aldrich, *American Journal of Political Science*

Charles O. Jones, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*

David Weimer, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*

B. Guy Peters, *Policy Studies Journal*

Chester Newland, *Public Administration Review*

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**THURSDAY, 12:30 P.M.**

## **APSA Foreign Grantees Meeting**

## **Business Meetings**

### **APSA Organized Sections:**

Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations  
Legislative Studies

## **THURSDAY, 1:30 P.M.**

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### **1-4. The Evaluation of Voting Systems**

Chair: John Chamberlin, *University of Michigan*

Papers: "Committee Selection Methods and Representative Deliberations"  
John Chamberlin, *University of Michigan*

"Assumptions about Individual Preferences in the Theory of Voting Systems"  
Hannu Nurmi, *University of Turku*

Title unknown

Thomas Schwartz, *University of Texas, Austin*

### **3-9. Kant's Groundwork After 200 Years**

Chair: Judith Shklar, *Harvard University*

Papers: "The Groundwork: Platonic, Aristotelean, and Augustinian Elements"  
Patrick Reilly, *University of Wisconsin*

"Teleology and Deontology in the Groundwork: An Old Debate Revisited"  
William Galston

Disc.: Bernard Yak, *Princeton University*

### **4-7. Democratic Participation and the Redrawing of the Public/Private Distinction**

Chair: Richard K. Dagger, *Arizona State University*

Papers: "Public/Private From a Participatory Democratic Perspective"  
Peter Bachrach and Aryeh Botwinick, *Temple University*

"Why Public vs. Private is Wrong"  
Patricia Ann Boling, *Trinity University*

"'Public' and 'Private' Citizens: Women and the Changing Nature of Citizenship"  
Barbara Nelson, *Hubert H. Humphrey Institute*

Disc.: Joel D. Schwartz, *College of William and Mary*

### **5-7. New Social Movements**

Chair: Mary Katzenstein, *Cornell University*

Papers: "Solidarity and the Greens: The Rise of New Social Movements in East and West Europe"

Betsy Crighton, *Pomona College* and  
David S. Mason, *Butler University*

"The Political Life-Cycle of British Protest Movements"  
Tony Messina, *University of Notre Dame*

"The Asociaciones de Vecinos in the Basque Region of Spain, 1964-1980: A Study in Neighborhood Politics"

Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, *Washington University*

Disc.: Peter Lange, *Duke University*

### **6-7. Mass and Elite Attitudes and Behavior in Communist Systems**

Chair: William Welsh, *University of South Carolina*

Papers: "Dissent and Electoral Avoidance in the Soviet Union"  
Philip G. Roeder, *University of New Mexico*

"Interest Groups and Political Participation in Poland"  
Anita Floyd, *University of South Carolina*

Disc.: Barclay Ward, *University of the South*

**7-6. Social Welfare Policy in the 1980s: Lessons of International Comparison**

Chair: Jack Desario, *Case Western Reserve University*

Papers: "Social Welfare Policy in Scandinavia and the United States"  
Merl Hokenstad, *Case Western Reserve University*

"Explaining America and the Welfare State: An Alternative Theory"  
Gary Klass, *Illinois State University*

"Social Welfare Policy in Canada"  
Mark Bartholomew, *University of Maine, Farmington*

Disc.: Sandra Schneider, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

**8-9. Development and Democracy**

Chair: Léonard Binder, *University of Chicago*

Papers: "Developmental Democracy"  
Richard L. Sklar, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"Elections and Political Regime Transitions in Latin America:  
An Exploratory Analysis"  
Jonathan Hartlyn, *Vanderbilt University*

Disc.: Arend Lijphart, *University of California, San Diego*  
Samuel P. Huntington, *Harvard University*

**10-10. Generational Politics of the 1980s**

Chair: Roberta Sigel, *Rutgers University*

Papers: "Party Support and the Sixties Generation"  
Michael X. Delli Carpini, *Rutgers University*

"Generational Politics and Culture Change"  
Ronald Inglehart, *University of Michigan*

"Of Yuppies, Endies and the Evolution of Political Generations"  
Gregory Markus, *University of Michigan* and  
M. Kent Jennings, *University of Michigan and University of California, Santa Barbara*

"The Gender Gap—Generation Gap or Marriage Gap?"  
Roberta Sigel, *Rutgers University*

Disc.: Kathleen Frankovic, *CBS News*

**11-15. Interest Groups and PACs**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Political Organizations and Parties.

Chair: Frank J. Sorauf, *University of Minnesota*

Participants: To be announced

**12-11. A Global Look at the Political and Economic Roles of Women:  
Thoughts on Concluding the U.N. Decade**

Co-sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science.

Co-chairs: Joyce Gelb, *City College, CUNY* and  
Jill Norgren, *John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY*

Papers: "Women in Revolutionary Societies: Central America"  
Tommie Sue Montgomery, *Dickenson College*

"Urban Women in China"  
Jeanne Wilson, *Wheaton College*

"A 20 Nation Overview of Women's Participation in Government"  
 Jeanne Marie Col, *Sangamon State University*

"Comparing the Impact of Feminism in Great Britain and the U.S."  
 Joyce Gelb, *City College, CUNY*

"Women in Japan"  
 Jill Norgren, *John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY*

#### **13-6. Economic and Fiscal Policymaking in Congress**

Chair: Norman J. Ornstein, *American Enterprise Institute*

Papers: "The Changing Terms of Conflict: Theories of Fiscal Policy in the Congressional Budget Committees Since 1980"  
 Steven E. Schier, *Carleton College*

"Congress and Public Policy: The Reagan Economic Program"  
 Darrell M. West, *Brown University*

"The Opening of Conference Committees: A New Arena for Interest Groups"  
 Gary W. Copeland, *University of Oklahoma*

Disc.: Richard Fleisher, *Fordham University*  
 Lance T. LeLoup, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

#### **14-1. Roundtable on Presidents, Prime Ministers and Their Roles**

Chair: Bert A. Rockman, *University of Pittsburgh*

Participants: Valerie Bunce, *Northwestern University*  
 Colin Campbell, S.J., *Georgetown University*  
 Erwin C. Hargrove, *Vanderbilt University*  
 B. Guy Peters, *University of Pittsburgh*  
 Richard Rose, *University of Strathclyde*  
 Donald Searing, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

#### **16-6. State Revenue Policy: Determinants and Impacts**

Chair: David Lowery, *University of Kentucky*

Papers: "The Growth of State Revenue Extraction: A View from the States"  
 Thomas R. Dye and Genie Stowers, *Florida State University*

"The (Revenue) Advantages of the Four Year Gubernatorial Term: A Revisionist Look at the Evidence"  
 Lance Brothers and Roby Robertson,  
*University of Arkansas, Little Rock*

"Interstate Migration: The Impact of State Revenue, Employment and Quality of Life"  
 Bradley Miller, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

"On the Distribution of Fiscal Burdens: The Determinants of State Tax Incidence"  
 David Lowery, *University of Kentucky*

Disc.: Susan B. Hansen, *University of Pittsburgh*  
 William D. Berry, *University of Kentucky*

#### **17-4. The Study of Public Policy in the States: Changing Approaches**

Chair: Virginia Gray, *University of Minnesota*

Papers: "Putting First Things First: Voting Philosophy, Party, and Competition in the Changing Politics and Economics of Redistribution"  
 Richard Winters, *Dartmouth College* and  
 Robert D. Plotnick, *University of Washington*

"The Distributional Consequences of State Revenue and Spending Changes"  
 E. Terrence Jones, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

"Explaining Variations in State Health Policies"  
 John Comer and Keith J. Mueller, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

Disc.: Michael J. Ross, *University of San Diego*

**18-2. Political Institutions and Public Policy**

Chair: J. David Greenstone, *University of Chicago*

Papers: "Beyond the Boundaries of Decision"  
Stuart Hill, *University of California, Davis*

"Markets by Design: Competitive Solutions to Regulatory Problems"  
Franklin Tugwell and Daniel Mazmanian, *Pomona College*

"A Policy of Institutions"  
John E. Jackson, *University of Michigan*

Disc.: Theodore Lowi, *Cornell University*  
Robert Y. Shapiro, *Columbia University*

**20-9. The Politics of Growth and Inequality in the International Political Economy**

Chair: Elizabeth C. Hanson, *University of Connecticut*

Papers: "Power, Poverty and Inequality: Brazil's Troubled Upward Mobility"  
Ladd Hollist, *Brigham Young University*

"The Politics of Economic Dependence: The Case of Mexico"  
David P. Glass, *University of California, Berkeley*

"Can Trade Theories Predict the Fast-Growing Countries?"  
Chi-keung Ko, *University of Chicago*

"The Brenner-Wallerstein Debate: A Preliminary Assessment"  
Kenneth P. Thomas, *University of Chicago* and  
Robert Denmark, *Memphis State University*

**22-9. Japanese Economic Policy and U.S.-Japan Relations**

Chair: Gerald L. Curtis, *Columbia University*

Papers: "The Microelectronics Industries in the United States and Japan"  
Glenn R. Fong, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

"Japanese Tariff Policy Toward East Asian NIC's:  
The Limits of State Autonomy"  
Mark Tilton, *University of California, Berkeley*

"Explaining Policy Failure: Japan and the Monetary Crisis of 1971"  
Robert Angel, *Angel Associates*

Disc.: Taizo Yakushiji, *Saitama University*

**23-8. Political Risk Analysts and the Private Sector**

Chair: Gordon Rayfield, *General Motors Corporation*

Participants: Roger P. Nye, *Atlantic Richfield Company*  
John Sassi, *Gulf Oil Corporation*

**APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

**Panel 5. Regime Instability and Coercive Behavior**

Chair: Charles W. Kegley, *University of South Carolina*

Papers: "Forecasting African Military Coups"  
Patrick J. McGowan, *Arizona State University*

"When Does Messianism Lead to Terror?"  
David C. Rapoport, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"Opposition Responses to Government Coercion: A Microeconomic Model"  
Mark W. Lichbach, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

"South Africa's Security Policies: Regime Vulnerability,  
Misperception and Coercive Behavior"  
Jacobus J. Van Wyk, *Rand Afrikaans University*



Disc.: David Mason, *Mississippi State University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

#### **Panel 4. Party Nationalization or Federalization? Intergovernmental Relations Perspectives on Party Renewal**

Co-sponsored by the Committee for Party Renewal.

Chair: Leon D. Epstein, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Papers: "Transformations in American Party Politics and Their Implications for Federalism"

Timothy Conlan, *U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*

"Alive and Well and Living in Washington: The Nationalizing of the Political Parties"

Xandra Kayden, *Harvard Institute of Politics*

"The New Federal Political Parties: An Intergovernmental Relations Model of Party Politics"

Gary D. Wekkin, *University of Central Arkansas*

Disc.: Leon D. Epstein, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

John F. Bibby, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

### **APSA Organized Section: Legislative Studies**

#### **Panel 6. Change in Congress: A Historical Perspective**

Chair: Charles Bullock III, *University of Georgia*

Papers: "The New Deal and The House Agriculture Committee—Structural Change and Policy Shifts"

Nancy Kursman, *Rice University*

"Women's Rights and the Nineteenth Amendment: The Politics and Processes of Legislative Change"

Eileen L. McDonagh, *Northeastern University* and

H. Douglas Price, *Harvard University*

"The Legislative Reorganization Act—Forty Years of Structural Change"

Paul Rundquist, *Congressional Research Service*

Disc.: Melissa Collie, *Stanford University*

Bruce W. Robeck, *Texas A&M University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

#### **Panel 1. Marketplace Strategies in Public Policy Implementation**

Chair: Richard Hula, *University of Maryland, College Park*

### **APSA Organized Section: Presidency Research**

#### **Panel 1. Informal Groups in the National Policymaking Process**

Chair: Paul C. Light, *National Academy of Public Administration*

Papers: "Gangs in Government: New Forms of Presidential-Congressional Negotiation"

Paul C. Light, *National Academy of Public Administration*

"Congressional Caucuses and Policymaking"

Susan Webb Hammond, *American University*

"Executive Advisory Committees in the Policymaking Process"

Mark Petracca, *University of California, Irvine*

Disc.: To be announced

### **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

#### **Panel 6. Organization Theory and the Problem of Policy Implementation**

Chair: Frank J. Thompson, *University of Georgia*



- Papers: "The Institution as an Exogenous Variable Affecting Policy Implementation"  
Alice Robbin, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
- "The Relation of the Organization to Policy Intention and Implementation: An Exploratory Study of Two Models"  
Donald J. Calista, *Marist College*
- "Bureaucratic Policy Implementation: A Resource Dependence Perspective"  
John Echeverri-Gent, *University of Chicago*
- "Interorganization Theory and the Implementation of Economic Development Programs"  
David O. Porter, *Idaho Division of Economic and Community Affairs*
- Disc.: Todd R. LaPorte, *University of California, Berkeley*

## THURSDAY, 3:30 P.M.

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### 1-6. Models of Imperfect Information in Politics

Chair: Randall L. Calvert, *Washington University*

- Papers: "Uncertainty, Asymmetry, and Reciprocity in Repeated Two-Player Games"  
Randall L. Calvert, *Washington University*
- "Partial Turnout in a Theory of Elections with Uncertainty"  
John O. Ledyard, *Northwestern University*
- "Sophisticated Voting with Incomplete Information"  
Peter C. Ordeshook, *University of Texas, Austin* and  
Thomas R. Palfrey, *Carnegie-Mellon University*

Disc.: David Austin-Smith, *University of Rochester*

### 2-11. Presidential Leadership and the Coalition-Building Process

Chair: Terry Sullivan, *University of Texas, Austin*

- Papers: "Controlling the Agenda—Presidential and Congressional Advantage over Appropriations"  
D. Roderick Kiewiet, *California Institute of Technology* and  
Mathew McCubbins, *University of Texas, Austin*
- "Control over Legislative Outcomes: An Alternative Meaning of Presidential Influence"  
Michael McDonnell, *University of New Orleans*
- "Presidential Leadership When Members Respond Strategically"  
Terry Sullivan, *University of Texas, Austin*

Disc.: Joel Aberbach, *University of Michigan*

### 3-3. Roundtable: What is Progress?

Chair: Nannerl Keohane, *Wellesley College*

- Papers: "The First Plan for Progress: Bacon's New Atlantis"  
Robert Faulkner, *Boston College*
- "Moral Realism and Historical Progress: 'Goodness had Nothin' to Do With It'"  
Joshua Cohen, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
- "What Nature Permits the Species to Become: Rousseau, the Passions, and Progress"  
Asher Horowitz, *Trent University*
- Title Unknown  
Fred Whelan, *University of Pittsburgh*

#### **4-12. For Foucault**

Chair: Michael J. Shapiro, *University of Hawaii*

Papers: "The Right to Punish, the Power to Judge"  
Margaret A. Paternek, *University of Toronto*

"Discourse on Power and the Human Body: Michael Foucault's Contribution"  
Bernard L. Bray, *Talladega College*

Disc.: Dickinson L. McGaw, *Arizona State University*  
Hwa Yol Jung, *Moravian College*

#### **5-1. Military and Society**

Chair: Robin Remington, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Papers: "Spanish Military and the Transition to Democracy"  
Evelyne Lopez-Campillo, *Sorbonne*

"Armies and Revolution: Russia, China and France"  
Jonathan R. Adelman, *University of Denver*

"Depoliticization and Stability in Indonesia"  
Marvin Rogers, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Disc.: Jim Brown, *Southern Methodist University*

#### **6-5. Dynamics of Citizen Support for Democratic Regimes: Macro and Micro Perspectives**

Chair: G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *University of Rochester*

Papers: "Changing Citizen Evaluations of a New Democracy: Spain"  
Samuel H. Barnes and Peter McDonough, *University of Michigan* and  
Antonio Lopez Pina, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*

"Effects of Participation on Efficacy and Trust in West Germany"  
Steven Finkel, *University of Virginia*

"Macro Dynamics of Political Support Under Crisis Conditions:  
Costa Rica"

Mitchell A. Seligson and Edward N. Muller, *University of Arizona*

Disc.: Sidney Verba, *Harvard University*

#### **7-4. Public Policy Toward Dissent**

Chair: David Kowalewski, *University of Texas, San Antonio*

Papers: "Managing or Mismanaging Dissent? Poland in 1980-1985"  
Maurice Simon, *East Carolina University*

"The Political Economy of Death Squads"  
Dale Krane and T. David Mason, *Mississippi State University*

"Public Policy toward Dissent in Central America"  
Lars Schoultz, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

"Nationalists or Compradors? Asian Public Elites and Stikes against  
Transnationals"

David Kowalewski, *University of Texas, San Antonio*

Disc.: Michael Urban, *Auburn University*  
Thomas Rasmussen, *Alfred University*

#### **8-1. Modeling Political Development**

Chair: Seymour Martin Lipset, *Stanford University*

Papers: "Taxation and Representation"  
Robert Bates, *California Institute of Technology*

"Partisan Volatility and the Genesis of Contemporary Democracies"  
Courtney Brown, *University of California, Los Angeles* and  
Thomas Lancaster, *Emory University*

"The Prisoner's Dilemma and Dependency"  
George Tsebelis, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Disc.: John Freeman, *University of Minnesota*

#### **9-7. Elections and Popular Control of Government**

Chair: Robert H. Swansbrough, *University of Tennessee, Chattanooga*

Papers: "Social Change, Critical Realignment and Governmental Response"  
Calvin Jillson, *Louisiana State University*

"Elections as Mechanisms of Democratic Control: Congress and Policy Change, 1789-1970"  
Robert Pearson, *Social Science Research Council* and  
William McAllister

Disc.: David Brady, *Rice University*  
James C. Garand, *Louisiana State University*

#### **10-2. Liberalism and Conservatism**

Chair: Kathleen Knight, *University of Houston*

Papers: "The Quality of American Ideological Thought"  
Leonard Ritt, *Northern Arizona University*

"The Changing Meaning of Political Schema: The Case of Liberalism and Conservatism"  
Arthur Sanders, *Hamilton College*

"Liberal-Conservative Differences: Insights from Attribution Theory"  
Allen Wilcox, *University of Nevada, Reno*

Disc.: John Chubb, *Stanford University*

#### **11-9. Party Deserters and Switchers**

Chair: Martin Gruber, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*

Papers: "The Causes and Consequences of Party Desertion"  
Martin Gruber, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*

"The Stability of Party Identification Among U.S. Senators and Representatives 1789-1984"  
Gary King, *New York University* and  
Gerald Benjamin, *SUNY at New Paltz*

"When Politicians Switch Parties: Conscience or Calculation?"  
David S. Castle, *Lamar University* and  
Patrick J. Fett, *University of Rochester*

Disc.: Andrew McNitt, *Eastern Illinois University*

#### **12-8. Electing Women, Blacks and Latinos at the State and Local Level**

Chair: Marcus D. Pohlmann, *Arkansas State University*

Papers: "Institutional Factors Affecting Election of Women to the Florida State Legislature"  
Anita Pritchard, *Florida Atlantic University*

"Bradley's People: Biracial Coalition Politics in Los Angeles"  
Raphe Sonenshein, *California State University*

"Under the Rainbow: Black and Latino Support of Minority Mayors"  
Charles Henry and Carlos Munoz, *University of California, Berkeley*

Disc.: Dale Rogers Marshall, *University of California, Davis*

#### **13-1. Woodrow Wilson's Congress 100 Years Later**

Chair: Morris Fiorina, *Harvard University*

- Papers: "Congress in the 1880s: A Retrospective View"  
H. Douglas Price, *Harvard University*
- "Woodrow Wilson and the Post Industrial Congress"  
Lawrence C. Dodd, *Indiana University*
- "Understanding Congressional Government: Woodrow Wilson and the Modern Congress"  
David W. Rohde, *Michigan State University* and  
Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Washington University*
- Disc.: Joseph Cooper, *Rice University*  
Morris Fiorina, *Harvard University*

#### **14-11. Roundtable on the Reagan Presidency: Assessments and Projections**

- Chair: Larry Berman, *University of California, Davis*
- Participants: Stephen Wayne, *George Washington University*  
Norman C. Thomas, *University of Cincinnati*  
John H. Kessel, *Ohio State University*  
Richard Brody, *Stanford University*  
James Sterling Young, *University of Virginia*  
Fred Greenstein, *Princeton University*

#### **15-2. Perspectives on Constitutional Politics**

- Chair: David M. O'Brien, *University of Virginia*
- Papers: "Constitutional Change and the Quest for Neutrality"  
H. N. Hirsch, *Harvard University*
- "Racial Injustice: Result-Oriented Jurisprudence"  
F. L. Morton, *University of Calgary*
- "The Supreme Court and the Art of Politics"  
Lief H. Carter, *University of Georgia*
- "Courts, Political Change and Judicial Independence"  
Gerald Rosenberg, *Yale University*
- Disc.: Werner Grunbaum, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*  
John Brigham, *University of Massachusetts*

#### **16-2. Power and the Study of Organizations**

- Chair: Gary Wamsley, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*
- Papers: "Power and Politics in Organizations: Implications for Theory and Practice"  
Frank Fischer, *Rutgers University*
- "Power and Culture in Bureaucracy: A Political/Symbolic Approach"  
Michael Rosen, *New York University*
- "Reorganization as Coup d' Etat: Changing Conditions in Informal Structure"  
Steven Maynard-Moody, *University of Kansas*
- Disc.: Norton Long, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*  
Michael Smith, *Tulane University*

#### **17-1. Changing Perspectives on State Legislatures**

- Chair: Alan Kornberg, *Duke University*
- Papers: "Factors Affecting Decisions of State Legislators to Run for Reelection"  
Wayne Franois and John R. Baker, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
- "State Legislative Policy Making: A New Measurement Approach"  
Ronald D. Hedlund, William J. Kritek and Ellen Hedlund,  
*University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
- "Legislative Oversight of Administrative Policy-making: A Case Study of the Kentucky Administrative Review Subcommittee"  
Mitzi Mahoney, *University of Kentucky*

"Parochialism in the State Appropriations Process: District Orientations and the Influence of Groups"

Glenn Abney, *Georgia State University* and  
Thomas Lauth, *University of Georgia*

Disc.: Diane Blair, *University of Arkansas*

#### **18-5. Development, Regulation and Redistribution in a Federal System**

Chair: Paul Kantor, *Fordham University*

Papers: "Continuity and Motion in American Federalism: Toward a New Understanding of Federal Program Management"

Kenneth K. Wong, *University of Oregon*

"The Effects of Interest Representation on Local Economic Development Policies"

Susan E. Clarke, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

"Regulation, Redistribution and Federalism: A Structural Analysis"

Bruce A. Williams, *Florida Atlantic University* and  
Albert R. Matheny, *University of Florida*

Disc.: Clarence N. Stone, *University of Maryland, College Park*  
Ester Fuchs, *Barnard College*

#### **19-9. Game Theoretic Analyses of International Processes**

Chair: Dina A. Zinnes, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Papers: "Stability of and Alliance Formation in N-Actor International Systems"

R. Harrison Wagner, *University of Texas, Austin*

"A Limited Information Model of Crisis Bargaining"

James D. Morrow, *Michigan State University*

"Stability in Arms Races"

Steven J. Brams, *New York University* and  
D. Marc Kilgour, *Wilfrid Laurier University*

Disc.: Stephen J. Majeski, *University of Washington*

#### **21-1. Structuring Change in the International System**

Chair: Kal J. Holsti, *University of British Columbia*

Paper: "Modeling the Evolution of Norms"

Robert Axelrod, *University of Michigan*

Disc.: Robert Keohane, *Brandeis University*

John Ferejohn, *Stanford University*

#### **22-14. Normative Thought and Foreign Policy: New Research**

Chair: Samuel DuBois Cook, *Dillard University*

Papers: "Realism Revisited"

Michael Joseph Smith, *Harvard University*

"The National Interest: Normative Foundations"

David Clinton, *Colgate University*

"The Use and Abuse of Norms in American Foreign Policy"

Kenneth W. Thompson, *University of Virginia*

Disc.: Robert Strong, *Tulane University*

Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., *Louisiana State University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

#### **Panel 5. New Judicial Federalism in the States**

Chair: John Winkle, *University of Mississippi*

Papers: "Unconstitutional Inequality: Judicial Review under Equal Protection Clauses in the States"  
Susan Fino, *Wayne State University*

"Equal Rights Amendments in the States"  
Peter J. Galie, *Canisius College*

Title unknown  
Donald Wilkes, Jr., *University of Georgia*

Disc.: Gregory Caldeira, *University of Iowa*

## **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

### **Panel 7. Urban and State Policy Problems**

Chair: Donna Kirchheimer, *Columbia University*

Papers: "Target Efficiency of State Single Family Housing Programs"  
Mark L. Matulef, *National Association of Housing and Redevelopment*

"Strategic Planning for Cities: A Critical Look"  
Tod Swanstrom, *SUNY at Albany*

"Privatizing Public Housing"  
Hilary Silver, Judith McDonnell and Ronald Ortiz, *Brown University*

"The Politics and Policy Implications of a National Drinking Age"  
Jack De Sario, *Case Western Reserve University*

Disc.: John Clayton Thomas, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*  
Alan L. Saltzstein, *California State University, Fullerton*

## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

### **Panel 4. The Administration of Intergovernmental Relations**

Chair: Patricia Florestano, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Papers: "Rules for Grant Allocations from the Federal Triangle to Town Hall: Expectations versus Realities"  
Kathryn Newcomer, *George Washington University* and  
Sharon L. Caudle, *U.S. Department of Agriculture*

"The Great Land Rush: Annexation and Sales Tax in St. Louis County"  
James M. Brasfield, *Webster University*

"Community Development State-Style: The New Federalism and the Small Cities Community Development Block Grant Program"  
Edward T. Jennings, Jr., *University of Missouri-Columbia*

Disc.: George J. Gordon, *Illinois State University*  
Arnold M. Howitt, *Harvard University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Representation and Electoral Systems**

### **Panel 5. The Elective Higher Education Boards: Five Case Studies**

Chair: Samuel K. Gove, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Papers: "Election of Governing Boards in Illinois"  
Samuel K. Gove, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

"Election of Governing Boards in Nevada"  
Leonard E. Goodall, *University of Nevada*

"Election of Governing Boards in Michigan"  
Charles Press, *Michigan State University*

"Election of Governing Boards in Nebraska"  
Susan Welch, *University of Nebraska*

"Election of Governing Boards in Colorado"  
Lee R. Kershner, *Association of Trade and Technical Schools*

## **THURSDAY, 5:30 P.M.**

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### **APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession**

Film: "Not One of the Boys"

A documentary film on women in political life, presented by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, the Eagleton Institute of Politics.

### **APSA Organized Section: Presidency Research**

Business Meeting

## **THURSDAY, 6:30 P.M.**

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Receptions:

### **APSA Committee of Applied Political Scientists**

### **APSA Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession**

Honoring F. Chris Garcia, *University of New Mexico*

## **THURSDAY, 8:30 P.M.**

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### **PLENARY SESSION 1**

#### **Presentation of Awards**

Presiding: Joseph Cooper, *Rice University*

#### **Presidential Address**

"Observation, Context, and Sequence in the Study of Politics"

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *University of Rochester*

## **FRIDAY, 8:45 A.M.**

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### **2-4. Computer Simulation in Political Science**

Chair: G. David Garson, *North Carolina State University*

Papers: "Political Science Computer Simulation: Potential and Reality"

G. David Garson, *North Carolina State University*

"Simulations in International Politics"

Jeffrey Hart, *Indiana University*

"Programming an Event-Based Simulation on a Microcomputer"

Philip Schrodt, *Northwestern University*

Disc.: Steven Frantzich, *U.S. Naval Academy*

Werner Grunbaum, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

### **3-1. Political Change and the Origins of Political Theory**

Chair: Richard Ashcraft, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Papers: "American Political Science and the Invention of Political Theory"

John Gunnell, *SUNY at Albany*

"Politics and the History of Political Ideas: 19th Century England"

Eldon Eisenach, *University of Arkansas, Little Rock*

"German Historicism and the History of Political Theory"

Richard Ashcraft, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Disc.: Stefan Collini, *University of Sussex*



## **6-9. The Dynamics of Political Support and Alienation in Western European Democracies**

Chair: Max Kaase, *Mannheim University*

Papers: "Legitimacy Beliefs in Scandinavia in Longitudinal Perspective"  
Ole Borre, *University of Aarhus*

"Dynamics of Mass Political Support in Central Europe"  
Manfred Kuchler, *Florida State University*

"Regime Support in Great Britain: A Cross-sectional and Dynamic Analysis"  
George Moyser, *University of Manchester*

"The Development of Legitimacy Beliefs in Southern Europe"  
Giacomo Sani, *Ohio State University*

Disc.: Samuel H. Barnes, *University of Michigan*  
Ulrich Widmaier, *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin*

## **7-10. Policy Making in the Third World**

Chair: Charles D. Brockett, *University of the South*

Papers: "Economic Security in the Countryside: The Impact of Agrarian Change and Public Policy in Honduras"  
Charles D. Brockett, *University of the South*

"Policy Making under Authoritarianism: The Philippine Case"  
Gretchen Casper, *University of Michigan*

"The Politics of Price Stabilization Policy in Argentina in the 1970s"  
Edward Epstein, *University of Utah*

"The Effects of the 1973-75 and 1980-83 World Market Recession on Economic Developments in the Third World"  
Birol Yeshilada, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

## **8-6. Political Transformation in Liberal Democracies**

Chair: Ronald Inglehart, *University of Michigan*

Papers: "The Expanding State and the Changing Character of Participation Legitimation: On the Transformation of the U.S. 'Civic Culture'"  
David H. Kamens, *Northern Illinois University* and  
Ronald L. Jepperson, *Yale University*

"A Second Chance for Liberal Democracy: Popular Support in Post-Authoritarian European Regimes with Comparisons to Long-Term European and American Liberal Democracies"  
Frederick D. Weil, *University of Chicago*

Disc.: Arnold Heidenheimer, *Washington University, St. Louis*  
Sidney Verba, *Harvard University*

## **9-2. The Dynamics of Candidate Choice**

Chair: Nancy H. Zingale, *College of St. Thomas*

Papers: "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process"  
Larry M. Bartels, *University of Rochester*

"Momentum and the Media"  
Henry Brady, *Harvard University*

"Social Influence in an Election Campaign"  
R. Robert Huckfeldt, *Indiana University* and  
John Sprague, *Washington University*

Disc.: Gudmund Iversen, *Swarthmore College*  
Greg Markus, *University of Michigan*

## **10-7. Gender and Political Orientations**

Chair: Stephen D. Shaffer, *Mississippi State University*

- Papers: "Political Interest of Women in Modern Spain: A Comparative Analysis of Spain and Western Europe"  
Margaret Inglehart Reilly, *GMI Engineering and Management Institute*
- "Political Cognition and Political Style: Differences in Male-Female Orientations to Politics"  
Sue Tolleson Rinehart, *University of South Carolina*
- "The Evolution of Gender Differences in Political Preferences"  
Stephen D. Shaffer, *Mississippi State University*
- "Gender-Related Attitude Dimensions Among Liberals and Conservatives"  
Marion R. Just, *Wellesley College*
- Disc.: Susan Carroll, *Rutgers University*  
Jilda Aliotta, *Miami University*

#### **11-7. Interest Group Politics**

- Chair: Mark Petracca, *University of California, Irvine*
- Papers: "The Transformation of the Post-War American Labor Movement"  
Vernon Coleman, *Pomona College*
- "Grass Roots Lobbying: Environmentalists as Constituents"  
Ronald G. Shaiko, *Hobart and William Smith Colleges*
- Disc.: Thomas Cavanagh, *Joint Center for Political Studies*

#### **13-2. Rules and Strategies in Congress**

- Chair: H. Douglas Price, *Harvard University*
- Papers: "Rules and the Coherence of Legislation"  
David Austen-Smith and William Riker, *University of Rochester*
- "Sophisticated Voting in Congress: Some Empirical Tests"  
Keith Krehbiel and Douglas Rivers,  
*California Institute of Technology*
- "The Legislator as Agent"  
Arthur Denzau, *Washington University*
- Disc.: James Enelow, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

#### **14-2. Political Executives: Comparative Approaches**

- Chair: Thomas Greene, *University of Southern California*
- Papers: "Political Leadership in the United States and in the Soviet Union: A Reexamination of Convergence Theory"  
Ravelle Lyn Greene and Michael Genovese, *Loyola-Marymount*
- "Comparative Models of Presidential Decision-Making: Eisenhower and Johnson"  
John Burke, *University of Vermont* and  
Fred Greenstein, *Princeton University*
- "Support Systems for Elite Decision-Making: Canada and the United States"  
Ronald H. Hinckley, *National Security Council and  
University of Maryland, College Park*
- "Interest Groups and the White House: Comparing Administrations"  
Joseph A. Pika, *University of Delaware*
- Disc.: Gary King, *New York University*

#### **15-1. Judicial Review and Democracy**

- Chair: Martin Edelman, *SUNY at Albany*
- Papers: "Judicial Review and Political Parties in a Federal System: The American Supreme Court's Invalidation of State Statutes and Constitutional Provisions, 1837-1964"  
John B. Gates, *University of New Orleans*

"Judicial Review and Popular Sovereignty"

Leslie F. Goldstein, *University of Delaware*

"The Supreme Court and Non-Interpretative Judicial Review"

James McGee, *University of Delaware*

Disc.: William Gangi, *St. John University*

Robert Gerstein, *University of California, Los Angeles*

#### **16-8. New Directions in Budgeting Theory**

Chair: Irene Rubin, *Northern Illinois University*

Papers: "Toward a Positive Theory of Budgeting"

Allen Schick, *University of Maryland, College Park and American Enterprise Institute*

"Courts and the Purse Strings: Have Our Portraits of Budgeting Missed Something"

Jeffrey Straussman, *Syracuse University*

"Reauthorizations: Implications for Budget Theory"

Irene Rubin, *Northern Illinois University*

Disc.: Aaron Wildavsky, *University of California, Berkeley*

Lance T. LeLoup, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

#### **17-6. Workshop in Urban Political Economy**

Co-chairs: Dennis R. Judd, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* and  
Michael Peter Smith, *Tulane University*

Papers: "The Intellectual Bases for Power Structure Research"  
J. Allen Whitt, *University of Louisville*

"Theories of Power and Economic Dependence: The Underpinnings of Regional Industrial Policy"

David C. Perry, *SUNY at Buffalo*

"Urban Specialization in the World Economy"

Joe R. Feagin, *University of Texas* and

Nestor Rodriguez, *University of Houston*

#### **18-1. The Politics of Energy in the 1980s**

Chair: Pietro Nivola, *University of Vermont*

Papers: "Deconstructive Coalitions of Minorities and Natural Gas Politics"

Eric M. Uslaner, *University of Maryland, College Park*

"Natural Gas Policy and Politics in the 1980s: The Reagan Administration and the Limits of Energy Deregulation"

William Green, *Morehead State University*

"The Politics of Technology, Public Policy, and Administration: The Synthetic Fuels Venture in Western Democracies"

Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr., *University of Tulsa*

#### **19-1. The Exercise of Power: USA/USSR**

Co-chairs: Michael W. Doyle, *Johns Hopkins University* and  
A. James McAdams, *Princeton University*

Papers: "The Invasion of Grenada"

Michael W. Doyle, *Johns Hopkins University*

"The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan"

Louis Dupree, *U.S. Military Academy, West Point*

"Changing Relations Between the Soviet Union and East Germany"

A. James McAdams, *Princeton University*

Disc.: Samuel Huntington, *Harvard University*

## **20-2. The State in the International Political Economy: I**

Chair: Michael Mastanduno, *Hamilton College*

Papers: "Markets, Oil and the State"

John Ikenberry, *Princeton University*

"American International Banks and the Evolution of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy in the Inter-war Years: The Private Sector Origins of State Action"

Jeffrey Frieden, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"Recent Influences on U.S. Trade Policy"

John Odell, *University of Southern California*

"Ordinary Power and Extraordinary Policies: The Diplomacy of Woodrow Wilson"

Joanne Gowa, *University of Pennsylvania*

Disc.: Peter Hall, *Harvard University*

## **22-5. Policymaking on Issues of North-South Relations in Selected OECD Member States**

Chair: Haruhiro Fukui, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Papers: "A Comparative Perspective"

Haruhiro Fukui, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

"The Case of the Nordic Nations"

Bengt Sundelius, *University of Washington and University of Stockholm*

"The Case of Japan"

Shigeko Nimiya Fukai, *Auburn University*

"The Case of the United States and West Germany"

Bernhard May, *University of Cologne*

Disc.: Herny Nau, *George Washington University*

## **23-3. Where the Action Is: Political Scientists in Campaigns**

Chair: Larry Sabato, *University of Virginia*

Participants: Walter De Vries, *De Vries and Associates*

Fred Hartwig, *Union College*

Theodore Marmor, *Yale University*

Lance Tarrance, *V. Lance Tarrance and Associates*

## **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

### **Panel 3. Federalism and Industrial Policy**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies.

Chair: Susan B. Hansen, *University of Pittsburgh*

Papers: "Linking Intergovernmental Employment and Economic Development Programs: A Comparative Analysis"

Susan MacManus, *Cleveland State University*

"An Assessment of the Relative Impact of State Versus Local Industrial Policies"

Richard Feiock, *University of Kansas*

"Interstate Competition for Industry"

John Shannon, *U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*

"Intergovernmental Strategies for a National Industrial Policy"

Lynne Holt, *Kansas State Department of Legislative Research and*

Mel Dubnick, *University of Kansas*

Disc.: Susan B. Hansen, *University of Pittsburgh*

## **APSA Organized Section: Legislative Studies**

### **Panel 5. Influence on State Legislative Decision-Making**

Chair: Keith Hamm, *Texas A&M University*

Papers: "Role Orientations of Lobbyists in a State Setting: A Comparative Analysis"  
Mark S. Hyde and Richard W. Alsfeld, *Providence College*

"Influences of Organized Interests on State Legislatures"

Paul Brace, *Colorado State University*

"The Structure and Role of Staff for Policy Analysis:  
The Minnesota Legislature"

Raymond W. Cox, III, *Bemidji State University*

"Organizational Impact of Computer and Information Technology  
Resources on the Distribution of Power in State Legislatures"

Lynn B. Lehle, *Michigan State University*

Disc.: Barbara Burt, *Texas A&M University*

Michael J. Ross, *University of San Diego*

## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

### **Panel 3. Comparative Perspectives: Public and Private Administration Organization**

Chair: Dolores Brosnan, *Florida International University*

Papers: "Responsiveness in Local Service Delivery Organizations: A Comparative  
Perspective"

Judith Gillespie, *Boston University*

"Culture and Structural Differentiation in Public and Private Organizations: An  
Empirical Analysis of European Research Units"

Stephen Loveless, *Florida International University*

"Comparing Public and Private Organizations: A Critique and Research  
Directions"

James L. Perry, *University of California, Irvine*

Hal Rainey, *Florida State University* and

Barry Bozeman, *Syracuse University*

Disc.: Marilyn J. Field, *Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association*

Joseph Viteritti, *SUNY at Albany*

## **APSA Organized Section: Representation and Electoral Systems**

### **Panel 4. The Single Member District System**

Chair: Arend Lijphart, *University of California, San Diego*

Papers: "A New Parochialism: Single Member Districts in Two Southern State Senates"  
Cole Bease Graham, Jr., *University of South Carolina*

"Predicting Partisan Bias in the 1984 State Legislative Elections"

Harry Basehart, *Salisbury State College*

"Nonpartisan Slating Groups and Minority Representation"

Chandler Davidson, *Rice University*

Disc.: John Phillips, *Thiel College*

## **APSA Program Committee Sponsored Workshop**

### **Workshop on Federal Campaign Finance Data**

Chair: Robert Biersack, *Federal Election Commission*

## **FRIDAY, 10:45 A.M.**

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### **3-11. Nietzsche, Aesthetics and Politics**

Chair: Benjamin Barber, *Rutgers University*

- Papers: "Nietzsche's Musical Politics"  
Michael Gillespie, *Duke University*  
"Nietzsche's Political Aesthetics"  
Tracy Strong, *University of California, San Diego*  
Disc.: George Kateb, *Amherst College*  
Nancy Love, *Pennsylvania State University*

#### **4-10. Roundtable on Parfit and Politics**

- Participants: Amy Gutmann, *Princeton University*  
Brian Barry, *California Institute of Technology*  
Richard Flathman, *Johns Hopkins University*  
Bart Schutz, *California Institute of Technology*  
With a written response by Derek Parfit, *All Souls College, Oxford*

#### **5-4. Environmentalism: A Vehicle for Value Change?**

- Chair: Joyce Marie Mushaben, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*  
Papers: "From Protest Mobilization to Policy-Making: A Personal Perspective on the Long March through the Institutions"  
Josef M. Leinen, *Minister of the Environment, Saarland, FRG*  
"Organizational and Strategic Decisions within the Belgian and West German Ecology Parties"  
Herbert Kitschelt, *Duke University*  
"Cyclical Change"  
Willy Burklin, *Universitat Kiel, FRG*  
Disc.: Jutta A. Helm, *Western Illinois University*  
Joyce Marie Mushaben, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

#### **6-4. Beliefs, Roles and Voting Behavior in Comparative Perspective**

- Chair: Jerrold G. Rusk, *University of Arizona*  
Papers: "Party Preference and Vote Decision in West German Elections: 1969-1983"  
Charles Lewis Taylor, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University* and  
Hans-Dieter Klingemann, *Free University of Berlin*  
"Candidates, Parties, and Issues in France and the United States"  
Roy Pierce, *University of Michigan*  
"Bringing Roles Back In: A Motivational Approach to Understanding What Politicians Think About What They Do"  
Donald D. Searing, *University of North Carolina*  
Disc.: Ivor Crewe, *University of Essex*

#### **7-11. Policy Making in Socialist States**

- Chair: Jack Bielasiak, *Indiana University*  
Papers: "Policy Making and the Sociopolitical Organizations in 'Yugoslavia'"  
James H. Seroka, *Southern Illinois University*  
"Crisis Management as Public Policy: Poland, 1981-1985"  
Jack Bielasiak, *Indiana University*  
"Soviet Labor Policy-Making: Human Relations and Quality-of-Life Options and Rationales"  
Joel C. Moses, *Iowa State University*

#### **8-4. State Theories, Development and Women**

- Chair: Judith Stiehm, *University of Southern California*  
Papers: "Class, Gender and Political Participation"  
Jana G. Everett, *University of Colorado, Denver*

"Development Policy and Female Access to the Specialized State"  
Sue Ellen M. Charlton, *Colorado State University*

"Women's Politics and the Post-Colonial State in Sub-Saharan Africa"  
Kathleen Staudt, *University of Texas, El Paso*

Disc.: Lois Wasserspring, *Wellesley College*

#### **9-1. The Presidential Election of 1984**

Chair: Paul Allen Beck, *Florida State University*

Paper: "Policy Directions And Presidential Leadership:  
Complementary Interpretations of the Reagan Elections"  
Warren E. Miller, *Arizona State University* and  
Merrill Shanks, *University of California, Berkeley*

Disc.: Richard A. Brody, *Stanford University*  
William H. Flanigan, *University of Minnesota*  
Herbert F. Weisberg, *Ohio State University*

#### **10-1. Changing Perspectives on Political Thinking**

Chair: To be announced

Paper: "Changing Perspectives on Political Thinking"  
Richard R. Lau, *Carnegie-Mellon University*

Disc.: Philip E. Converse, *University of Michigan*  
Robert E. Lane, *Yale University*  
David O. Sears, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
James A. Stimson, *University of Houston*

#### **11-3. Presidential Primaries**

Chair: Samuel Popkin, *University of California, San Diego*

Papers: "The Representativeness of Presidential Primary Electorates"  
John G. Geer, *Princeton University*  
"Presidential Primaries and Partisan Legitimation"  
Peter Galderisi, *Utah State University*  
"The Effect of the FECA on Campaign Strategies in Presidential Primaries"  
Michael Hawthorne, *Florida International University*  
"The Effects of Primary Divisiveness in Presidential Elections"  
Patrick J. Kenney, *Wichita State University* and  
Tom W. Rice, *University of Vermont*

Disc.: Nathaniel Beck, *University of California, San Diego*

#### **13-13. Roundtable on Congressional Committee Research: A Panel Honoring Richard F. Fenno, Jr.**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Legislative Studies.

Chair: Charles O. Jones, *University of Virginia*

Participants: David Brady, *Rice University*  
Roger Davidson, *Congressional Research Services*  
Barbara Sinclair, *University of California, Riverside*  
Steven S. Smith, *Northwestern University*

#### **14-8. Studies in the Institutionalized Presidency**

Chair: Erwin C. Hargrove, *Vanderbilt University*

Papers: "Presidential Control of the Bureaucracy"  
Dean Alger, *Moorhead State University*  
"Policy-Maker v. Facilitator Roles in the White House, The Executive Office of  
the President and the Treasury Department Under Carter and Reagan"  
Colin Campbell, S.J., *Georgetown University* and  
Donald Nauells, *McMaster University*

"Regulatory Reform: Ronald Reagan and State Enforcement Activity"  
Rojer Brown, *Iowa State University* and  
Larry W. Thomas, *University of Baltimore*

"OMB Program Division--Congressional Relations under Reagan"  
Shelly Tomkin, *Trinity College*

Disc.: J. Vincent Buck, *California State University, Fullerton*  
Robert X. Browning, *Purdue University*

### **15-3. Interest Input, Policy Output, and Appellate Supervision in the Federal Judiciary**

Chair: Timothy J. O'Neill, *Wellesley College*

Papers: "Reconceptualizing Interest Group Litigation in Federal Trial Courts"  
Susan M. Olson, *University of Minnesota*

"The Effects of Adjudication on Social Policy: Social Security Disability and  
the Medical Improvement Standard"  
Susan Gluck Mezey, *Loyola University of Chicago*

"Judicial Review of Administrative Agencies: Does the Type of Agency Matter?"  
Donald W. Crowley, *University of Idaho*

Disc.: Elliot Tenofsky, *Linfield College*  
Robert Kätzmann, *Brookings Institution*

### **16-5. Public Organizations and Environmental Change**

Chair: Alana Northrop, *University of California, Fullerton*

Papers: "Organizational Pathology and Organizational Change"  
Paul Shulman, *Mills College*

"Toward a Typology of Organizations: Public, Private and Actuateive"  
Margaret J. Wyszomirski, *Georgetown University*

"Increasing Problem Solving Capacity Between Organizations:  
Interactive Information Systems in Emergency Management"  
Louise K. Comfort, *University of Pittsburgh*

Disc.: Robert V. Bartlett, *Texas Tech University*

### **20-4. An Emerging Global State**

Chair: Robert O. Keohane, *Brandeis University*

Paper: "An Emerging Global State"  
Raymond Duvall and John Freeman, *University of Minnesota* and  
Duncan Snidal, *University of Chicago*

Disc.: Robert O. Keohane, *Brandeis University*  
Richard K. Ashley, *Arizona State University*

### **21-3. Changing Patterns of US-IGO Participation**

Co-chairs: Margaret P. Karns, *University of Dayton* and  
Karen Mingst, *University of Kentucky*

Papers: "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The US and UNESCO"  
Roger Coate, *University of South Carolina*

"Striving for Hegemony: US Policy towards IAEA"  
Benjamin N. Schiff, *Oberlin College*

Disc.: John G. Ruggie, *Columbia University*

### **22-2. The Constitution and Foreign Affairs: Power Sharing in Practice**

Chair: Glenn Hastedt, *James Madison University*

Papers: "The Comparative Legislative Influence on Foreign Policy Decision Making:  
West Germany and the United States"  
William Vocke, *Juniata College*

"Congress and Foreign Policy: The Case of the Legislative Veto"



Susan Roberts, *Winthrop College*

"Some *De Jure* and *De Facto* Distinctions Between Treaties and Executive Agreements: A Violation of the Founders' Intent?"

Jeffrey B. Burnham, *Drake University*

"Congress and U.S. Immigration Policy"

Kay M. Knickrehm, *James Madison University*

Disc.: I. M. Destler, *Institute for International Economics*

### **23-2. Political Scientists as Political Actors**

Chair: Walter B. Roettger, *University of Hartford*

Papers: "Political Scientists as Political Actors: An Overview"

Walter B. Roettger, *University of Hartford*

"Political Scientists as Election Analysts"

Hugh Winebrenner, *Drake University*

"Political Scientists as Candidates"

John Orman, *Fairfield University*

Disc.: Everett Carl Ladd, *University of Connecticut*

### **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

#### **Panel 1. Formal Models of War**

Chair: Jacek Kugler, *Vanderbilt University*

Papers: "Reason and War"

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *University of Rochester*

"Coalition, Stability and Peace"

Manus I. Midlarsky, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

"Stability of Deterrence over Time"

Jacek Kugler, *Vanderbilt University*

Walter Peterson, *Oregon State University* and

Frank Zagare, *Boston University*

Disc.: Charles F. Doran, *SAIS, Johns Hopkins University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

#### **Workshop 6. Reliance on State Constitutions in a Federal System**

The purpose of this workshop is to evaluate the renewed interest in state constitutions by exploring the legal and political implications of the "new judicial federalism"; i.e., the increased reliance by state courts on state constitutions as independent sources of constitutional rights. Individuals interested in participating in the workshop and receiving workshop questions and reading list should contact the chair: Thomas R. Morris, Political Science Department, University of Richmond, Richmond, VA 23173.

Chair: Thomas R. Morris, *University of Richmond*

Participants: Ronald K. L. Collins, *Willamette University School of Law*

Peter J. Galie, *Canisius College*

Robert C. Welsh, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Janice C. May, *University of Texas, Austin*

### **APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process**

#### **Panel 4. Executive Branch Influences and Constraints Upon the Federal Courts: Some New Explorations**

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "The Effect of Presidential Appointment, Group Identification and Fact Law Ambiguity on Lower Federal Judges' Policy Choices: The Case of Carter and Reagan Appointees in the Lower Federal Courts"

Robert Carp, *University of Houston*

Claude Rowland, *University of Kansas* and

Donald Songer, *Oklahoma Baptist University*

"Presidential Power in the Federal Courts"  
Craig Ducat, *Northern Illinois University* and  
Robert L. Dudley, *Colorado State University*

"The Supreme Court and Equal Protection: The Role of the Solicitor General"  
Jeffrey Segal, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

"The Solicitor General as an *Amicus Curiae* in the Supreme Court"  
Sidney Ulmer and David Willison, *University of Kentucky*

Disc.: To be announced

### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

#### **Panel 3. Canada, Public Policy and the United States**

Chair: Martin Lubin, *SUNY at Plattsburgh*

### **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

#### **Panel 13. Planning for and Implementing Change in Public Organizations**

Chair: Walter F. Baber, *Texas Tech University*

Papers: "The Role of Metaphors in Organizational Change"  
Larry Kirkhart, *University of Southern California*

"Textual Analysis as an Approach to Change in Public Organizations:  
Theoretical Considerations"

Orion F. White, Jr., *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

"Textual Analysis as an Approach to Change in Public Organizations:  
Case Studies"

Cynthia McSwain, *University of Southern California*

"Planning for Change and Changing Plans: A Case Study"

Robert Denhardt, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Disc.: Ron Schmidt, *California State University, Long Beach*

### **APSA Organized Section: Representation and Electoral Systems**

#### **Panel 3. The Initiative and the Referendum**

Chair: Austin Ranney, *American Enterprise Institute*

Papers: "Referenda Exit Interviews"  
Dennis M. Anderson, *Bowling Green State University*

"Public Attitudes Toward State Economic Development Policy: Rhode Island's  
Greenhouse Compact Referendum"

John J. Carroll, *Southeastern Massachusetts University*

William Hudson and Mark S. Hyde, *Providence College*

"The Initiative and the Referendum: A Threat to Representative Government?"

Joseph F. Zimmerman, *SUNY at Albany*

Disc.: Victoria Schuck  
Sandra Featherman, *Temple University*  
Nelson Wikstrom, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

### **APSA Departmental Services Committee**

#### **Forum for Department Chairs**

Chair: Edmund Keller, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Topic: "Recruitment and Retention of Minority Graduate Students in Political  
Science"

Participants: Elliot Slotnick, *Ohio State University*  
Douglas St. Angelo, *Florida State University*  
Francis Hoole, *Indiana University*

Disc.: F. Chris Garcia, *University of New Mexico*  
Michael Preston, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

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## **FRIDAY, 12:30 P.M.**

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### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

Awards Luncheon

### **APSA Organized Section: Representation and Electoral Systems**

Business Meeting

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## **FRIDAY, 1:30 P.M.**

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### **1-5. Bureaucracy and Hierarchical Processes**

Chair: Thomas H. Hammond, *Michigan State University*

Papers: "Instability in Hierarchical Decision Making: A Probabilistic Analysis"  
Thomas H. Hammond, *Michigan State University*

"Organizing Bureaucracy: The Role of Information Costs, Efficiency, and  
Distributional Goals"

Steven M. Maser, *Willamette University*

Disc.: To be announced

### **2-2. Modeling and Estimating Survey Responses**

Chair: Stanley Feldman, *University of Kentucky*

Papers: "The Reliability and Stability of Policy Preferences: Evidence from a Five-Wave  
Panel Study"

Stanley Feldman, *University of Kentucky*

"Estimators for Discrete Choice: Multinomial Logits and Multinomial Probits"  
Mark Fenster, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

"Assessing the Reliability and Validity of Traditional Measures of Political  
Sophistication: A LISREL Approach"

Mykel Wycoff, *Northern Illinois University*

Disc.: Arthur Miller, *University of Chicago*

### **3-4. The Roman Experience: Change and Continuity**

Chair: Joanna Scott, *California State University, Long Beach*

Papers: "The Focus of Cicero: From the Best Regime to the Model Statesman"  
Walter Nicgorski, *University of Notre Dame*

"The *Republic* in Rome: Cicero's Critique of Plato"

Charles Kesler, *Claremont McKenna College*

"Tacitus, Rousseau, and the Concept of Political Decline"

Roger Boesche, *Occidental College*

Disc.: Ernest Fortin, *Boston College*

### **5-9. Canada and the United States in Comparative Perspective**

Chair: Allen Kornberg, *Duke University*

Papers: "Symbols, Policy and Legislation in Canada and the United States"  
Douglas C. Nord, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*

"Legislative Oversight of Intelligence Services in Canada and the United  
States"

Geoffrey R. Weller, *Lakehead University*

"Changing the Rules: Leadership Selection in the United States and Canada"

Richard G. Price and Robert G. Krause, *University of Windsor*

Disc.: To be announced

## **6-12. Ideological Change in Post-Industrial Society**

Chair: Lynton Keith Caldwell, *Indiana University*

Papers: "The Cultural Adaption Syndrome: A Theory of Social Change"

Jon Alexander, *Carleton University*

"Classical Liberalism in Social Democratic Sweden: The Resistance to Wage Earner Funds"

Christine Barbour, *Indiana University*

"Environmentalism and Paradigm Change: A Comparison of Elite and Mass Attitudes in Three Countries"

Lester W. Milbrath, *SUNY at Buffalo*

"Understanding of Emerging Issues: Elites and Larger Publics on Biotechnology"

Jon Miller, *Northern Illinois University*

Disc.: Odellia Funke, *Environmental Protection Agency*

Robert V. Bartlett, *Texas Tech University*

## **7-5. Comparative National Security Policy**

Co-chairs: William E. Jackson, Jr. and Hoyt H. Purvis, *University of Arkansas*

Papers: "The Impact of Cultural Variation on Strategic Planning"

Michael Vlahos, *SAIS, Johns Hopkins University*

"Soviet and American Approaches to Arms Control Negotiations"

William E. Jackson, Jr., *University of Arkansas*

"Comparative Intelligence Policy Formulation"

Stephen Flanagan, *Harvard University*

"The Emerging Security Relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China"

Hoyt H. Purvis, *University of Arkansas*

## **8-10. State, Economy and Democratic Stability**

Chair: Peter Lange, *Duke University*

Papers: "Political Stability and Economic Development: A Cross-National Test of Mancur Olson's Theory of the Rise and Fall of Nations"

Arthur A. Goldsmith, *University of Massachusetts, Boston*

"Comparing Structural Change: The Politics of Fragmentation"

Thomas O. Hueglin, *Queen's University*

Disc.: Ronald Rogowski, *University of California, Los Angeles*

## **11-11. Roundtable on Research on Party Organizations**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Political Organizations and Parties.

Chair: Alan R. Gitelson, *Loyola University of Chicago*

Participants: William Crotty, *Northwestern University*

Kenneth Janda, *Northwestern University*

Kay Lawson, *San Francisco State University*

Charles Longley, *Bucknell University*

Gerald M. Pomper, *Rutgers University*

Joseph A. Schlesinger, *Michigan State University*

## **12-12. Roundtable on Social Protest Movements: A Cross-Disciplinary Discussion**

Chair: David J. Garrow, *City College of New York*

Participants: Paul Burstein, *Vanderbilt University*

James Button, *University of Florida*

J. Craig Jenkins, *University of Missouri*

Michael Lipsky, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Paul Schumaker, *University of Kansas*

Ralph H. Turner, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Jack L. Walker, *University of Michigan*

### **13-14. Roundtable on The Future of the Congressional Budget Process**

Chair: James A. Thurber, *American University*

Participants: John Ellwood, *Dartmouth College*  
Louis Fisher, *Congressional Research Service*  
Allen Schick, *University of Maryland, College Park* and *American Enterprise Institute*  
Aaron Wildavsky, *University of California, Berkeley*

### **15-7. Roundtable on Political Culture and Judicial Behavior**

Topic: Comparative Judicial Politics: Theory and Methodology

Chair: David J. Danelski, *Occidental College*

Participants: James A. Dator, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*  
Glendon Schubert, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*  
C. Neal Tate, *North Texas State University*

### **16-1. Reconsidering Some Myths of Public Administration**

Chair: Barbara S. Romzek, *University of Kansas*

Papers: "The Myth of Private Sector Superiority in Personnel Administration"  
Ralph Chandler, *Western Michigan University*

"Reward Expectancies and other Work-Related Attitudes in Public and Private Organizations: A Review and Extension"

Hal Rainey and Carol Traut, *Florida State University* and  
Barrie Blunt, *Oklahoma State University*

"Politicians and Bureaucrats Revisited: The Work Environment of the Career Senior Executive Service"

Patricia Ingraham, *Broome County, New York* and  
Carolyn Ban, *SUNY at Albany*

"Accountability in Public Administration: A Manifestation of the Janus Myth"  
Mel Dubnick and Barbara S. Romzek, *University of Kansas*

Disc.: Frank J. Thompson, *University of Georgia*  
Donna R. Kemp, *California State University, Bakersfield*

### **19-6. National Security and Economic Considerations**

Chair: Henry Nau, *George Washington University*

Papers: "Strategic Parody and Economic Deterrence"  
Richard E. Bissell, *Washington Quarterly*

"Economics and Security: Diverging Perspectives in U.S.-European Relations"  
Jed C. Snyder, *Hudson Institute*

"Regional Security and Economic Development: India and South Asia"  
Raju G. C. Thomas, *Marquette University*

Disc.: Bruce W. Jentleson, *University of California, Davis*

### **20-8. Roundtable on North South Relations: Structural Change and Conceptual Ambiguities**

Chair: Robert Rothstein, *Colgate University*

Participants: Jeffrey A. Hart, *University of Indiana*  
James N. Rosenau, *University of Southern California*  
David Baldwin, *Dartmouth College*  
Ann Tickner, *College of the Holy Cross*

### **21-5. Changes in Scholarship Concerning International Organizations and Interdependence**

Chair: Francis Hoole, *Indiana University*

Papers: "The Role of Scholars: Prisoners or Shapers of the World They Study"  
J. Martin Rochester, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

"The Roles of Private Foundations"  
Catherine Gwin, *Consultant*

Disc.: Inis Claude, *University of Virginia*  
Ernst B. Haas, *University of California, Berkeley*

## **22-12. Foreign Policy: The Impact of Process on Outcomes**

Chair: Edward A. Kolodziej, *University of Illinois*

Papers: "Issue Areas in the Study of American Foreign Policy: The Case of Congressional Behavior"  
Ralph G. Carter, *Texas Christian University*

"Unnoticed Policymakers: The President and His Crowd"  
Steven L. Spiegel, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"How Decision-Units Shape Foreign Policy"  
Charles F. Hermann and Margaret G. Hermann, *Ohio State University*

Disc.: To be announced

## **23-4. Political Knowledge for What? Two New Books on the State of the Discipline**

Chair: Theodore J. Lowi, *Cornell University*

Participants: David Ricci, *Hebrew University, Jerusalem*  
Author: *The Tragedy of Political Science*  
Raymond Seidelman, *Sarah Lawrence College*  
Author: *Disenchanted Realists: Political Science and The American Crisis 1884-1984*

Disc. Austin Ranney, *American Enterprise Institute*  
John Gunnell, *SUNY at Albany*  
Heinz Eulau, *Stanford University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

### **Panel 3. Systematic Approaches to International Intervention**

Chair: Richard L. Merritt, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Papers: "Decision-Heuristics for Intervention: Vietnam and Korea"  
Stephen J. Majeski, *University of Washington*  
"A Model of Regional Intervention in Africa"  
Frederic S. Pearson, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*  
"Stasis, Process, and Strategic Choice: Modeling Peacekeeping Interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa"  
Steven Thomas Seitz, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Disc.: Harvey Starr, *Indiana University*  
Herbert K. Tillema, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

## **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

### **Workshop 7. The Theory of Federalism and the Study of Public Administration**

This workshop will explore the issue of whether a theory of federalism has implications for the study of public administration that require reference to different conceptions, structural conditions, and modes of analysis that would otherwise apply to a theory of state that has reference to a single center of sovereign authority. Persons wishing to participate in the workshop may write to the moderator to receive a copy of any item used as a reference and not readily available and to indicate an interest in the workshop. Contact: Vincent Ostrom, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, 513 N. Park, Bloomington, IN 47405.

Chair: Vincent Ostrom, *Indiana University*

Principal

Contributors: Reference: "Units and Levels of Analysis: A Problem of Policy Analysis in Federal System," *Publius* 4 (Fall 1974): 59-86

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Philip M. Gregg, *Sangamon State University*

Reference: "Complex Models of Urban Service Systems," with Elinor Ostrom, in Terry N. Clark, ed. *Urban Policy Analysis: Directions for Future Research*, *Urban Affairs Annual Reviews* 21 (1981): 171-99

Roger B. Parks, *Indiana University*

Reference: "Responsiveness to Citizen Consumers in a Federal System," *Publius* 5 (Fall 1975): 51-77

David O. Porter, *Idaho State Department of Economic Development*

## **APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process**

### **Panel 2. Wither Judicial Biography? A Roundtable Discussion**

Chair: J. Woodford Howard, *Johns Hopkins University*

Participants: Gerald Gunther, *Stanford Law School*  
H. N. Hirsch, *Harvard University*  
Dennis Hutchinson, *University of Chicago*  
Kent Newmyer, *University of Connecticut*  
C. Hermann Pritchett, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

## **APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession**

### **Panel 1. The Black Vote in the 1984 Election: A Review and A Critique**

Chair: Michael Preston, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Papers: "The Black Vote in the 1984 Presidential Election"  
Thomas Cavanagh, *Joint Center for Political Studies*  
"State and Congressional Elections"  
Leslie McLemore and Mary Coleman, *Jackson State University*  
"Local Elections 1984"  
William E. Nelson, Jr., *Ohio State University*

Disc.: Edward R. Jackson, *South Carolina State College*  
Linda Williams, *Howard University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

### **Panel 1. A Roundtable on Quality Management**

Chair: Ralph P. Hummel, *Institute for Applied Phenomenology*

Papers: On the Cultural Setting: "The Quantitative Measurement of Socio-Economic Needs Arising from Quality of Life"  
Doh C. Shinn, *Sangamon State University*

On Work: "Quality Management of Work"  
Ralph P. Hummel, *Institute for Applied Phenomenology*

On Jobs: "Quality Management of Interpersonal Relations and Job Design"  
Michael Diamond, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

On Self: "Quality Management and the Self"  
Douglas Carmichael, *Harvard Project on Work, Technology and Character*

On the Political Realities: "Quality Management and Shrinking the Federal Government"  
Irene Rubin, *Northern Illinois University*

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## **FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M.**

### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

Business Meeting

## **FRIDAY, 3:30 P.M.**

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### **2-3. Linking Public Opinion and Public Policy: Research Strategies and Examples**

Chair: Michael Margolis, *University of Pittsburgh*

Papers: "Public Opinion as a Dependent Variable"

Michael Margolis, *University of Pittsburgh*

"Market Mentality and Environmental Politics: Limiting Policy Options"

Wayne Parent, *Louisiana State University*

"Political Campaigning: The View from Marketing"

Gary Mauser, *Simon Fraser University*

Disc.: Thomas Ferguson, *University of Texas, Austin*

### **3-15 Roundtable on the Development of Plato's Political Theory**

Chair: George Klosko, *University of Virginia*

Participants: George Klosko, *University of Virginia*

Thomas Pangle, *University of Toronto*

Daniel T. Devereux, *University of Virginia*

### **4-4. The Crisis of Contemporary Liberalism**

Chair: Donald W. Hanson, *University of Utah*

Papers: "Communitarian Theory and Domination: Pre-Liberal and Post-Liberal Approaches"

Lyle Downing and Robert B. Thigpen, *University of New Orleans*

"Liberalism and the Postulate of Scarcity"

Nicholas Xenos, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

"The Democratic Consequences of Liberalism"

Alfonso J. Damico, *University of Florida*

Disc.: Joan Tronto, *Hunter College, CUNY*

### **6-2. Etiology of Protest and Rebellion: Historical and Comparative Analyses**

Chair: Ted Robert Gurr, *University of Colorado*

Papers: "Rebellions and Banditry in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644): A Rational Choice Model"

James Tong, *Michigan State University*

"Economic Development and Political Unrest in Nineteenth Century Japan"

James W. White, *University of North Carolina*

"Relative Deprivation and Propensity to Protest in Industrial Democracies"

Richard D. Shingles, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

Disc.: Michael Stohl, *Purdue University*

### **7-3. Roundtable on Area Studies and Theory Building in Comparative Politics: A Stocktaking**

Co-sponsored by "Development and Change Section" Panel 8-5

Chair: James A. Bill, *University of Texas*

Participants: Gabriel A. Almond, *Stanford University*

Victor LeVine, *Washington University*

Lee Sigelman, *University of Kentucky*

James C. Scott, *Yale University*

James Malloy, *University of Pittsburgh*

### **10-4. Thinking About Politics**

Chair: David England, *Arkansas State University*



- Papers: "Citizen Cost-Benefit Analysis of Municipal Government: A Tale of Three Cities"  
Paul Allen Beck and Keith Nicholls, *Florida State University*
- "The Structure of Political Theory"  
Steven R. Brown and Gertrude A. Steurnagel, *Kent State University*
- "Using the Past: Pearl Harbor, Public Opinion and Institutional Change"  
Mary H. Duffee, *Cornell University*
- "Class, Racial and Partisan Schemas"  
Milton Lodge, *SUNY at Stony Brook*
- Disc.: Doris Graber, *University of Illinois, Chicago*  
George E. Marcus, *Williams College*

#### **11-14. Interest Groups in the American States: Changing Patterns of Power and Strategies**

- Chair: Ronald J. Hrebener, *University of Utah*
- Papers: "Comparative Interest Group Politics in the American West"  
Clive Thomas, *University of Alaska* and  
Ronald J. Hrebener, *University of Utah*
- "The Pluralist Model Reconsidered: A Comparative Analysis of Interest Group Policy Involvement in Three States"  
Charles Wiggins, *Texas A&M University*  
Charles Bell, *California State University, Fullerton* and  
Keith Hamm, *Texas A&M University*
- "Researching Interest Group Patterns in Midwestern States: A Survey of Available Data and Techniques"  
David H. Everson, *Sangamon State University*
- "Conceptual Problems in the Study and Measurement of Interest Group Power in the American States"  
L. Harmon Zeigler, *University of Oregon*
- Disc.: Sarah McCally Morehouse, *University of Connecticut*

#### **12-4. The Politics of Voter Registration**

Co-sponsored by "Electoral Behavior and Popular Control Section" Panel 9-9.

- Chair: Joel Rogers, *Rutgers University*
- Papers: "Do Registration Drives Really Matter?"  
Bruce E. Cain and Ken McCue, *California Institute of Technology*
- "Republican Registration in 1984"  
Susan Farmer, *Secretary of State's Office, Rhode Island*
- "Democratic Registration in 1984"  
Tony Harrison
- "Residential Mobility and Voter Turnout"  
Raymond E. Wolfinger and Peverill Squire  
*University of California, Berkeley*
- Disc.: Gary Greenhalgh, *Federal Election Commission*  
Frances Fox Piven, *CUNY, Graduate Center*

#### **13-10. Leaders and Followers in the Congress**

- Chair: Michael Malbin, *American Enterprise Institute*
- Papers: "The 'New Style' Congressional Career and Legislative Policymaking"  
Burdette Loomis, *University of Kansas*
- "The Antebellum Political Economy and the Speaker's Contest of 1859"  
Richard F. Bense, *New School for Social Research*
- "Selecting Senate Leaders: The Impact of Contests and Committees"  
Garrison Nelson, *University of Vermont*

Disc.: Bruce Oppenheimer, *University of Houston*  
Ronald M. Peters, Jr., *University of Oklahoma*

#### **14-13. The Presidency and American Political Culture**

Chair: Jeffrey Tulis, *Princeton University*

Papers: "Ronald Reagan, the Movie"  
Michael Rogin, *University of California, Berkeley*  
"The Lincoln Myth: Motive and Principle in American Political Culture"  
J. David Greenstone, *University of Chicago*  
"The President as Sign"  
Anne Norton, *University of Notre Dame*

#### **16-3. Political Responsiveness of Bureaucracies: The Case of Regulatory Enforcement**

Chair: Mary K. Marvel, *Ohio State University*

Papers: "Political Control of the Federal Trade Commission"  
Terry Moe, *Brookings Institution*  
"Political and Task Responsiveness of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration"  
John T. Scholz and Feng-Heng Wei, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

Disc.: Mathew McCubbins, *Stanford University*  
Jonathan Bendor, *Stanford University*

#### **17-7 Local Decision-Making in a Changing Environment: Allocating Resources**

Chair: Sharon Perlman Krefetz, *Clark University*

Papers: "Drawing an Urban Landscape: Planners, Developers and Zoning Decisions"  
Arnold Fleischmann, Carol Pierannunzi-Mashburn and Robert F. Durant, *University of Georgia*  
"Proposition 13 and City Expenditures: A Trend Analysis"  
Alan L. Saltzstein, *California State University, Fullerton*  
"Those Most in Need or Those Needed Most? or Who Gets What When the Pie is Shrinking, Findings from New Haven"  
Katherine McFate, *Yale University*

Disc.: Ester Fuchs, *Barnard College, Columbia University*  
James D. Slack, *East Texas State University*

#### **18-7. Comparative State Policy-Making**

Chair: Thomas Dye, *Florida State University*

Papers: "The Effects of Politics on the Policy Choices of States: A Comparison Across Policy Areas and Across States"  
Wayne Peak, *Colorado State University*  
"Legislative Efforts to Improve the Quality of Public Education in American States: A Comparative Analysis"  
Doh C. Shinn and Jack Van Der Slik, *Sangamon State University*  
"Correlates of State Environmental Policy"  
John Ostheimer, *Northern Arizona University*

Disc.: Ann O'M. Bowman, *University of South Carolina*  
James C. Garand, *Louisiana State University*

#### **19-10. Roundtable on the Future Evolution of the International System**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes.

Chair: Charles F. Doran, *Johns Hopkins University, SAIS*

Participants: Ernst Haas, *University of California, Berkeley*  
J. David Singer, *University of Michigan*  
Richard Rosecrance, *Cornell University*

**20-7. Cycles of Domination: Hierarchy, Dependence and the Basic Rhythms of Political Change**

Chair: Jon Alexander, *Carleton University*

Papers: "Cognitive Domination: The Klingberg and Schlesinger Cycles Explained"  
Jon Alexander and William T. Darby, Jr., *Carleton University*

"Prospects for Peace in terms of Cyclical Theory"  
Frank Klingberg, *Southern Illinois University*

"U.S. Foreign Policy Moods, Institutional Change and Change in the International Economic System"  
Robert Elder and Jack Holmes, *Hope College*

Disc.: Arthur Schlesinger, *City College of New York*

**22-13. Executive Branch Policymaking in Three Issue Areas**

Chair: Robert L. Paarlberg, *Wellesley College*

Papers: "United States Food Assistance to Ethiopia: A Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policy Decisions Involving Food Resources"  
Kenneth Gold, *American University*

"How Institutions Modify 'Rational-Actor' Policy Outcomes On Export Controls"  
William J. Long, *Akin, Gump*

"Human Rights Foreign Policy Decision-Making in the U.S. State Department"  
David E. Morrison, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Disc.: To be announced

**23-9. Roundtable on the Selling of the Social Sciences: Achieving Public Understanding of the Disciplines**

Co-chairs: Howard J. Silver, *Consortium of Social Science Associations* and  
Thomas J. Linney, *Council of Graduate Schools in the U.S.*

Participants: Grace Ostenso, *House Science and Technology Committee*  
Stan Turetsky, *Office of Senator Moynihan*  
Lee Sigelman, *National Science Foundation*  
Mark A. Siegel, *Mark A. Siegel Associates*

**APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

**Workshop 8. Bicomunal Coexistence, Cooperation, and Conflict**

Chair: Daniel J. Elazar, *Temple University and Bar Ilan University*

Papers: "Bicomunal Conflict/Cooperation and Game Theory"  
Robert Abrams, *Brooklyn College*

"Dyadic Federalism"  
Ivo Duchacek, *City College of New York*

"Bipolarity, Consociationalism, and Stalemate"  
David E. Schmitt, *Northeastern University*

Disc.: Jean Beaufays, *Universite de Liege*  
Victor Jones, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Peter Leslie, *Queen's University*  
Oscar I. Martinez, *University of Texas, El Paso*

**APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

**Panel 6. Microcomputers and Public Policy Analysis**

Chair: Stuart S. Nagel, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

**APSA Organized Section: Presidency Research**

**Panel 2. Presidency Textbooks in the 1980s**

Chair: Thomas Cronin, *Colorado College*

Participants: Stephen J. Wayne, *George Washington University*  
Benjamin Page, *University of Texas, Austin*  
Michael Nelson, *Vanderbilt University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

#### **Panel 5. Theory of Public Organization**

Chair: Martin Landau, *University of California, Berkeley*

Papers: "Organizational Response to Environmental Change"  
Donald Chisholm, *University of California, San Diego*

"Organizational Games and Organizational Theory"  
Scott T. Moore, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

"Interorganizational Relations and Innovation: The Case of State Coordinating Agencies"

Hindy Lauer Schachter, *New Jersey Institute of Technology*

"The Relevance of Somatic Thinking for the Study of Organizational Learning"  
Guenther G. Kress, *University of Southern California*

J. Fred Springer, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* and

Gustav Koehler, *California Emergency Medical Services Authority*

Disc.: Barry Mitnick, *University of Pittsburgh*

### **APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession**

#### **Panel 2. Roundtable on Incorporating Materials on Women and Politics in Textbooks**

Co-sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science.

Chair: Barbara J. Nelson, *University of Minnesota*

Participants: Diane Fowlkes, *Georgia State University*  
Beverly B. Cook, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

## **FRIDAY, 5:30 P.M.**

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### **APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process**

Business Meeting

### **APSA Organized Section: Political Organizations and Parties**

Business Meeting

## **FRIDAY, 6:30 P.M.**

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### **Reception for Graduate Students**

### **APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process**

Reception

### **APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession**

Reception

Co-sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science

## **FRIDAY, 8:30 P.M.**

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### **PLENARY SESSION 2**

## **Reform of the American Political System**

Chair: Fred Greenstein, *Princeton University*

Participants: Lloyd N. Cutler, *Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering*  
Honorable Richard Bolling, *Former Member of Congress*  
Honorable Barber B. Conable, Jr., *Former Member of Congress*

## **FRIDAY, 10:30 P.M.**

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### **APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession**

Nightcap Reception Honoring

Twiley Barker, *University of Illinois, Chicago* and  
E. Wally Miles, *San Diego State University*

## **SATURDAY, 8:45 A.M.**

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### **1-7. American Elections in Light of the Spatial Model**

Chair: James M. Enelow, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

Papers: "Estimating the Importance of Issues: An Empirical Analysis of the 1980 American Presidential Election Based on the Spatial Theory of Voting"  
James M. Enelow, *SUNY at Stony Brook* and  
Melvin J. Hinich, *University of Texas, Austin*  
"A Theory of Structural Realignment"  
Stuart Elaine MacDonald Rabinowitz and George B. Rabinowitz, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Disc.: Keith Poole, *Carnegie-Mellon University*  
Howard Rosenthal, *Carnegie-Mellon University*

### **2-10. Using Error Terms and Missing Data**

Chair: William Berry, *University of Kentucky*

Papers: "Residual Analysis and Model Specification"  
Robin Marra, *University of Wisconsin* and  
Charles W. Ostrom, Jr., *Michigan State University*  
"Estimating Missing Data in Survey Research"  
Thad Brown, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
"Gubernatorial Power, Formal and Actual: The Problem of Heteroscedasticity"  
Lee Sigelman, *University of Kentucky* and  
Nelson Dometrius, *Texas Tech University*

Disc.: Charles Cnudde, *University of Texas, Austin*

### **3-6. The Family in Political Philosophy**

Chair: Benjamin Barber, *Rutgers University*

Papers: "The Family in the Last Days of Socrates"  
Arlene Saxonhouse, *University of Michigan*  
"Marriage and Family in Hegel"  
Peter Steinberger, *Reed College*

Disc.: Benjamin Barber, *Rutgers University*  
Nathan Tarcov, *University of Chicago*

### **4-6. Deconstructing Feminism**

Chair: William E. Connolly, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

- Papers: "The Genealogy of Danger and the Community of Men and Women"  
Thomas Dumm, *University of Houston*  
"The Eye of the Beholder: Pornographic Discourse and Feminist Criticism"  
Kathleen Jones, *San Diego State University*  
"Nietzsche and the Bonds of Familial Life"  
Alex Hook, *University of Wisconsin*  
Disc.: Kathy Ferguson, *Siena College*

**5-5. Roundtable on Institutional Change in the Western European University System: 1945-1985**

- Chair: R. Taylor Cole, *Duke University*  
Papers: "Britain"  
James Perkins, *International Conference for Educational Development*  
"Germany"  
George Turner, *Hohenheim University*  
"France"  
Erhard Friedberg, *Centre de Sociologie des Organisations*  
"American Impact on European Universities"  
Andris Barblan, *Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents, and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities*  
"Italy"  
Joseph La Palombara, *Yale University*  
Disc.: Jack Peltason, *University of California, Irvine*

**7-8. Responses to Deindustrialization: Privatization vs. Planning**

- Co-sponsored by the Conference Group on Political Economy.  
Chair: Joel D. Wolfe, *Georgetown University*  
Papers: "Does the Impetus for Industrial Policy in the U.S. Come From Interest Groups or the State?"  
Richard Foglesong, *Rollins College*  
"The Reindustrialization Debate in West Germany"  
Christopher S. Allen, *Harvard University* and  
Jeremiah Riemer, *Oberlin College*  
"Industrial Policy and Privatization: France as the Exception"  
Harvey Feigenbaum, *George Washington University*  
"Privatization and the Reshaping of Pluralist Democracy: The British Case"  
Joel D. Wolfe, *Georgetown University*  
Disc.: Joel Krieger, *Wellesley College*

**8-11. State and Peasantry in the Third World**

- Chair: Mèrilee S. Grindle, *Harvard University*  
Papers: "Peasant Response to the Nicaraguan Revolution"  
Forrest D. Colburn, *Florida International University*  
"The Language of Contention: Peasant Politics Reconsidered"  
Michael W. Foley, *University of California, Davis*  
"Bureaucrats, Peasants and the Paradox of State-Building in the Third World"  
Richard Kraus, *University of Oregon, Eugene* and  
Reeve Vanneman, *University of Maryland, College Park*  
Disc.: Amrita Basu, *Amherst College*  
David Becker, *Dartmouth College*

**9-8. Roundtable on Research Dimensions of Religion in American Politics**

- Chair: Charles W. Dunn, *Clemson University*

Participants: Booth Fowler, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*  
Mary Hanna, *Whitman College*  
Paul Kleppner, *Northern Illinois University*  
Paul J. Weber, *University of Louisville*  
Clarke Cochran, *Texas Tech University*  
Hubert Morken, *Oral Roberts University*

**11-10. Third-Party and Non-Party Politics**

Chair: Steven Rosenstone, *Yale University*

Papers: "The Decline of Third Parties: An Institutional Explanation"  
Howard A. Scarrow, *SUNY at Stony Brook*  
"A Test of Party Ideological Convergence: The New York Liberals and Conservatives, 1956-1980"  
Robert Maranto, *University of Southern Mississippi*  
"Domination Through Democratic Means: Nonpartisan Slating Groups in City Electoral Politics"  
Luis Ricardo Fraga, *University of Oklahoma*

Disc.: Edward Lazarus, *Yale University*

**12-5. American Indians: Participation in the American Political System**

Chair: Margaret Maier Murdock, *University of Wyoming, Casper*

Papers: "Changing Symbols of Public Order: A Case Study of the Lakota"  
Michael Melody, *Barry University*  
"Native Group-Governmental Relations and Mineral Disputes: Conflict Resolution in Australia and the United States"  
Lauren Holland, *University of Utah*  
"Poverty and Power in Native America"  
Gerald A. McBeath, *University of Alaska*  
"A Comparative Analysis of Three Southwest Indian Communities' Participation in Water Resource Decision Making"  
Helen Ingram, *University of Arizona* and  
Steve Mumme, *Colorado State University*

Disc.: Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, *New Mexico State University*  
Tom Holm, *University of Arizona*

**13-4. Presidential-Congressional Relations: The Battle for Turf**

Co-sponsored by "Political Executives and the Presidency Section" Panel 14-5.

Chair: Morris S. Ogul, *University of Pittsburgh*

Papers: "An Item Veto for the American President?"  
Thomas E. Cronin and Jeff Weill, *Colorado College*  
"Factors Affecting Congress's Decision to Override a Presidential Veto"  
Samuel B. Hoff, *SUNY at Stony Brook*  
"When Presidents Veto"  
Ronald C. Moe, *Congressional Research Service*

Disc.: Louis Fisher, *Congressional Research Service*  
Richard A. Watson, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

**15-6. A Critique of the Doctrinal and Decisional Dynamics of the Burger Court: The First Amendment and Federalism Revisited**

Chair: Howard Ball, *University of Utah*

Papers: "The Burger Court and the 'Central Meaning' of the First Amendment"  
Albert Ringelstein, *University of New Orleans*  
"The Burger Court and Separation of Church and State: Application of Process and Rights Values"  
Ronald Kahn, *Oberlin College*

"The Burger Court and Federalism: The Representation of State Interests Before the U.S. Supreme Court"

Thomas R. Morris, *University of Richmond*

"The Burger Court and the Relationships Between States and Their House Rule Cities"

Louise Byer Miller, *SUNY at Albany*

Disc.: Joseph F. Kobylka, *Southern Methodist University*

Michael W. Combs, *Louisiana State University*

#### **16-11. Administering Public Policy in Minority Communities**

Chair: Mylon Winn, *University of Tennessee*

Papers: "Managing Public Policy in an Era of Cultural Pluralism"

Jack Corbett, *Southwest Texas State University*

"The Dynamics of Black Administrative Advocacy: Community versus Professional Interests"

Lenneal Henderson, *Howard University*

"Effective Implementation of Public Policy in the Black Community"

Woodrow Jones, Jr., *San Diego State University*

"Minority Power as a Predictor of Minority City Employment"

Norma M. Riccucci and Peter Paluch, *University of South Florida*

Disc.: Mitchell F. Rice, *Southwest Texas State University*

Maurice Woodard, *APSA and Howard University*

#### **17-9. New Federalism: Policy and Program Implications of the First Reagan Administration and Implementation for the Future**

Co-chairs: Richard Cole and Delbert A. Taebe, *University of Texas, Arlington*

Papers: "New Federalism and Food Aid Programs"

J. Fred Giertz, *University of Illinois* and

Dennis H. Sullivan, *Miami University*

"New Federalism and State Environmental Policy"

James P. Lester and Steven G. Olson, *Colorado State University*

"New Federalism and the Non-Profit Sector"

James C. Musselwhite, *Urban Institute*

"New Federalism and the State and Local Sector"

David A. Caputo and Steven Johnson, *Purdue University*

Disc.: Carols S. Weissart, *Research Triangle Institute*

#### **18-9. Policy Toward Public Enterprise**

Chair: David J. Olson, *University of Washington*

Papers: "Public Enterprise as Public Policy: Structure and Performance"

Michael Denning, *Indiana University*

"Public Authorities: Tensions Between Entrepreneurship and Accountability"

Jameson W. Doig, *Princeton University*

"Government Policy and Enterprise Performance"

R. Kent Weaver, *Brookings Institution*

#### **19-7. Terrorism: Organizational Dynamics**

Chair: David C. Rapoport, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Papers: "The Tupamoros: A Study in Organizational Disintegration"

Fernando Lopez-Alves, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"Terrorism and Surprise"

Martha Crenshaw, *Wesleyan University*

"How Terrorists See Themselves"

Khachig Tololyan, *Wesleyan University*



Disc.: Bruce Hoffman, *Rand Corporation*  
Bonnie Cordes, *Rand Corporation*

### **22-3. The State in the International Political Economy: I**

Chair: John Ikenberry, *Princeton University*

Papers: "The State, Private Interests, and American Trade Policy in the Pre-hegemonic Era"

David A. Lake, *University of California, Los Angeles*

"The State and Commercial Policy: The Evolution of Postwar American Trade Policy"

Judith Goldstein, *Stanford University*

"The State and Export Control Policy: Managing the Conflict between Economic and Security Objectives"

Michael Mastanduno, *Hamilton College*

Disc.: Theda Skocpol, *University of Chicago*

### **23-5. The Theory of Teaching Political Concepts**

Chair: Lawrence J. Herson, *Ohio State University*

Papers: "The Politics of Teaching"

William I. Buscemi, *Wittenberg University*

"Relating 'Pt' to 'pt' "

Justin J. Green and John A. Doddy, *Villanova University*

"Overcoming Piaget's Hold on Social Science Curricula: A Utilization of Positive Political Theory in the Classroom"

Thomas J. Mortillaro, *Nicholls State University*

Disc.: To be announced

## **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

### **Panel 4. New Directions in the Analysis of International Conflict**

Chair: Philip A. Schrott, *Northwestern University*

Papers: "Geographical Proximity, Alliances and War"

Benjamin Most, *University of Iowa* and

Harvey Starr, *Indiana University*

"The Problem of Great Power Interventions"

Jeffrey Hart, *Indiana University*

"The Effect of Actors Perceptions of the Likelihood of Conflict Escalation"

David Lalman, *University of Rochester*

"A Lagged Sequential Analysis of U.S.-Soviet Behavior"

William Dixon, *Emory University*

Disc.: Stuart J. Thorson, *Syracuse University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

### **Roundtable 1. Administrative Issues in American Federalism**

Chair: Donald F. Kettl, *University of Virginia*

Participants: Richard P. Nathan, *Princeton University*

David Beam, *The Naisbett Group*

Michael D. Reagan, *University of California, Riverside*

Heywood Sanders, *Trinity University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process**

### **Panel 3. Archiving Data for the Law and Judicial Politics Community: A Roundtable Discussion on the Supreme Court Decision-Making Project**

Chair: Harold Spaeth, *Michigan State University*

Participants: Larry Baum, *Ohio State University*  
Beverly Blair Cook, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*  
James Gibson, *University of Houston*  
Joel Grossman, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*  
Charles Johnson, *Texas A&M University*  
Felice Levine, *National Science Foundation*  
Sidney Ulmer, *University of Kentucky*

### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

#### **Panel 10. Public Policy Formation and Evaluation**

Chair: Robert J. Spitzer, *SUNY at Cortland*  
Papers: "Biting the Bullet: Gun Control and Social Regulation"  
Robert J. Spitzer, *SUNY at Cortland*  
"Interaction and Analysis: Comments on Lindblom and  
Cohen's Research Program"  
James M. Rogers, *Fordham University*  
"Public Goods and Policy Types"  
Leonard Champney, *University of Scranton*  
"Interest Group Influence on Public Policy in the American States"  
Genie Stowers, *Florida State University*  
Disc.: Diane Monson, *Manhattanville College*  
Glenn Abney, *Georgia State University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

#### **Panel 13. The Influence of Agricultural Groups in World Agriculture**

Chair: Don Hadwiger, *Iowa State University*  
Paper: "Interest Aggregation in the 1980s"  
William P. Browne, *Central Michigan University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

#### **Panel 7. Administration at the Local Level**

Chair: Edward J. Clynch, *Mississippi State University*  
Papers: "The Dichotomy-Duality Model: An Empirical Test in Mayor-Council and  
Council-Mayor Cities"  
James H. Svara, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*  
"Reforming Reformed Local Election Systems: Phoenix in 1984"  
John Stuart Hall and Marilyn Dantico, *Arizona State University*  
"The Premises of Police Work: What Policemen Believe and What Difference  
It Makes"  
Robert E. Worden, *University of Georgia*  
"Ritual vs. Instrumentalism in Management Technique: Local Officials' View of  
the Public Interest"  
Hugh Miller, *University of Maine, Presque Isle*  
Disc.: Eric Herzik, *Texas A&M University*

## **SATURDAY, 10:45 A.M.**

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#### **2-5. New Strategies and Paths to Theory Building in Comparative Politics**

Chair: John D. Robertson, *Texas A&M University*  
Papers: "Reconceptualizing Political Performance: Problems, Prospects, and  
Preliminary Analyses"  
William Mishler, *SUNY at Buffalo*

"Politics and Markets in the European Setting: Investment Trends and the Significance of Government Stability"

John D. Robertson, *Texas A&M University*

Disc.: G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *University of Rochester*  
Lawrence C. Dodd, *Indiana University*

### **3-10. Adam Smith: History, Morals, and Politics**

Chair: Timothy Tilton, *Indiana University*

Papers: "Public and Private in Adam Smith"  
Stephen Holmes, *Harvard University*

"Adam Smith on Natural Liberty"  
Joan Tronto, *Hunter College, CUNY*

"From Commerical Champion to Political Parasite: The Changing Perception of the Landed Class in Early Liberal Political Economy"  
Edward Harpham, *University of Texas, Dallas*

Disc.: Nicholas Xenos, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*  
Melvin Richter, *City University of New York*

### **4-2. Changing the Political Subject**

Chair: Fred R. Dallmayr, *University of Notre Dame*

Papers: "Language and Political Community: The Constitution of Self-Understanding"  
Dennis Alan Wakefield, *Texas Tech University*

"Goods, Virtues, and the Constitution of the Self"  
Emily R. Gill, *Bradley University*

Disc.: Susan Hekman, *University of Texas, Arlington*

### **6-3. Elite Attitudes and Democratization from Authoritarianism**

Chair: Donald Share, *University of Puget Sound*

Papers: "Democratization and the Reorientation of Center-Periphery Relations in Post-Authoritarian Portugal and Brazil"  
Lawrence S. Graham, *University of Texas, Austin*

"Democratization and Party Building: Contradictions and Conflicts Facing Party Elites in the Spanish Transition to Democracy"  
Richard Gunther, *Ohio State University*

"Elite Strategy and Democratization From Above: The Spanish Case Reconsidered"  
Donald Share, *University of Puget Sound*

Disc.: Thomas Bruneau, *McGill University*

### **8-7. Roundtable on Internal vs. External Factors in Political Development: An Evaluation of Recent Historical Research**

Chair: Ronald Rogowski, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Participants: David Abraham, *Princeton University*  
Gabriel A. Almond, *Stanford University*  
David Collier, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Peter Katzenstein, *Cornell University*

### **9-6. Processes of Partisan Transformation**

Chair: Robert P. Steed, *The Citadel*

Papers: "The Logic of Partisan Transformations: A Theoretical Analysis of Riker's Model of Political Change"  
Edward G. Carmines, *Indiana University*

"Another Look at Mobilization, Conversion and Realignment"  
William Claggett, *Florida State University*

"The Partisan Transformation of Texas"  
James A. Dyer, David B. Hill and Arnold Vedlitz,  
*Texas A & M University*

Disc.: John K. White, *SUNY at Potsdam*  
Robert S. Erikson, *University of Houston*

#### **10-5. Group Influence and Political Thinking**

Chair: Pamela Johnston Conover, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Papers: "The Psychological Origins of Group Influence"  
Pamela Johnston Conover, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*  
"Group Identification and Partisanship: A Study of Partisan Change"  
Jeffrey Koch, *University of Michigan*  
"Groups and Political Thinking: The Role of Organized Interests  
in Attitude Formation"  
Sarah-Kathryn McDonald, *U.S. Department of Commerce*  
"The Psychology of Group Identification and Its Role in the  
Dynamics of Partisan Attitudes"  
Laurie A. Rhodebeck, *University of Notre Dame*

Disc.: Richard R. Lau, *Carnegie-Mellon University*  
Arthur R. Miller, *University of Chicago*

#### **11-12. The Media's Role in Elections-U.S.A.**

Chair: David L. Paletz, *Duke University*

Papers: "After the Rainbow Fades: Black Students and the Jesse  
Jackson Campaign"  
Oscar H. Gandy, Jr., and Larry G. Coleman, *Howard University*  
"Candidate Images-An Audio-Visual Analysis"  
Doris Graber, *University of Illinois, Chicago*  
"Television Spot Ads and the Meaning of Elections"  
Richard Joslyn, *Temple University*  
"The News Media's Capacity as Electoral Intermediary"  
Thomas E. Patterson, *Syracuse University*

Disc.: Milda K. Hedblom, *Augsburg College*  
Robert L. Savage, *University of Arkansas*

#### **12-7. What's Left? Problems and Prospects**

Chair: Roger S. Gottlieb, *Worcester Polytechnic Institute*

Papers: "Towards a New Political Paradigm".  
Harry Boyte  
"Personal Identity and the Failures of the U.S. Left"  
Roger S. Gottlieb, *Worcester Polytechnic Institute*  
"The Changing Nature of the American Left"  
Stanley Rothman, *Smith College*  
Title unknown  
Stanley Aronowitz, *Center for Workers' Education*

#### **13-8. Legislative Recruitment and Elections**

Chair: Jon R. Bond, *Texas A&M University*

Papers: "The Effect of Congressional Casework on Congressional Elections"  
John R. Johannes and John McAdams, *Marquette University*  
"A Quantitative Assessment of Candidate Recruitment in  
Congressional Elections"  
Thomas A. Kazee, *Davidson College*

"Political Culture and Electoral Behavior: Women Candidates for State Legislative Offices in Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri and Ohio, 1930-1982"

V. Jerome Stephens, *Bowling Green State University*

Disc.: Patricia Hurley, *Rice University*  
Gary Jacobson, *University of California, San Diego*

#### **14-10. Presidential Selection**

Chair: Robert E. DiClerico, *West Virginia University*

Papers: "Candidates and Presidents: The Grounds for Choice and Judgment"  
Bruce Buchanan, *University of Texas, Austin*

"Run Jesse Run: Candidate Roles in the Media"  
Anthony Broh, *Princeton University*

"The Rules of the Presidential Selection Process, What Differences Do They Make?: A Look at 1984 and Beyond"  
Louise Lindblom, *Democratic National Committee*

Disc.: James W. Davis, *Western Washington University*  
William Crotty, *Northwestern University*

#### **18-6. Urban Politics and Public Policy**

Chair: Dale Rogers Marshall, *University of California, Davis*

Papers: "Exploration of Local Factors Affecting Minority Representation in Municipal Workforces"  
Lana Stein, *University of Georgia*

"Misrepresentation and Justification in Local Budgetary Processes"  
Patrick D. Larkey and Richard A. Smith, *Carnegie-Mellon University*

"Policy Outputs from Agenda Building: A Case of Non-Issue Outputs"  
Stephen C. Brooks, *University of Akron*

"Urban Policy and City Government Structure: Testing the Mediating Effects of Reform"  
David R. Morgan, *University of Oklahoma* and  
Jeffrey L. Brudney, *University of Georgia*

Disc.: Robert L. Lineberry, *University of Kansas*  
Margaret Wrightson, *Georgetown University*

#### **20-1. The Dominant Powers and Their Dependencies: The USSR in Eastern Europe and the U.S. in Latin America**

Chair: Jan F. Triska, *Stanford University*

Papers: "Comparing the Dominant Powers and Their Strategies"  
David Finley, *Colorado College*

"Comparing the Dependencies and their Strategies"  
Paul M. Johnson, *Florida State University*

"Comparing Capitalist and Socialist Dependencies"  
Robert A. Packenham, *Stanford University*

Disc.: William Zimmerman, *University of Michigan*  
Cole Blasier, *University of Pittsburgh*

#### **21-2. Changes in National Interests, International Institutions and the International System**

Chair: Gene M. Lyons, *Dartmouth College*

Papers: "Population, Resources, and Change in Global Society: U.S. Interests and Global Institutions"  
John G. Ruggie, *Columbia University*

"Third Worldism and the UN System"  
Donald J. Puchala, *University of South Carolina*

Disc.: Robert W. Cox, *York University*  
Barbara B. Crane, *Harvard University*

## **22-8. Protectionism and Trade Policymaking: Can We Still Cope?**

Chair: I. M. Destler, *Institute for International Economics*

Papers: "The Unraveling of American Trade Policymaking"  
I. M. Destler, *Institute for International Economics*

"The Limits to Resistance: State and Societal Interaction in Postwar Protectionism"

H. Richard Friman, *Cornell University*

"External Trade Policymaking in the European Community"  
Stephen Woolcock, *United Kingdom*

"The Tokyo Round and the Process of Negotiation"  
Gilbert T. Winham, *Dalhousie University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

### **Panel 7. Foreign Policy and Peace**

Chair: Karen Feste, *University of Denver*

Papers: "Output versus Outcome: Do U.S. Foreign Policy Organizational Strategies Make a Difference?"  
Donald A. Sylvan, *Ohio State University*

"Implications of Nuclear Winter for Arms Control Negotiations"

Michael F. Altfeld, *Michigan State University* and  
Stephen J. Cimbala, *Pennsylvania State University*

"Preventive Diplomacy as a Strategy for Peace: A Comparative Case Study of Six Peacekeeping Operations"  
Paul F. Diehl, *University of Georgia*

Disc.: Barclay Ward, *University of the South*

## **APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

### **Panel 9. Urban Political Cultures under Fiscal Austerity**

Chair: Terry Nichols Clark, *University of Chicago*

Papers: "Intergovernmental Revenues and Urban Political Cultures"  
John Gist, *University of Maryland, College Park*

"The Privatization of Urban Services: The Last Austerity Strategy"  
William Lyons, *University of Tennessee*

"Some Considerations on Validity Measurement in the Fiscal Austerity Project"  
Jesse Marquette, Steven Brooks, and R. P. Marquette, *University of Akron*

"Federal Grants and Speculative City Budgeting"  
Brian Jones, *Wayne State University*

Disc.: Daniel J. Elazar, *Jerusalem Institute for Public Affairs*  
Joseph F. Zimmerman, *SUNY at Albany*

## **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

### **Panel 12. Civil Liberties, Civil Rights and Public Policy**

Chair: Margaret Conway, *University of Maryland, College Park*

## **APSA Organized Section: Presidency Research**

### **Panel 3. The Presidential Appointments System, 1969-1985**

Chair: G. Calvin Mackenzie, *Colby College*

Participant: Dom Bonafede, *The National Journal*

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## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

### **Panel 10. Political Leadership and Public Administration**

Chair: Naomi Lynn, *Georgia State University*

Papers: "Neuroses in the White House: Presidential Mismanagement Styles"  
Raymond Moore, *University of South Carolina*

"Presidential Impact on Bureaucratic Decision Making"

Frank M. Sorrentino, *St. Francis College*

"Paul Volcker and the Politics of Leadership at the Fed"

Donald F. Kettl, *University of Virginia*

Disc.: James L. Sundquist, *Brookings Institution*

Michael Sanera, *Heritage Foundation and Northern Arizona University*

### **APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession**

#### **Panel 3. Subtle and Not So Subtle Discrimination Against Women in Academic Institutions**

Chair: Louise Comfort, *University of Pittsburgh*

### **APSA Program Committee Sponsored Panel**

#### **Roundtable in Honor of Charles Hyneman: Theory and Research on Democratic Government**

Introduction by Harvey Starr, *Indiana University*

Co-chairs: George J. Graham, Jr., *Vanderbilt University* and  
Donald Lutz, *University of Houston*

Participants: George W. Carey, *Georgetown University*  
Charles Gilbert, *Swarthmore College*  
Lawrence Herson, *Ohio State University*  
C. Richard Hofstadter, *California State University*  
Kenneth Janda, *Northwestern University*  
David Leege, *University of Notre Dame*  
Charles McCall, *California State University*  
Karl O'Lesser, *Indiana University*  
Ronald Peters, *University of Oklahoma*

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## **SATURDAY, 1:30 P.M.**

### **1-1. Formal Models of Political Dynamics**

Chair: Gary R. Rassel, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*

Papers: "Must Democracy Inevitably Imply Hierarchy?"

William P. Collins, *Drake University*

"Persuasion and Leadership"

Howard Margolis

"An Experiment on Efficacy and Expected Utility: The Premises for Choice Between Self-Interest and Altruism"

David Goetze, *Utah State University*

Disc.: Gary R. Rassel, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*

John P. Frendreis, *University of Texas, Dallas*

### **2-6. New Approaches to Time Series**

Chair: William Claggett, *Florida State University*

Papers: "Conservative Coalition Success in the U.S. Congress: A Transfer Function Analysis"

Mack Shelley, *Iowa State University*

"The Durability of Urban Political Machines"

M. Craig Brown, *SUNY at Albany*

"Actuarial Aspects of Mobilization"  
Craig McCaughrin, *Washington and Lee University*

Disc.: Thom Yantek, *Kent State University*

### **3-5. Citizenship in the Progressive Era**

Chair: Jane Mansbridge, *Northwestern University*

Papers: "The Progressive Citizen"

Rogers Smith, *Yale University*

"The Secret Ballot: How Progressive a Reform?"

Andreas Teuber, *Brandeis University*

Disc.: Vivien Hart, *University of Sussex*

James Curtis, *Swarthmore College*

### **4-11. New Perspectives on Political Power**

Chair: Tracy B. Strong, *University of California, San Diego*

Papers: "Toward a Theory of Professional Power"

Stephen L. Esquith, *Michigan State University*

"Actions, Consequences, and Political Power"

Marion Smiley, *Princeton University*

Disc.: Daniel R. Sabia, *University of South Carolina*

### **5-6. Bureaucracies, Public and Para-Public**

Chair: Deborah Stone, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Papers: "The Protection of Personal Information in the U.S. and Western Europe: A Comparative Study of Bureaucratic Implementation"

Colin Bennett, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

"A Semi-Sovereign State: Politics and Policy in the Federal Republic"

Peter Katzenstein, *Cornell University*

"Institutional Innovation and Cultural Change: American Social Security and Social Learning"

Charles Lockhart, *Texas Christian University*

Disc.: T. J. Pempel, *Cornell University*

### **6-11. The Middle East in Transition: Transformation of Old Elites and Emergence of New Elites**

Chair: Ilter Turan, *University of Istanbul*

Papers: "The New Political Elites in Rural Syria"

Yahya A. Sadowski, *University of California, Berkeley*

"The New Political Elite of Iran"

Gholam Reza Afkhami, *Foundation for Iranian Studies*

"Elite Conflict and Elite Transformation in Turkey"

Ilter Turan, *University of Istanbul*

Disc.: Frederick W. Frey, *University of Pennsylvania*

Iliya F. Harik, *Indiana University*

### **8-13. Political Elites in Cross-National Perspective**

Chair: Samuel J. Eldersveld, *University of Michigan*

Paper: "Loyalists and Revolutionaries: Political Elites in Comparative Perspective"

Mostafa Rejai and Kay Phillips, *Miami University*

Disc.: Mattei Dogan, *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*

Martin Slann, *Clemson University*

### **9-4. Party Realignment and Partisan Change**

Chair: John R. Petrocik, *University of California, Los Angeles*



- Papers: "The Post-New Deal Party Coalitions and the Election of 1984"  
John R. Petrocik, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
"Changes in Party Identification: Evidence of a Republican Majority?"  
Helmut Norporth, *SUNY at Stony Brook*  
"Partisan Change in the Reagan Years"  
Martin P. Wattenberg, *University of California, Irvine*  
"New Perspectives on Partisanship and Group Support Over Time"  
Harold Stanley, William Bianco and Richard P. Niemi, *University of Rochester*
- Disc.: Seymour Martin Lipset, *Stanford University*  
Thad A. Brown, *University of California, Los Angeles*

#### **10-8. Models of Political Thought and Behavior**

- Chair: Stuart Elaine Macdonald Rabinowitz, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
- Papers: "Candidate Evaluations During an Election Year: Attitude Change or Citizen Uncertainty"  
William G. Jacoby, *Ohio State University*  
"Political Ideology: An Empirical Investigation of the Relative Adequacy of Three Models of Political Thought"  
Shawn W. Rosenberg, *University of California, Irvine*
- Disc.: John Bolland, *University of Kansas*

#### **11-13. The Media's Role in Elections—International**

- Chair: David L. Paletz, *Duke University*
- Papers: "Media, Public Opinion, and Elections in Brazil"  
Nelly deCamargo, *Universidade de Sao Paulo*  
"Newspapers and Elections in Spain"  
Pedro Orive, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*  
"Media Logic and Party Logic in Coverage of Elections in Italy"  
Gianpietro Mazzoleni, *Universita Degli Studi De Milano*  
"Media and Elections in Switzerland"  
Ulrich Saxer, *Universitat Zurich*  
"Media and Elections in Canada"  
Fred Fletcher, *York University*  
"Political Reporting and State Control: Implications for Multi-Party States"  
Ramesh Deosaran, *University of the West Indies*
- Disc.: Daniel Hallin, *University of California, San Diego*  
W. H. N. Hull, *Brock University*

#### **12-6. Minority Politics, Public Policy and Political Change**

- Chair: Mitchell F. Rice, *Southwest Texas State University*
- Papers: "The Social and Economic Impact of Black Politics in the New South: The Case of Louisiana"  
Huey L. Perry, *Southern University*  
"The Jesse Jackson Presidential Campaign and Its Aftermath"  
William Nelson, Jr., *Ohio State University*  
"Translating Black Politics Into Public Policy: Choosing Substance over Symbolism"  
Mylon Winn, *University of Tennessee, Knoxville* and Mitchell F. Rice, *Southwest Texas State University*  
"Black Politics and American Foreign Policy: The Failure of U.S. Black Political Postures to Destabilize U.S. Hegemony Over African Peoples—The Granadian Experience"  
Peter Jackson, *University of Texas, Austin*

Disc. Dianne Pinderhuges, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
Donald Tryman, *Jackson State University*

### **13-5. Coalition Politics in the Congress**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Legislative Studies.

Chair: Roger Davidson, *Congressional Research Service*

Papers: "A Dynamic Model of Congressional Voting: 1960-1984"  
Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, *Carnegie-Mellon University*  
"The House Democrats and Industrial Policy After the 1980 Election"  
Ross Baker, *Rutgers University*  
"Macroeconomic Policy Disagreements and Congressional Coalitions:  
The Case of Economic Growth"  
Jerrold E. Schneider, *University of Delaware*

Disc.: Gary Orfield, *University of Chicago*  
Benjamin Page, *University of Texas*

### **14-3. Presidential Decisionmaking and Advising**

Chair: Dorothy James, *American University*

Papers: "Neuroses in the White House: Presidential Mismanagement Styles"  
Raymond A. Moore, *University of South Carolina*  
"Theoretical Frameworks for Cabinet Studies"  
Janet M. Martin, *Gettysburg College*  
"What Did They Know and When Did They Know It?"  
Graham K. Wilson, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Disc.: A J. Wann, *University of Utah*  
Robert A. Shanley, *University of Massachusetts*

### **15-4. Public Opinion and the American Judiciary: Implications and Assessments**

Chair: Elliot E. Slotnick, *Ohio State University*

Papers: "Virtues Passive and Active: Supreme Court Opinions and the Attentive Public"  
William Haltom, *University of Vermont*  
"Institutional Popularity of the Supreme Court: A Reassessment"  
Barbara A. Luck, *Washington University*  
"Public Opinion and the Administration of Justice:  
A Case of Patricide"  
Margaret Maier Murdock, Michael J. Horan and Kenyon Griffin,  
*University of Wyoming*  
"Public Opinion and the Supreme Court: Half A Century of Congruence"  
Thomas R. Marshall, *University of Texas, Arlington*

Disc: Christine B. Harrington, *New York University*

### **16-9. The Impact of Policy Analysis on Policymaking**

Co-sponsored by "Public Policy Analysis Section" Panel 18-12.

Co-chairs: Steve Ballard and Don Kash, *University of Oklahoma*

Papers: "The Influence of Analysis in the Evolution of U.S. Strategic Doctrine"  
Peter deLeon, *The Rand Corporation*  
"Policy Analysis for Congress: Producing Usable Knowledge"  
Jack Gibbons, *Office of Technology Assessment*  
"Policy Analysis and Agenda Setting in Environmental Policy"  
Lynton K. Caldwell, *Indiana University*  
"Comparison and Evaluation of Policy Analysis Approaches in  
Academic and Applied Settings"

Don Kash and Steve Ballard, *University of Oklahoma*

Disc: Carol Weiss, *Harvard University*

**17-8. Individual and Groups Demands in Urban Settings:  
Citizen Contacts, Neighborhood Groups and Service Delivery**

Chair: Janet Boles, *Marquette University*

Papers: "Socioeconomic Status and Citizen-Initiated Contacting of City Government: A Methodological Analysis"

Philip B. Coulter, *University of Alabama*

"Chicago Politics and the Delivery of Urban Public Services"

Kenneth R. Mladenka, *Texas A&M University*

"The Political Sociology of Neighborhood Organizations"

John Clayton Thomas, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*

Disc: Robert F. Pecorella, *New York University*

Steven H. Haeberle, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*

**19-4. Conflict and the Measurement of National Capability**

Chair: Jacek Kugler, *Vanderbilt University*

Papers: "Measuring the Value of Peace"

Walter Petersen, *University of Oregon*

"Military Power and Statistical Power: Misrepresentation Due to Size"

Robert Duval, *West Virginia University*

"Power Disparities and Paradoxical Conflict Outcomes"

James Ray and Ayse Vural, *Florida State University*

"Contrasting Majors of Capabilities"

Richard Stoll, *Rice University*

Disc: Mike Horn, *University of Rochester*

**21-6. Knowledge, Power and Progress in International Relations**

Chair: Beverly Crawford, *University of Pittsburgh*

Papers: "Progress in International Energy Problems"

Stefanie Lenway, *University of Minnesota*

"Progress in Arms Control"

Robert Gromoll, *University of Pittsburgh*

"Progress and the International Environment"

Peter Haas, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

"Progress in Human Rights"

Jack Donnelly, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Disc: Emanuel Adler, *Hebrew University*

Craig Murphy, *Wellesley College*

**22-1. Organizational and Process Influences in U.S. Foreign Policy Making: Research in Progress**

Chair: William I. Bacchus, *U.S. Department of State*

Papers: "Output versus Outcome: Do U.S. Foreign Policy Organizational Strategies Make a Difference?"

Donald A. Sylvan, *Ohio State University*

"The Reagan Administration's NSC System: Evolving Roles and Processes"

David K. Hall, *Naval War College*

"Organizational Change and Organizational Learning: How Decision Makers Decide How to Decide"

Paul A. Anderson, *Carnegie-Mellon University*

Disc: Arnold Kanter, *The Rand Corporation*

### **23-7. Political Scientists in Congress: The Role of Staff in the Policy Process**

Chair: Catherine E. Rudder, *American Political Science Association*

Participants: Beth Fuchs, *Senate Aging Committee*  
Carl Van Horn, *Office of Rep. Gillis Long*  
James Horney, *House Committee on Rules*  
Paul Light, *National Academy of Public Administration*  
John Pitney, *House Republican Research Committee*  
Paul Rundquist, *Congressional Research Service*

### **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

#### **Panel 9. A Vertical Look at Conflict and Escalation**

Chair: Michael D. Ward, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Papers: "The Politics of Location: An Examination of Conflict and the Local State"

Andrew Kirby, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

"Cyclical Economic Growth and Distributional Conflicts: A Simulation Study of the Political Consequences"

Ulrich Wismaier, *Science Center Berlin*

"Power and Conflict in the International System: Equilibrium or Escalation?"

Michael D. Ward, *University of Colorado, Boulder* and

Lewis L. House, *National Center for Atmospheric Research*

Disc.: To be announced

### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

#### **Panel 4. Privacy, Technology and Public Policy**

Chair: Ernest Giglio, *Lycoming College*

Participants: Patricia Bayer Richard, *Ohio State University*  
Priscilla M. Regan, *Office of Technology Assessment*  
Charles Hartman, *Wright State University*  
Stephen Renas, *Wright State University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

#### **Panel 14. The Psychology of Administration**

Chair: Richard L. Schott, *University of Texas, Austin*

Papers: "The Psychodynamics of Subordinancy: Implications for Administration"

Howell Baum, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

"Understanding and Explaining Group Phenomena in Complex Organizations"

Michael Diamond, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

"The Psychological Development of Adults: Implications for Administration"

Richard L. Schott, *University of Texas, Austin*

Disc.: Bruce Buchanan, *University of Texas, Austin*

### **APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession**

#### **Panel 2. Black Election Study on the 1984 Presidential Election: Some Preliminary Findings and Observations**

Chair: Ronald Brown, *University of Michigan*

Paper: "Black Election Study"

Ronald Brown and Shirley Hatchet, *University of Michigan*

Disc.: Lenneal Henderson, Jr., *Howard University*

Robert T. Starks, *Northwestern University*

## **SATURDAY, 3:30 P.M.**

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### **2-7. Dynamic Modeling and Contextual Effects**

Chair: John Books, *North Texas State University*  
Papers: "Modeling Contextual Effects on Political Behavior: Static versus Dynamic Models"  
John Books, *North Texas State University* and  
Charles Prysby, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*  
"Political Context as an Influence on Attitudinal Change: A Dynamic Analysis of the 1980 Election"  
Michael MacKuen, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*  
"The Threshold of Public Attention"  
W. Russell Neuman, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
Disc.: Lutz Erbring, *University of Chicago*

### **3-13. Mannheim and Conservatism Revisited**

Chair: A.P. Simonds, *University of Manchester*  
Papers: "Reconstituting Political Knowledge: Mannheim on 'Konservatismus'"  
David Kettler, *Trent University* and  
Volker Meja, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*  
"Mannheim and Hermeneutic Social Science"  
Susan Hekman, *University of Texas, Arlington*  
Disc.: Colin Loader  
Stephen Holmes, *Harvard University*

### **4-9. Marxian Theory and Social Change**

Chair: Alan Gilbert, *University of Denver*  
Papers: "Engels' Feminism"  
Terrell Carver, *University of Bristol*  
"Marxism and Social Change"  
Bruce E. Wright, *California State University, Fullerton*  
"Towards a Democratic Critique of Marx's Critique of Justice and Rights"  
Joseph M. Schwartz, *Harvard University*  
Disc.: Mary E. Hawkesworth, *University of Louisville*

### **5-2. Roundtable on *In Search of France From the Sixties to the Eighties***

Chair: Peter A. Gourevitch, *University of California, San Diego*  
Topics and  
Participants: "Politics"  
Stanley Hoffmann, *Harvard University*  
"Economics"  
Charles Kindleberger, *Brandeis University*  
"Foreign Policy"  
Pierre Hassner, *Fondation National des Sciences Politiques, Paris*  
"Society"  
Jacques Lautman, *UER de Sciences Sociales, Paris*  
"Intellectuals and Society"  
Pierre Gremion, *Centre de Sociologie des Organisations*

### **6-13. Religion and Politics**

Chair: Marcia Lynn Whicker, *University of South Carolina*  
Papers: "Religion and Political Change: The Impacts of Institutional Connectedness and Religious Imagery"  
Thomas J. Hoffman, *St. Mary's University of San Antonio*  
"The Development of Bureaucratic Structures of Hierarchially Centralized Churches: The Case of Catholics and Mormons"  
Dennis Thompson, *Brigham Young University*

"Religion and Political Leadership"  
Jennie Kronenfeld, *University of South Carolina*

"Religion and the Future of American Politics"  
James Reichley, *Brookings Institution*

Disc.: James Guth, *Furman University*

#### **7-9. Social Welfare Policy in Comparative Perspective**

Chair: Vincent A. Mahler, *Loyola University of Chicago*

Papers: "The Political Economy of Income Maintenance Programs in Advanced Industrial Societies: A Crossnational Study"  
Vincent A. Mahler, *Loyola University of Chicago* and  
Claudio J. Katz, *Lake Forest College*

"Business, Government, and the Origins of Social Policy"  
Neil J. Mitchell, *Iowa State University* and  
Norman Furniss, *Indiana University*

"Consonance between Election Campaign Issues and Actual Policy Choices in Sweden's Welfare State"  
Bertil L. Hanson, *Umea University*

#### **8-12. Regimes and Social Change**

Chair: Alfred Diamant, *Indiana University*

Papers: "The Taiwan Exception: Regime Change as a Prerequisite for Economic Development"  
Cal Clark, *University of Wyoming*

"Coalitions in Oil Monarchies: Patterns of State-Building in the Gulf"  
Jill Crystal, *Harvard University*

"Democratic Stability and Regime Transformation in Venezuela"  
Jennifer McCoy, *Georgia State University*

Disc.: Jonathan Lemco, *Wilfrid Laurier University*  
Michael A. Launius, *College of St. Thomas*

#### **10-6. Economic Voting: Another Look**

Chair: William R. Keech, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Papers: "A Dynamic Spatial Voting Model of Party Competition and Party Leadership"  
Henry W. Chappell, Jr., *University of South Carolina* and  
William R. Keech, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

"Economic Predicaments and Political Choice in 1984"  
Donald R. Kinder, *University of Michigan*

"Economics and the American Voter: Past, Present and Future"  
Michael Lewis-Beck, *University of Iowa*

Disc.: M. Stephen Weatherford, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

#### **11-2. State and Local Election Campaigns**

Chair: M. Margaret Conway, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Papers: "The 1984 U.S. Senate Race in Michigan"  
Michael Traugott and Edie Goldenberg, *University of Michigan*

"The Effect of Primaries on General Elections to the U.S. Senate, 1968-1984"  
Mark C. Westlye, *University of California, Berkeley*

"Parties as Campaigners: Recent Developments in Congressional Elections"  
Paul S. Herrnson, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

"Campaigning for Local Offices"  
Paul A. Smith, *SUNY at Binghamton*

Disc.: Marjorie Randon Hershey, *Indiana University*

### **12-3. Policy Networks and Social Welfare Policy: Sub-Governments Revisited**

Chair: Alice Sardell, *Queens College*

Papers: "Policy Networks, Partisan Change and the Politics of Social Welfare"  
Jack Walker and Mark Peterson, *University of Michigan*

"Interest Groups in Social Policy Networks"  
John Tierney, *Boston College*

"Interest Groups and Aging Policy in the 1980s"  
Christine Campos, *University of California, Berkeley*

Disc.: Jeffrey Berry, *Tufts University*

### **13-7. Congressional Policies and Legislative Voting**

Chair: R. Douglas Arnold, *Princeton University*

Papers: "Vietnam, Angola, Lebanon, and Central America: What Congress Can and Cannot Do to Restrain Military Intervention"  
John C. Berg, *Suffolk University*

"Congress and Weapons Procurement: A Longitudinal Study of Congressional Coalition Change"  
R. Steven Daniels, *University of Nebraska*

Disc.: Philip Brenner, *American University*  
Melissa Collie, *Stanford University*

### **14-4. The Great Society from Johnson to Reagan**

Chair: Francis E. Rourke, *Johns Hopkins University*

Papers: "Great Society Food Programs: Then and Now"  
Ardith Maney, *Iowa State University*

"Modern Presidents as Lame Ducks: Eisenhower, Johnson and Reagan"  
Michael B. Grossman and Martha J. Kumar, *Towson State University*  
and Francis E. Rourke, *Johns Hopkins University*

"Presidential Implementation: Johnson and the Great Society"  
Linda L. Fisher, *Trinity College*

Disc.: James E. Anderson, *University of Houston*  
Roger G. Brown, *Iowa State University*

### **16-10. Multivariate Analysis of Agency Decisions**

Chair: Paul Sabatier, *University of California, Davis*

Papers: "Lawyers, Politics and the Recruitment to Regulatory Agencies"  
Kathleen Kemp, *Florida State University*

"Little Groups of Actuaries: The Politics of Regulating Insurance"  
Kenneth J. Meier, *University of Oklahoma*

"Mathematical Programming Methods as an Alternative to the General Linear Model: An Application to Police Services"  
Roger Parks, *Indiana University*

"A Longitudinal Analysis of Permit Review by Regional Land Use Agencies"  
Paul Sabatier, *University of California, Davis*

"The Politics of Trucking Regulation"  
Lawrence Rothenberg, *Brookings Institution*

### **17-5. Political Change and Changing Perspectives of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations**

Chair: Deil Wright, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Papers: "Local Implementation of National Domestic Policy: How Good is the Fit?"  
John Stuart Hall, *Arizona State University*

"State Centralization Revisited"

G. Ross Stephens, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*

"Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations: Consequences and Causes of Political Change"

William Stewart, *University of Alabama*

Disc.: S. Kenneth Howard, *Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*  
Karen S. Christensen, *University of California, Berkeley*

#### **18-10. Public Choice vs. Private Choice**

Chair: John E. Chubb, *Brookings Institution*

Papers: "The Organization and Performance of American Schools: A Comparison of the Public and Private Sectors"

John E. Chubb, *Brookings Institution*

"A Positive Theory of Corporate Political Strategies, With Implications for Industrial Policy"

David B. Yoffie, *Harvard University*

"Political Influence on Government Research and Development Programs: The Case of the Space Shuttle"

Jeffrey Banks, *California Institute of Technology*

Disc.: Gary Miller, *Michigan State University*

#### **19-8. Alliance Formation, Diffusion and Security**

Chair: Alan Ned Sabrosky, *U.S. Army War College*

Papers: "Extended Deterrence and Alliance Cohesion"

Earl C. Ravenal, *Georgetown University*

"Public Opinion: The Fulcrum of Alliance Cohesion"

Gregory D. Foster, *National Defense University*

"The Economic Basis of Alliance Tension"

James P. O'Leary, *Catholic University*

Disc.: Thomas R. Stone, *U.S. Army War College*

#### **20-3. The Decline of Hegemony and Change in the International Political Economy**

Chair: Alan W. Cafruny, *University of Virginia*

Papers: "American Hegemony in NATO: Decline and Exploitation"

David P. Calleo, *SAIS, Johns Hopkins University*

"The Political Economy of Liberalization: U.S. Policies and Europe's Responses"

Alan W. Cafruny, *University of Virginia*

"Hegemony and Change: American Power in the Caribbean Basin"

Guy Poitras, *Trinity University*

"Hegemony, Pluralism and the Politics of Technology Transfer"

Thomas L. Ilgen, *Brandeis University*

#### **22-4. Guns, Butter and Growth: Managing the Trade Offs**

Chair: Kenneth Oye, *Princeton University*

Papers: "Wealth, Welfare and Western Security"

William Domke, *University of California, Davis*

Richard Eichenberg, *Tufts University* and

Catherine Kelleher, *University of Maryland, College Park*

"Resource Allocation and Grand Strategy in Postwar Britain"

Peter Hall, *Harvard University*

"Economic Stagnation and the Burden of Foreign Policy"

Miles Kahler, *Yale University*



Disc.: Kenneth Oye, *Princeton University*

### **23-6. Roundtable on Humanities Teaching and Research by Political Scientists**

Chair: Ellis Sandoz, *Louisiana State University*

Participants: William C. Havard, Jr., *Vanderbilt University*  
Lucian W. Pye, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
Thomas E. Cronin, *Colorado College*  
Philip N. Marcus, *Institute for Educational Affairs*  
E. Jay Walters, *Furman University*

Special Guest: The Honorable William J. Bennett, *U.S. Secretary of Education*

### **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

#### **Panel 11. Fights, Games, Debates: A New Look**

Chair: Hayward R. Alker, Jr., *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Papers: "After MAD: A Sequential Game with Changing Technologies, Preferences and Arguments"  
Thomas Homer-Dixon and Kevin Oliveau, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

"Winning and Losing the Lincoln-Douglas Debate: An Arguments Analysis"  
Erik Devereux, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

"From Quantity to Quality: Computational Text Analyses of Choice Protocols and Conflict Narratives"  
Gavan Duffy and John Mallery, *Massachusetts Institute Technology*

Disc.: Anatole Rapoport, *University of Toronto*

### **APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process**

#### **Panel 1. Roundtable on Comparative State Judicial Research**

Chair: James Gibson, *University of Houston*

Participants: Bradley Canon, *University of Kentucky*  
David Danelski, *Occidental College*  
Henry Glick, *Florida State University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

#### **Panel 5. Politics of Rural Development**

Co-chairs: Cynthia McClintock, *George Washington University* and  
Norman Uphoff, *Cornell University*

### **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

#### **Panel 9. Public-Private Policymaking Partnerships**

Chair: David Bresnick, *Baruch College, CUNY*

Papers: "Community Collaboration: Public-Private Partnerships in Connecticut"  
Carol W. Lewis and Morton Tenzer, *University of Connecticut*

"The New Private Industry Council and Job Training Partnership Act Operations: A Pilot Case Study in Inter-Sector Organizational Conflicts and Consensus"

Latheef N. Ahmed, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*

"Policymaking for High-Tech Economic Development"  
David Bresnick, *Baruch College, CUNY*

Disc.: Joseph Ball, *Manpower Research Demonstration Corporation*

## **SATURDAY 5:30 P.M.**

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### **APSA Annual Business Meeting**

## **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

Business Meeting

## **APSA Organized Section: Law, Courts and Judicial Process**

Executive Committee Meeting

## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

Business Meeting

## **SATURDAY, 8:30 P.M.**

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### **PLENARY SESSION 3**

#### **Arms Control: Problems and Prospects**

Chair: I. M. Destler, *Institute for International Economics*

Presenter: Brent Scowcroft, *Kissinger Associates, Formerly Assistant to President Gerald Ford for National Security Affairs and Chairman, President's Commission on Strategic Forces under Ronald Reagan*

## **SATURDAY, 10:30 P.M.**

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### **JAZZ CONCERT**

## **SUNDAY, 8:45 A.M.**

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### **1-2. Roundtable on Schools of Public Choice: Problems, Theories, and Methods**

Chair: William C. Mitchell, *University of Oregon*

Participants: Peter Aranson, *Emory University*  
Gordon Tullock, *George Mason University*

### **2-8. Empirical Tests of Legitimacy Theory**

Chair: Thomas R. Hensley, *Kent State University*

Papers: "The Supreme Court and the 1985 'School Prayer' Case: Testing Legitimacy Theory"

Thomas R. Hensley and Joyce Baugh, *Kent State University*

"A Comparison of Four Constitutional Amendments: An Appraisal of Senate Roll-Call Votes"

Ruth Ann Strickland, *University of South Carolina*

"In Treacherous Waters"

Juergen Backhaus, *Auburn University*

"The Supreme Court and Policy Legitimation: Opinion and Behavioral Effects"

Larry Baas, *Valparaiso University* and

Dan Thomas, *Wartburg College*

Disc.: David Adamany, *Wayne State University*

### **3-14. Approaches to Community**

Chair: Fred Dallmayr, *University of Notre Dame*

Papers: "Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Community"

Jean Bethke Elshain, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

"Delusion and Civitas"

James Glass, *University of Maryland, College Park*

"Communal Unity and Visual Experience"  
Mary L. Bellhouse, *Providence College*

Disc.: Fred Dallmayr, *University of Notre Dame*  
Jennifer Nedelsky, *Princeton University*

#### **4-8. Changing Critical Theory**

Chair: Stephen K. White, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

Papers: "Discursive Designs: Critical Theory and the Design of Political Institutions"  
John Dryzek, *Ohio State University*

"Is Habermas' Reconstructive Science Really Science?"  
C. Fred Alford, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Disc.: Richard B. Weiner, *University of North Florida*

#### **5-3. The State and Modernization**

Chair: Gary Bonham, *Southern Methodist University*

Papers: "Bureaucratic Modernizers and Aristocratic Resistance in Imperial Germany:  
Conflicts over the Autonomy of the State"

Gary Bonham, *Southern Methodist University*

"After Settler Colonialism: Modernization, Classes and the State in Kenya and  
Zimbabwe"

David F. Gordon, *University of Michigan*

"State Autonomy and Capitalist 'Modernization' in Imperial Japan: From Late  
Development to Military Expansionism"

Germaine A. Hoston, *Johns Hopkins University*

"Reform from Above: Administrative Success and Political Failure in Liberal  
Italy"

Christine Paige, *Southern Methodist University*

Disc.: Theda Skocpol, *University of Chicago*  
Eric Nordlinger, *Brown University*

#### **6-8. Partisan Dealignment and Realignment in Western Democracies**

Chair: Helmut Norpoth, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

Papers: "Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Mass Partisanship"  
Richard Johnston, *University of British Columbia*

"The Realigning Process: Value Change and Partisan Change in West  
Germany"

Russell Dalton, *Florida State University* and Kai Hildebrandt, *University of  
Windsor*

"From Stability to Diffusion: Dealignment in the Austrian Party System"  
Fritz Plasser and Peter Ulram, *University of Vienna*

Disc.: Jonathan Lemco, *Wilfrid Laurier University*  
W. Phillips Shively, *University of Minnesota*

#### **7-12. Decision Process and Policy Outcome: A Crossnational Perspective**

Chair: Robert H. Dorff, *North Carolina State University*

Papers: "Decision Process and Policy Outcome: Party Government vs. Federalist  
Government"

Jurg Steiner, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill* and  
Robert H. Dorff, *North Carolina State University*

"Decision Process in Face-to-Face Committees"  
Hugh Harris, *Sangamon State University*

"Patterns of Policy Making in France"  
Frank Bumgartner, *University of Michigan*

### **8-8. Institutional Bases of Class Action in Developing Countries**

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes.

Chair: Robert Kaufman, *Rutgers University*

Papers: "Labor Incorporation in Latin America: A Comparative Perspective"  
David Collier, *University of California, Berkeley*

"State Formation, Oil Wealth, and the Iraqi Working Class"  
Eric Davis, *Rutgers University*

"The State as the Basis of Class Formation and Class Action  
in Africa"  
Larry Diamond, *Vanderbilt University*

"Institutionalization of the Communist Party in Post-Revolutionary Cuba"  
Jonathan Rosenberg, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Disc.: Fernando Lopez Alves, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
John Waterbury, *Princeton University*

### **10-3. Values and Political Change**

Chair: Paul Raymond, *University of Kentucky*

Papers: "Shifting Values and the Systematic Adjustments of Issue Positions"  
Charles H. Franklin, *Washington University*

"Demographics, Values and Conflict: The Political Psychology of Cohorts"  
Mary E. Guy, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*

"The Psychology of Political Change"  
Carwin C. Williams, *Brigham Young University*

Disc.: Edward G. Carmines, *Indiana University*  
Paul Raymond, *University of Kentucky*

### **11-6. Political Ambition and Electoral Politics**

Chair: John Aldrich, *University of Minnesota*

Papers: "Risk-Bearing and Progressive Ambition Among United States Senators:  
1972-1988"

Paul Abramson, *Michigan State University* and  
John Aldrich, *University of Minnesota*

"Political Conditions and Experienced Challengers in Congressional Elections,  
1972-1984"  
David T. Canon, *University of Minnesota*

"When Old Friends Meet: Congressional Rematches 1948-1984"  
Eugene Declercq and James Costello, *Merrimack College*

Disc.: Gary C. Jacobson, *University of California, San Diego*  
Paul Brace, *Colorado State University*

### **12-9. The Interdependence of Gender, Race and Class in American Politics**

Co-sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science and the Caucus for a New Political Science.

Chair: Paula D. McClain, *Arizona State University*

Papers: "Social Organization and Social Placement"  
Marilyn Dantico, *Arizona State University*

"Gender and Race: Issues of Minority Women"  
Diane Pinderhughes, *University of California, Los Angeles* and *University of Illinois*

"Explaining Organizational Performance: Class and Maintenance"  
Edward Thompson, III, *University of Louisville*

### **13-11. Constituents, Party and Legislative Voting**

Chair: Michael L. Mezey, *DePaul University*

- Papers: "Parliament Without Parties: Voting Patterns of British MPs"  
John R. Hibbing, *University of Nebraska*  
"A Simulation Model of Legislative Voting in Presidential and Parliamentary Systems: A Comparison of the United States and Britain"  
Marcia Lynn Whicker, *University of South Carolina*  
"The Changing Politics of Oil and Gas Price Deregulation: Ideology, Campaign Contributions, and Economic Interests, 1973-1982"  
Frank Whelon Wayman and Edward Mitchell, *University of Michigan*  
and Edward Kutler, *American Enterprise Institute*
- Disc.: Richard Hall, *University of Michigan*  
Samuel C. Patterson, *University of Iowa*

#### **14-12. Alternatives to the Constitutional Separation of Power in Presidential-Congressional Relations**

- Chair: Donald L. Robinson, *Smith College*
- Papers: "Divided Government and Constitutional Revision"  
Matthew Holden, Jr., *University of Virginia*  
"The Presidency and the Separation of Powers: A Synthesis as Reform"  
Robert E. Dewhirst, *Northwest Missouri State University*  
"Effective Government and Constitutional Reform"  
James Sundquist, *Brookings Institution*
- Disc.: Jeffrey Tulis, *Princeton University*

#### **15-5. New Perspectives on the Supreme Court**

- Chair: Charles M. Lamb, *SUNY at Buffalo*
- Papers: "Power Relationships on the Burger Court"  
Harold J. Spaeth, *Michigan State University*  
"Relative Influence Among New Justices: Marshall Through O'Connor, 1967-1983"  
Roger Handberg, *University of Central Florida*  
"The Evolution of Manners and Customs on the United States Supreme Court"  
Gregory A. Caldeira, *University of Iowa*
- Disc.: Bradley C. Canon, *University of Kentucky*  
Kim Lane Scheppele, *University of Michigan*

#### **16-7. Organizations in an Urban Environment**

- Chair: David R. Morgan, *University of Oklahoma*
- Papers: "Organization Theory and Community Economic Development"  
Herbert J. Rubin, *Northern Illinois University*  
"Organizational Buffers, Female Mayors, and Representation: Employment of Women in Urban Bureaucracies"  
Grace Hall Saltzstein, *University of California, Riverside*  
"Organizational and Personal Determinants of Adherence to Professional Standards by Urban Public Works Directors: An Interactive Model"  
Claire L. Felbinger, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
- Disc.: Donald C. Dahlin, *University of South Dakota*

#### **17-10. The Context of State and Local Legislatures: Districting, Slating and Lobbyists**

- Chair: Patricia Freeman, *University of Tennessee, Knoxville*
- Papers: "The Impact of Redistricting Local Council Districts"  
W. E. Lyons and Malcolm Jewell, *University of Kentucky*  
"Role Orientations of Lobbyists in a State Setting: A Comparative Analysis"  
Mark S. Hyde, *Providence College*
- Disc.: Ann O'M. Bowman, *University of South Carolina*

#### **18-8. Interest Groups and Public Policy**

Chair: Andrew McFarland, *University of Illinois*

Papers: "The Income Tax Mess: Deviant Process or Institutional Failure?"

John F. Witte, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

"Interest Groups and the Implementation of Public Lands Programs: Conformity or Capture?"

Charles Davis and Sandra Davis, *University of Wyoming*

"Changes in the Utility of the Subsystem Model for Public Policy Analysis: The Status of Water Policy Making in the U.S."

Tim R. Miller, *University of Arkansas*

Disc.: W. Douglas Costain, *Colorado State University*

Paul Sabatier, *University of California, Davis*

#### **20-6. International Determinants of Domestic Political Structures**

Chair: Darryl C. Thomas, *Sangamon State University*

Papers: "Trade and Aid as Forms of Petro-Dollar Recycling: Effects on Dependence and Interdependence"

Deborah J. Gerner, *Hamilton College*

"State Structures and International Political Economy: A Comparative Analysis of African Countries"

Julius Nyang'oro, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

"Clency: Implications for the Domestic Politics of Client States"

Mark Gasiorowski, *Louisiana State University*

"Testing Theories of Cultural Imperialism: International News and Domestic Impact"

William H. Meyer, *University of Delaware*

Disc.: Richard J. Collings, *Southeast Missouri State University*

#### **21-8. International Economic Institutions and the Third World**

Chair: Mark Zacher, *University of British Columbia*

Papers: "Political Implications of International Monetary Fund Conditionality for Latin America"

A. J. Pinelo, *Northern Kentucky University*

"The Role of Ideas: The International Monetary Fund and Third World Policy Choices"

David Pion-Berlin, *Ohio State University*

"Organizing International Disorder"

Dennis J. Gayle, *University of Alabama*

"IMF, Club du Sahel and Debt in West Africa"

Carolyn Somerville, *Hunter College*

Disc.: Charles J. Nagy, *Graceland College*

Robert Jordan, *University of New Orleans*

#### **22-11. Democratic Politics and Foreign Policy**

Chair: Leon V. Sigal, *Wesleyan University*

Papers: "From Cold Wars to Star Wars: The Reagan Approach to National Security Policy"

Louisa S. Hulett, *Knox College*

"From Assent to Dissent: Israel During the Lebanon War"

Yael Yishai, *University of Haifa*

"Democracy and American Foreign Policy: Toward a Definition and Model"

Steven Metz, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

Disc.: To be announced

**23-10. The Policy Analyst and Political Science Research in State and Local Government**

Chair: John F. Gallagher, *Ohio Legislative Service Commission*

Participants: William B. Eimicke, *Secretary to the Governor of New York*  
Corrinne L. Gilb, *Director of Planning, Detroit*  
Leon H. Ginsberg, *West Virginia Department of Human Services*  
John N. Lattimer, *Illinois Commission on Intergovernmental Cooperation*  
David Koltun, *Illinois State Board of Education*

**APSA Organized Section: Legislative Studies**

**Panel 3. A Roundtable on Legislative Oral Histories**

Chair: Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, *University of Southern California*

Participants: Larry L. Berg, *University of Southern California*  
Terry L. Birdwhistell, *University of Kentucky*  
Cullom Davis, *Sangamon State University*  
Ron Marcello, *North Texas State University*  
Donald A. Ritchie, *United States Senate Historical Office*

**APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

**Panel 8. Environmental and Energy Policy Problems**

Chair: Robert Rycroft, *George Washington University*

**APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

**Panel 12. Of Centennials and Bicentennials: Constitutional Foundations of the Administrative State**

Chair: John A. Rohr, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

Papers: Title unknown  
Kent Kirwan, *University of Nebraska, Omaha*  
Title unknown  
Douglas Morgan, *Lewis and Clark College*  
Title unknown  
Jeffrey Sedgwick, *University of Massachusetts*

Disc.: Paul Van Riper, *Texas A&M University*

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**SUNDAY, 10:45 A.M.**

**2-9. New Areas for Formal Analysis**

Chair: William Collins, *Drake University*

Papers: "Formal Analysis of Law"  
G. R. Boynton, *University of Iowa*  
"Beliefs, Reasons and Decisions: Modelling the Development of Environmental Positions"  
Susan Hunter, *University of California, Davis*  
"An Information Based Model of Neighborhood Tipping"  
Gregory Weiher, *University of Houston*

**3-7. Roundtable: Perspectives on Recent Interpretations of Machiavelli**

Chair: Dan Eldar, *Hebrew University, Jerusalem*

Participants: Mark Hulliung, *Brandeis University*  
Anthony Parel, *University of Calgary*  
Claude Lefort, *Ecole Des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*

### **3-12. The Political Anthropology of Liberal Thinkers**

Chair: Susan Schell, *Boston College*

Papers: "Locke on the First Political Communities"

Ruth Grant, *University of Chicago*

"Tocqueville on the Liberty of Native Americans"

Christopher Kelly, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

"Liberalism and Freud's Political Anthropology"

Joel Schwartz, *University of Michigan*

Disc.: Jeffrey Abramson, *Brandeis University*

Joseph Schwartz, *Harvard University*

### **4-5. Roundtable on "Patriotism" in Political Discourse**

Participants: Jean Bethke Elshtain, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

Stephen L. Esquith, *Michigan State University*

J. Peter Euben, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Mary G. Dietz, *University of Minnesota*

### **5-8. Does Changing the Rules Change Politics?**

Chair: Frank Wilson, *Purdue University*

Papers: "Constitutional Design and the Channeling of Socio-Political Goals"

Samuel Krislov and Robert B. Kvavik, *University of Minnesota*

"Decentralization in France Past and Present: Myth or Reality?"

Vivien Schmidt, *University of Massachusetts, Boston*

"Towards *Autogestion* in Socialist France? The Impact of Industrial Relations Reform"

W. Rand Smith, *Lake Forest College*

"The Impact of Structural Influences upon the Transformation of the British Party System, 1918-1924"

Hugh W. Stevens, *University of Houston*

Disc.: Jorgen Rasmussen, *Iowa State University*

### **6-6. Political Crises, Violence and Terrorism**

Chair: Leonard Weinberg, *University of Nevada, Reno*

Papers: "Alienation: The Case of the Catholics in Northern Ireland"

Edward P. Moxon-Browne, *The Queen's University of Belfast*

Title Unknown

Donatella della Porta, *European University Institute*

"Change and Continuity in the Recruitment of Italian Political Terrorists: 1970-1984"

Leonard Weinberg and William Eubank, *University of Nevada, Reno*

"Political and Economic Reactions to the World Economic Crisis of the 1930s in Six European Countries: The Role of Political and Economic Elites"

Ekkart Zimmermann, *Hochschule der Bundeswehr Munchen*

Disc.: Peter Merkl, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

### **7-7. Government Policy Strategies in Postindustrial Societies**

Chair: Fred Bolotin, *Case Western Reserve University*

Papers: "Comparative Public Policy: The Case of the Canadian Health Care System"

David J. Falcone, *Duke University*

"Education Policy in the United States: From Federalism to Feudalism"

James Slack, *East Texas State University*

"The International Energy Agency: Coping with Non-Crisis"

Glen Toner, *Carleton University*



"Health Care Delivery in Italy: Attempts at Reform"  
Sondra Koff, *SUNY at Binghamton*

### **8-3. Changing States and the Breakdown of Hegemony**

Chair: Ian Lustick, *Dartmouth College*

Papers: "Ideological Struggles Within the South African State"  
Stanley Greenberg, *Yale University*

"Political Linguistics in Catalunya After Franco"  
David Laitin, *University of California, San Diego*

"Bourgeois Hegemony and the Prospects for Democracy in Latin America"  
David Becker, *Dartmouth College*

Disc.: James C. Scott, *Yale University*

### **9-3. Economic Attitudes and Political Action**

Chair: Harold Clarke, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

Papers: "Support for British Parties in an Era of Economic Decline"  
Harold Clarke, Marianne Stewart and Gary Zuk, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

"A Comparative Analysis of Economic Voting"  
Jerome Legge and John Alford, *University of Georgia*

"Evaluating the Monetarist Experiment in Britain: Intervention Models of Mrs. Thatcher's First Term"

Paul Whiteley, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

"Reagan's Economic Mandate? A Contrast of his 1980 and 1984 Votes"  
Lisa R. Handley, *George Washington University*

Disc.: William Mishler, *SUNY at Buffalo*  
Kristen Monroe, *University of California, Irvine*

### **11-4. Party Activists**

Chair: Bert Buzan, *California State University, Fullerton*

Papers: "Precinct Caucus Activists in 1984"  
Alan Abramowitz, *SUNY at Stony Brook*  
Ronald Rapoport, *College of William and Mary* and  
Walter Stone, *University of Colorado*

"The Decline of Party Revisited: Motivational Change Among Party Activists"  
Julie Davis Bell, *University of California, Davis*

"Local Party Organizations in the 1984 Elections"  
James L. Gibson, *University of Houston*  
John P. Frendreis, *University of Texas, Dallas* and  
Laura L. Vertz, *North Texas State University*

"Choosing a Candidate: Political Activists in Kentucky Democratic Primaries"  
Penny Miller, *University of Kentucky*

Disc.: Henry B. Sirgo, *McNeese State University*

### **12-10. Toward Equality in the City: Group Mobilization for Political Change**

Chair: Janet K. Boles, *Marquette University*

Papers: "All By Ourselves: A Study of An Employee Buy Out Attempt"  
John Logue, William Mesaros, and Robert Silvanik, *Kent State University*

"The Role of Renewable Resource and Energy Conservation Groups on Local Energy Policy Formulation in the 1970s"  
Roger Anderson, *Bowling Green State University*

"Police Conduct and Black Civil Rights: The Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy"

Laura R. Woliver, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

"The Potential of Underclass Mobilization: A Case Study of Community Empowerment"

Fred Solop, *Rutgers University*

Disc.: Kenneth Betsakek, *Vanderbilt University*

### **13-12. Policy Subsystems and Legislative Voting**

Chair: Anne N. Costain, *University of Colorado*

Papers: "Energy Subsystems and Legislative Voting"

David Howard Davis, *University of Wyoming*

"Detecting and Explaining the Structure of Informal Institutions: Agricultural Policy Networks in the U.S. Congress"

John Mark Hansen, *Yale University*

"Legislator Responsiveness to Blacks: An Additive-Nonadditive Model of Voting of Members of the U.S. House of Representatives"

Kenny J. Whitby, *University of South Carolina*

Disc.: Robert X. Browning, *Purdue University*

### **14-7. Perspectives on Presidential Influence**

Chair: Samuel Kernell, *University of California, San Diego*

Papers: "Presidents and Publics: The Dialogue of Presidential Leadership"

Lyn Ragsdale, *Russell Sage Foundation*

"Constraints on Presidential Leadership in Economic Policymaking"

Lorraine M. McDonnell, *Rand Corporation*

"Presidents, Public Opinion, Legislative Support"

Terry Sullivan, *University of Texas, Austin*

Disc.: Ronald King, *Russell Sage Foundation*

Robert Spitzer, *SUNY at Cortland*

### **15-8. Legal Services After Twenty Years: An Assessment**

Chair: Harry P. Stumpf, *University of New Mexico*

Participants: Gary Bellow, *Havard Law School*

Craig A. Brown, *Sangamon State University*

Gerald M. Caplan, *George Washington University*

Alan Houseman, *Center for Law and Social Policy*

### **16-13. Roundtable on Intergovernmental Aid Dependency and Fiscal Stress**

Co-sponsored by "Comparative State Politics, Urban Politics, and Intergovernmental Relations Section" Panel 17-11.

Chair: Robert Stein, *Rice University*

Participants: Thomas Anton, *Brown University*

James Fossett, *University of Illinois*

Susan MacManus, *Cleveland State University*

Brian Jones, *Wayne State University*

Richard Nathan, *Princeton University*

Sarah F. Liebschutz, *SUNY at Brockport*

### **18-3. Politics and Economic Policy-Making**

Chair: James Sundquist, *Brookings Institution*

Papers: "Economic Forecasting in the Executive Branch: A Comparative Study"

Bruce D. Berkowitz, *University of Minnesota*

"The New Protectionism: The Politics of Contemporary U.S. Trade Policy in Historical Perspective"

Pietro S. Nivola, *University of Vermont*

"Presidential Leadership in Economic Policy-Making"

M. Stephen Weatherford, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

## **19-2. Analysing Power Cycle Theory**

Chair: Robert Gilpin, *Princeton University*

Papers: "A Bounded Rationality Model of War Initiation"

Tim McKeown, *Carnegie-Mellon University*

"Using the Concept of 'Rules of the Game' to Explain Systems Maintenance and Transformation: A Theory of Punctuated Equilibrium"

David Dessler, *College of William and Mary*

"Power Cycle Theory and Conflict"

Jack S. Levy, *University of Texas, Austin*

Disc.: Michael Loriaux, *University of Utah*

Joshua Goldstein, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

## **21-4. Policies, Politics and International Institutions: The Changing Mixture**

Chair: Michael Schechter, *Michigan State University*

Papers: "Comparative Politics of the UN System"

Lawrence S. Finkelstein, *Northern Illinois University*

"Japan and the Law of the Sea"

Tsuneo Akaha, *Bowling Green State University*

"Soviet East-West Trade Policy in International Institutions"

William E. Schmickle, *Guilford College*

Disc.: Craig Murphy, *Wellesley College*

Thomas Rowe, *University of Denver*

## **22-6. Explaining the Foreign Policy Behavior of Third World States**

Chair: Michael Clough, *Naval Postgraduate School*

Papers: "Economic Limits on the Foreign Policy Options of Third World States"

Robert Price, *University of California, Berkeley*

"Interest Groups and the State in Mexican Foreign Economic Policy"

David R. Mares, *University of California, San Diego*

"The Foreign Policies of Third World States: Images, Determinants and Patterns"

Michael Clough, *Naval Postgraduate School*

Disc.: Kenneth Oye, *Princeton University*

## **APSA Organized Section: Conflict Processes**

### **Panel 10. Paths to Peace or War: Alliances, Arms Control, and Dyadic Conflict**

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "The Impact of Risk-Taking on Alliance Behavior"

Grace E. Iusi, *North Texas State University*

"Arms Racing, Nonagreements and the Sysphinian Paradox: Conflict and Arms Control Diplomacy"

Joseph R. Goldman, *U.S. Army Command and General Staff College*

"The Persian Gulf Region in Peace and War: An Analysis of Some Conceptual Bottlenecks in the Discipline"

G. Hossein Razi, *University of Houston*

"Sequential-Analysis of International Interaction Under the Substitutability Hypothesis"

Steven Greffenius, *University of Iowa*

Disc.: Elizabeth M. Cholawsky, *Central Intelligence Agency*

## **APSA Organized Section: Policy Studies**

### **Panel 11. Cross-National and International Policy Analysis**

Chair: Vincent Mahler, *Loyola University of Chicago*

## **APSA Organized Section: Public Administration**

### **Panel 11. Problems of Administrative Responsibility**

Chair: Larry Hill, *University of Oklahoma*

Papers: "Citizen Involvement in Public Management: Re-thinking a Troubled Marriage"  
John Clayton Thomas, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*

"Public Administration and Democracy"

William D. Richardson and Lloyd G. Nigro, *Georgia State University*

"Moral Analysis and Organizational Decision Making: The Case of Bid-Rigging  
in North Carolina"

Debra Stewart, *North Carolina State University*

"Implications of Privatization"

Kathryn G. Denhardt, *Stevens College*

Disc.: Gerald S. Gyski, *Auburn University*

## Courtesy Listing of Unaffiliated Groups

### **AMERICAN POLITICS QUARTERLY**

Lee Sigelman, *University of Kentucky*, Editor

Editorial Board Meeting ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

### **AMERICAN UNIVERSITY**

Reception for friends and alumni of the

Washington Semester and Study Abroad Programs ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

### **AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

Panel. National Liberation Movement in Africa and the  
Middle East ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Michael Curtis, *Rutgers University*

Papers: "Horn of Africa Liberation Movements"

Bernard Schechterman, *University of Miami*

"National Movements in South Africa"

Benjamin Nimer, *George Washington University*

"National Integration and Cohesion in the Middle East"

Melvin A. Friedlander, *George Mason University*

"Kurdish National Liberation Movements"

Charles G. MacDonald, *Florida International University*

### **ASIAN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS GROUP**

Chun-tu Hsueh, *University of Maryland, College Park*, and  
Rose An, *Harvard University*, Co-organizers

Panel 1. East Asia and Regional Stability:

Intraregional Policies of Nations ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Young C. Kim, *George Washington University*

Papers: "China's Policy and Stability of East Asia"

Samuel Suh, *Monmouth College*

"Japan and East Asia"

Young C. Kim, *George Washington University*

"North Korea Since the Langoon Incident"

Han S. Park, *University of Georgia*

"South Korea and Regional Security"

Nack Y. An, *Georgia State University*

Disc.: Parris Chang, *Pennsylvania State University*

Francis Lai, *Lingnam College*

Panel 2. Politics of Olympics '88 in South Korea ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Ardath Burks, *Rutgers University*

Participants: Daniel Juhn, *University of New Orleans*

Eugene Kim, *Western Michigan University*

Yong S. Yim, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Jungja Lee, *Harvard University*

Jong O. Ra, *Hollins College*

### **ASSOCIATION FOR POLITICS AND THE LIFE SCIENCES**

Robert H. Blank, *University of Idaho*, Program Organizer

Business Meeting ..... Saturday, 12:30 p.m.

Panel 1. Biology, Culture and Constitution ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Co-sponsored by the American Political Science Association.  
See Panel 15-9 in "Daily Listing of Official Program" for details.

Panel 2. Emerging Issues in Biopolicy ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Robert H. Blank, *University of Idaho*

Papers: "Engineering New Plants: The Role of Government"  
Odell Funk, *Environmental Protection Agency*

"Castration, Rape Offenders, and the Conditions of Probation"  
William Green, *Morehead State University*

Disc.: To be announced

Panel 3. Biobehavioral Research:

Non Elite Behavior ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Meredith Watts, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

Papers: "Center and Centrality in Political Perceptions and Behavior:  
The Biological Underpinnings"  
J. A. Laponce, *University of British Columbia*

"The Primacy Principle and Political Socialization: An Endangered  
Species?"  
Albert Somit, *Southern Illinois University*

"Biopolitics and the Political Participation of Older Americans"  
Steve Peterson, *Alfred University*

Disc.: To be announced

Panel 4. Biobehavioral Research: Political Elites ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "A Psychobiological Model for Remote Assessment of Political  
Leaders"  
William Kitchin, *Loyola College of Maryland*

"Population and Elite Age Structure in Local Political Institutions"  
James Schubert, *Alfred University*, Samuel Hines, *College of  
Charleston*, and Thomas Wiegele, *Northern Illinois University*

Disc.: To be announced

Roundtable 5. Health Disabilities and Political

Decision Making ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Robert S. Robins, *Tulane University*

Participants: To be announced

Reception for friends and associates ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

Steering Committee Meeting ..... Friday, 12:30 p.m.

## ASSOCIATION OF KOREAN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS IN NORTH AMERICA

Ilpyong Kim, *University of Connecticut*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Political Development in South Korea:

1945-1985 ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Yong Soon Yim, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Papers: "The Politics of Economic Development"  
Youngyeob Chung, *Eastern Michigan University*

"Student Movement and Political Development"  
Ho Il Choi, *Dong-A University, Korea*

"Political Parties and Political Development"  
Jae Hyung Chai, *Ashland College*

"South Korea's Unification Policy"  
Chonghan Kim, *William and Mary College*

Disc.: Gregory Henderson, *Harvard University*  
Key S. Ryang, *Mary Washington College*

Panel 2. Political Development in North Korea:  
1945-1985 ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Young Whan Kihl, *Iowa State University*

Papers: "Leadership Change and Succession Problem"  
Tai Sung An, *Washington College*

"Political Ideology and Value Changes"  
Han Shik Park, *University of Georgia*

"Political Economy of Development"  
Young Whan Kihl, *Iowa State University*

Disc.: Bruce Cumings, *Washington University*  
Karl Moskowitz, *Harvard University*

Panel 3. Two Koreas in World Politics ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Ilpyong Kim, *University of Connecticut*

Papers: "Alliance Politics: North Korea-China-Soviet Union"  
Chin-Wee Chung, *Yonsei University, Korea*

"North Korea's Approaches to Japan and the U.S."  
Chong Woo Rhee, *Sogang University, Korea*

"Alliance Politics: South Korea-U.S.-Japan"  
Hong Nack Kim, *West Virginia University*

"South Korea's Approaches to China and the Soviet Union"  
Chong Wook Chung, *Seoul National University*, and  
Hang Yul Rhee, *Shepherd College*

"North-South Korean Relations in Historical Perspective"  
Kwan Ha Yim, *Manhattanville College*

Disc.: Thomas W. Robinson, *Georgetown University*  
Ilpyong Kim, *University of Connecticut*

## **BAGEHOT RESEARCH COUNCIL ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY**

Frank P. Le Veness, *St. John's University*, Program Organizer

*State of the Nation*

Editorial Board Breakfast Meeting ..... Saturday, 9:00 a.m.

Contact Messrs. Le Veness or Paolucci for location.

Panel. Recruitment for National Interest ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Frank P. Le Veness, *St. John's University*

Papers: "The Liberal Arts Professor as Recruiter"  
William Gangi, *St. John's University*

"On the Congressional Firing Line"  
Arthur DeCelle, *Office of Rep. Raymond McGrath*

Disc.: Arthur J. Hughes, *St. Francis College*  
Henry Paolucci, *Bagehot Council*  
Herbert F. Ryan, *First Deputy City Clerk, New York City*

## **BRITISH POLITICS GROUP**

Jorgen Rasmussen, *Iowa State University*, Program Organizer

Business Meeting and Colloquium ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

The Past Year in British Politics

Chair: James Alt, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Topic and "After the Falkland Factor the Brighton Boon"

Presenter: Paul Whitely, *University of Bristol and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

Panel. Regionalism in British Politics ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Donald Searing, *University of North Carolina*

Papers: "Regional Trends in Electoral Support in Britain, 1950-1983"  
Andrew Bodman, *University of Vermont*

"The Member of Parliament and Economic Policy: Is There  
a Territorial Imperative?"

David Wood, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Disc.: To be announced

### **UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE, and UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA**

Co-sponsored reception for friends and alumni of the

Departments of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

### **UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, Los Angeles**

Reception for friends and alumni of the

Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

### **CAUCUS FOR A NEW POLITICAL SCIENCE**

James E. Block, *De Paul University*

Panel 1. The Production of Knowledge in Contemporary Society:

A Critical Analysis of the University ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Dennis Judd, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

Papers: "The Intellectuals and the University in Contemporary Social Theory"

Clyde W. Barrow, *University of Texas, San Antonio*

Title unknown

Dennis Judd, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

Title unknown

Phil Meranto, *University of California, Davis*

Title unknown

Herbert Hirsch, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Roundtable 2. Contemporary Threats to Academic Freedom:

Race, Sex and Ideology in the University ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Matthew Lippman, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Participants: Bertell Ollman, *New York University*

Michael Parenti, *Institute for Policy Studies*

Ken Dolbeare, *Evergreen State University*

Larry Mosqueda, *University of Colorado, Denver*

Panel 3. Developments in Workplace Democratization in the United States:

Co-optation or Steps Toward Fundamental Change ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Stephen Sachs, *Indiana University*

Paper: "Current Developments in Workplace Democratization"

Stephen Sachs, *Indiana University*

Panel 4. The Internationalization of Capital ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: James H. Nolt, *University of Chicago*



- Papers: "The Rise and Demise of an International Reproduction of Capital:  
The United States and Mexico in the Post-War Era"  
Raul Hinojosa-Ojeda, *University of Chicago*
- "Protectionism and the Internationalization of Capital:  
U.S. Sponsorship of Import Substitution Industrialization  
in the Philippines, Turkey and Argentina"  
Sylvia Maxfield, *Harvard University* and  
James H. Nolt, *University of Chicago*
- Panel 5. The Politics of Emotion: Revolutionary Reconstruction of  
the Self and Society ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- Chair: Steve Bronner, *Rutgers University*.
- Papers: "Proto-Fascism and Utopia in D. H. Lawrence"  
Judith Grant, *Rutgers University*
- "The Resolution of Human Transformation and Violence in  
Frantz Fanon"  
Peter G. Stillman, *Vassar College*
- Disc.: Steve Bronner, *Rutgers University*
- Panel 6. The Quest for Democracy and Development  
in Nicaragua ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- Chair: Stephen L. Fisher, *Emory and Henry College*
- Papers: "Development and Local Participation in Nicaragua"  
Robert Elias, *Tufts University*
- "Democratization, Development and the U.S. Role in Nicaragua"  
Stephen L. Fisher, *Emory and Henry College*
- Panel 7. The Treatment of the Left in Contemporary  
Political Science ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- Chair: Gertrude Steuernagel, *Kent State University*
- Paper: "Marx and Political Theory Textbooks"  
Gertrude Steuernagel, *Kent State University*, and  
Glenn Perusek, *University of Chicago*
- Panel 8. Marxism and Democracy ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- Chair: Joseph M. Schwartz, *Harvard University*
- Papers: "Post Revolutionary Politics: Towards a Democratic Critique  
of Marx's Critique of Justice and Rights"  
Joseph M. Schwartz, *Harvard University*
- "Freedom and Social Change in Lukacs"  
Philip L. Miller, *University of Chicago*
- Panel 9. The Left and Electoral Politics  
in the 1980s ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- Chair: John C. Berg, *Suffolk University*
- Papers: "Left Electoral Strategy: Learning from the Mel King  
Campaign"  
John C. Berg, *Suffolk University*
- "Green Electoral Politics in the U.S.: Pros and Cons"  
John Resenbrink, *Bowdoin College*
- Panel 10. The European Greens:  
Mass or Elite Phenomenon ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- Chair: John D. Nagle, *Syracuse University*
- Paper: "The Social Composition of the West German Greens'  
Leadership"  
John C. Berg, *Suffolk University*
- Panel 11. The Crisis of Liberal Political Thought ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Leonard Williams, *Manchester College*

Paper: "Liberalism Rethought: The Content and Status of Neoliberalism"  
Leonard Williams, *Manchester College*

Roundtable 12. The Role of the Self and Psychological  
Transformation in Contemporary Radical Politics ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: James E. Block, *DePaul University*

Participant: William Caspary, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Panel 13. Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity:  
Justice, Equity, or Policy Failure ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Co-sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science.  
See Panel 2 under "Women's" in this section for details.

Panel 14. Negotiating for Retirement:  
Gender and Other Issues ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the  
Profession and by the Women's Caucus for Political Science.  
See "Daily Listing of Official Program" for details.

Panel 15. The 1984 Elections and the  
Ferraro Factor ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science.  
See Panel 5 under "Women's" in this section for details.

Panel 16. The Interdependence of Gender, Race  
and Class in American Politics ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Co-sponsored by the American Political Science Association and the  
Women's Caucus for Political Science. See Panel 12-9 in the "Daily  
Listing of Official Program" for details.

## CAUCUS ON FAITH AND POLITICS

Hubert Morken, *Oral Roberts University*, Program Organizer

Roundtable 1. Religion and the 1984 Election:  
A Religious Sub-Group Analysis ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Corwin Smidt, *Calvin College*

Participants: James L. Guth, *Furman University*  
Mary Hanna, *Whitman College*  
Albert J. Menendez, *Americans United for Separation of  
Church and State*  
Martin Wattenberg, *University of California, Irvine*

Panel 2. Women, Religion and Politics ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Jerry Perkins, *Texas Tech University*

Papers: "Women, Religion and Politics in Ireland"  
Margie Lansing, *Eastern Michigan University*  
"The Intersection of Gender Politics and Religious Beliefs"  
Sue Tolleson Rinehart, *University of South Carolina, Columbia*  
"Religious Involvement in the Pro-Choice Movement"  
Jane Rainey, *Eastern Kentucky University*

Disc.: Mary Seegers, *Rutgers University*

Roundtable 3. Jewish Contributions to the  
Understanding of Political Life ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Daniel Elazar, *Temple University*

Participants: Aaron Wildavsky, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Gordon Freeman, *Center for Jewish Community Studies*  
Hillel Fradkin, *John M. Olin Foundation*

Panel 4. Religion in the Crossfire:  
Trends in American Politics ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: John Rouse, *Ball State University*

Papers: "Christianity and the American Civil Religion"  
Jerry Combee, *Liberty Baptist College*  
"Religious Beliefs and Civil Authority"  
Joseph Menez and Raymong Scheele, *Ball State University*  
"The Institutionalization of Charisma: The Case of the  
Moral Majority"  
John Rouse, *Ball State University*

Disc.: Peter Sorant, *University of New Orleans*

Panel 5. Prophetic Politics: III ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Neal Riemer, *Drew University*

Papers: "Intergenerational Justice"  
Bruce Auerback, *University of Minnesota*  
"The Catholic Bishops Pastoral Letter on Poverty"  
Mary Hanna, *Whitman College*

Disc.: Glen Tinder, *University of Massachusetts, Boston*

Roundtable 6. Power and Authority in the Bible ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Hubert Morken, *Oral Roberts University*

Participants: Steven Brams, *New York University*  
John Lawyer, *Bethel College*  
Aaron Wildavsky, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Elliot Bartke, *The Frisch School*

Panel 7. Role of Religion in Defining Political  
Problems and Issues ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Dennis L. Thompson, *Brigham Young University*

Papers: "Justice Jackson's Views on the Relationship of Religion  
to the Public Order"  
Richard Morgan, *Bowdoin College*  
"The Moral Foundation of Pluralistic Democracy"  
Don Sorenson, *Brigham Young University*  
"The Interaction of Religion and Politics"  
Rene Williamson, *Louisiana State University*  
"Resisting Secularism"  
Glen Tinder, *University of Massachusetts, Boston*

Disc.: Walter Mead, *Illinois State University*

Panel 8. New Directions in Research on  
Religion and Politics ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Lyman A. Kellstedt, *Wheaton College*

Papers: "Social Context and Individual Measurement in the Study of  
Religiosity: Innovations from the Notre Dame Study of  
Catholic Parish Life"  
David C. Leege and Michael Welch, *University of Notre Dame*  
"Political Ideology and Religion: Support for the Policy  
Positions of Jerry Falwell"  
Ronald R. Stockton, *University of Michigan, Dearborn*  
"The Impact of Religion on Politics: Some Prior Questions  
of Conceptualization and Measurement"  
Lyman A. Kellstedt, *Wheaton College* and  
Corwin E. Smidt, *Calvin College*

Disc.: Everett F. Cataldo, *Cleveland State University*

Roundtable 9. Religion and the 1984 Election:  
A Comparative Context ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Daniel J. O'Neill, *University of Arizona*

Participants: Robert B. Thigpen, *University of New Orleans*  
Martha Abele MacIver, *Inter-University Consortium for  
Political and Social Research*  
Gerard F. Rutan, *Western Washington University*  
Henry C. Kenski, *University of Arizona*

Panel 10. The Bishops Pastoral Letter  
and the Economy ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Dean Curry, *Messiah College*

Papers: "The Bishops and Third World Poverty"  
Mark Amstutz, *Wheaton College*  
"The Importance of Political Philosophy to Religious Economic  
Reflection"  
James V. Schall, S.J., *Georgetown University*  
"The American Catholic Bishops and the Public Policy Debate"  
J. Bryan Hehir, *Georgetown University*  
"The Political Impact of the Bishops Letter"  
Paul Weber and John Anderson, *University of Louisville*  
"Economic Democracy and the Bishops Letter"  
Douglas Durasoff, *Oral Roberts University*

Disc.: James Rhodes, *Marquette University*

Plenary Session ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Hubert Morken, *Oral Roberts University*

Topic: "Public/Private, Secular/Sacred: A Context for  
Understanding the Church/State Debate"

Speaker: Clarke Cochran, *Texas Tech University*

## **CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FEDERALISM**

*Publius* Editorial Advisory Board

Breakfast Meeting ..... Friday, 7:30 a.m.

## **CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTION**

Jeffrey Leigh Sedgwick, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*,  
Program Organizer

Panel 1. Democracy and the Constitution ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Gary L. McDowell, *National Endowment for the Humanities*

Papers: "Henry Cabot Lodge on the Democracy of the Constitution"  
William Schambra, *American Enterprise Institute*  
"The Constitutional Completion of the Liberal Philosophy  
of Hobbes and Locke"  
Richard G. Stevens, *Defense Intelligence College*

Disc.: To be announced

Roundtable 2. Reagan and the Courts ..... Thursday, 1:30 a.m.

Chair: Gary L. McDowell, *National Endowment for the Humanities*

Participants: James McClellan, *Center for Judicial Studies*  
Charles Cooper, *U.S. Department of Justice*

Panel 3. Civic Education in the  
American Republic ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

- Chair: Joseph Phelan, *National Endowment for the Humanities*
- Papers: "The Founders' Liberalism and the Problem of Civic Virtue"  
Richard Sinopoli, *New York University*  
Title unknown  
Robert Hill, *Marietta College*  
Title unknown  
Frank Balog, *Nazareth College*
- Disc.: To be announced
- Panel 4. The Founders on the Problem  
of Founding ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- Chair: Eugene Hickok, *Dickinson College*
- Papers: "Publius on the Nature and Character of Drafting the  
Fundamental Law for a Nation"  
Paul K. Pollock, *Beloit College*  
"The Intent of a Farmer: George Washington in 1787"  
Glenn Phelps, *Northern Arizona University*
- Disc.: To be announced
- Panel 5. The Constitutional Understandings  
of Hamilton and Jefferson ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.
- Chair: Jeffrey Leigh Sedgwick, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
- Papers: Title unknown  
Morton J. Frisch, *Northern Illinois University*  
Title unknown  
Robert Scigliano, *Boston College*
- Disc.: To be announced
- Panel 6. The Religion Question and Current  
American Politics ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- Chair: Gary D. Glenn, *Northern Illinois University*
- Papers: "Rhetoric and Religion in the 1984 Presidential Campaign"  
Gary D. Glenn, *Northern Illinois University*  
Title unknown  
Brian Benestad, *University of Scranton*  
Title unknown  
Richard John Neuhaus, *Center for Religion and Society*
- Disc.: Frederick Vaughan, *University of Guelph*
- Panel 7. Conservatism in America ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- Chair: Werner Dannhauser, *Cornell University*
- Papers: Title unknown  
Jeremy Rabkin, *Cornell University*  
Title unknown  
George Friedman, *Dickinson College*  
Title unknown  
Thomas Pangle, *University of Toronto*
- Disc.: To be announced
- Panel 8. On the Margin of the Constitution: Institutional  
Innovation, Governance and Accountability ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- Chair: Robert S. Gilmour, *University of Connecticut*
- Papers: "The Nature of Public Enterprise in the American Political  
System"  
M. Elliot Vittes, *University of Central Florida*

"On 'The Necessity of Auxiliary Precautions': The Independent  
Special Prosecutor, Politics and Justice"  
Katy Harriger, *University of Connecticut*

"The Courts, the Constitution and Federal Corporations"  
Francis J. Leazes, Jr., *Rhode Island College*

Disc.: Ronald C. Moe, *Congressional Research Service*  
Bruce L. R. Smith, *Brookings Institution*

Panel 9. Constitutionalism in Congress ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Eugene Hickok, *Dickinson College*

Papers: "Constitutional Interpretation in Congress"  
Eugene Hickok, *Dickinson College*

Title unknown  
Hrach Gregorian, *Simmons College*

Disc.: To be announced

Panel 10. Oliver Wendell Holmes  
and the Constitution ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: H. L. Pohlman, *Dickinson College*

Papers: "Oliver Wendell Holmes and the Living Constitution"  
H. L. Pohlman, *Dickinson College*

"Holmes' Theory of Judicial Deference"  
Wilfred Rumble, *Vassar College*

Disc.: To be announced

Panel 11. Civil-Military Relations  
Under the Constitution ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Sidney A. Pearson, Jr., *Radford University*

Papers: "Armed Forces in a Republican Government: Civil-Military  
Relations and the American Founding"  
Sidney A. Pearson, Jr., *Radford University*

"The American Character and Civilian Control of the  
Military in a Republic"  
Mackubin T. Owens, *Office of Senator Bob Kasten*

Title unknown  
Joseph E. Goldberg, *Hampden-Sydney College*

Disc.: Christopher Wolfe, *Marquette University*  
Robert Wood, *U.S. Navy War College*

Panel 12. The Item Veto ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: L. Peter Schultz, *Catholic University of America*

Papers: Title unknown  
L. Peter Schultz, *Catholic University of America*

Title unknown  
Louis Fisher, *Library of Congress*

Title unknown  
Thomas Cronin, *Colorado College*

## UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Reception for friends and alumni  
of the Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## CHURCHILL ASSOCIATION

Harry V. Jaffa, *Claremont Graduate School*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. The Strategic Capabilities of the U.S.S.R., Then and Now  
A Churchillian Perspective ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Harold W. Rood, *Claremont McKenna College and  
Claremont Graduate School*

Paper: Title unknown  
Harold W. Rood, *Claremont McKenna College and  
Claremont Graduate School*

Disc.: Patrick J. Garrity, *Georgetown University*  
Jack L. Crouch, *University of Southern California*  
Angelo Codevilla, *U.S. Senate Staff*

Panel 2. The United States Strategic Defense Initiative:  
Pro and Con ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Angelo Codevilla, *U.S. Senate Staff*

Paper: "The United States Strategic Defense Initiative: Pro and Con"  
Angelo Codevilla, *U.S. Senate Staff*

Disc.: Marlo Lewis, Jr., *Hoover Institution*  
Christopher Harmon, *Heritage Foundation*  
William Winn, *U.S. Department of Defense*

### THE CLAREMONT INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF STATESMANSHIP AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Peter W. Schramm, *Claremont Institute*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Can There Be a Christian Prince? ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Michael Platt, *University of Dallas*

Papers: "The Statesman and Magnanimity in the Political Thought  
of Thomas Aquinas"  
Kenneth Deutsch, *SUNY at Geneseo*  
"Dread and the State" (*Hamlet*)  
Michael Platt, *University of Dallas*  
"The Biblical Rhetoric of Abraham Lincoln"  
Larry Arnhart, *Northern Illinois University*

Disc.: Ernest Fortin, *Boston College*

Panel 2. Weber, Rationality, and Modernity ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: William Shapiro, *Emory University*

Papers: "Decisionism, Law, and Practical Reason: Weber and the  
Defence of Democratic Institutions"  
Stephen Turner and Regis Factor, *University of South Florida*  
"The Marxist Critique of Weberian Rationality"  
George Freidman, *Dickinson College*  
"The Weberian Reception of Nietzsche"  
Robert Eden, *Dalhousie University*

Disc.: Werner J. Dannhauser, *Cornell University*  
Lewis P. Hinchman, *Clarkson University*

Panel 3. Modern Subjectivity and  
Political Psychology ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Michael Gillespie, *Duke University*

Papers: "Political Psychology of Will"  
Donald Maletz, *University of Oklahoma*  
"Self and Others"  
Marvin Zetterbaum, *University of California, Davis*

Disc.: Michael Gillespie, *Duke University*

- Panel 4. The Body Politics ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.  
 Chair: John Coffey, *Rockford College*  
 Papers: "Gender, Sex and Liberty"  
 John Zvesper, *University of East Anglia*  
 "Ethnicity and American Politics"  
 Ken Masugi, *Claremont Institute*  
 Disc.: John Coffey, *Rockford College*
- Panel 5. Are the Slavery Provisions of the Constitution Consistent  
 with the Concept of Liberty and Equality? ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.  
 Chair: Peter W. Schramm, *Claremont Institute*  
 Papers: "Liberalism, Democracy and Republicanism in Martin  
 Diamond's Interpretation of the American Founding"  
 Richard Zinman, *Michigan State University*  
 "The Consistency of the Constitution and the Declaration:  
 The Hard Case of Slavery"  
 John Alvis, *University of Dallas*  
 Disc.: George Anastaplo, *Loyola University School of Law*
- Panel 6. Eidos/Problem ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.  
 Chair: Hilail Gilden, *Queen's College*  
 Papers: Title unknown  
 Laurence Berns, *St. John's College*  
 Title unknown  
 Richard Kennington, *Catholic University of America*  
 Disc.: Werner Dannhauser, *Cornell University*
- Panel 7. Theory and Practice: Part I ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.  
 Chair: Peter Minowitz, *Harvard University*  
 Papers: Title unknown  
 Stanley Rosen, *Pennsylvania State University*  
 Title unknown  
 Christopher Bruell, *Boston College*  
 Disc.: Thomas Payne, *Hillsdale College*  
 Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., *Harvard University*
- Panel 8. Theory and Practice: Part II  
 American Democracy ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.  
 Chair: James Stoner, *Goucher College*  
 Papers: "The Theory and Practice of American Democracy According  
 to de Tocqueville"  
 Ralph Hancock, *Hillsdale College*  
 "Natural Rights in Some Thinkers Read by the American Founders"  
 Thomas G. West, *University of Dallas*  
 Disc.: Benjamin Barber, *Rutgers University*  
 Charles R. Kesler, *Claremont McKenna College*
- Panel 9. Winston Churchill on Foreign Policy ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.  
 Chair: Patrick J. Garrity, *Georgetown University*  
 Papers: "Churchill on Disarmament"  
 Sherman Garnett  
 "Churchill and Nuclear Weapons"  
 Larry P. Arnn, *Claremont Institute*  
 Disc.: Christopher Flannery, *Claremont Institute*  
 Reception for friends and associates ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.



## COMMITTEE FOR PARTY RENEWAL

Jerome M. Mileur, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*, Program Organizer

### Panel 1. Party Nationalization or Federalization?

Intergovernmental Perspectives on Party Renewal ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by APSA Organized Section: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations. See "Daily Listing of Official Program" for details.

### Panel 2. Congress and Strategies

for Party Renewal ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Jerome M. Mileur, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

Participant: Thomas E. Mann, *American Political Science Association*

Business Meeting ..... Saturday, 12:30 p.m.

## COMMITTEE ON CONCEPTUAL AND TERMINOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Judith A. Gillespie, *Boston University*, Program Organizer

### Panel 1. Theoretical Approaches to Decision-Making:

A Comparative Analysis ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Betty Zisk, *Boston University*

Papers: "Putting Choice Back Into Decision-Making"

Judith A. Gillespie, *Boston University*

"How Foreign Is Foreign Decision-Making?"

Martin W. Sampson, III, *University of Minnesota*

Disc.: Roberta Herzberg, *Indiana University*

Charles F. Hermann, *Ohio State University*

### Panel 2. Economic Growth and Development

of Social Systems ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: George J. Graham, Jr., *Vanderbilt University*

Papers: "The Concept of Growth"

Henry Teune, *University of Pennsylvania*

"Growth and Human Values"

Mihailo Markovic, *University of Belgrade*

Disc.: Irving Horowitz, *Rutgers University*

## COMMITTEE ON HEALTH POLITICS

Malcolm L. Goggin, *University of Houston*, Program Organizer

Luncheon Business Meeting ..... Saturday, 12:30 p.m.

Location of luncheon will be announced in the final Program.

### Panel 1. Health Policy, Politics

and the Aging ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Malcolm L. Goggin, *University of Houston*

Papers: "Paying for Long-Term Institutional Care: Social Insurance

Versus Means-Tested Welfare"

William P. Brandon, *Seton Hall University*

"The Politics of Domain Consensus: Applications to Long-Term Care"

Mark Burns and Doris Ford, *Auburn University*

"The Delivery of Mental Health Services to the Elderly:

Politics, Policies and Organizations"

Phillip W. Roeder, *University of Kentucky* and

Samuel Bookheimer, *University of Houston*

Disc.: Andrew Dunham, *Colorado College*

Panel 2. Roundtable on Political Institutions  
and Health Policy ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Co-chairs: Patricia M. Alt, *Maryland State Department of Health and  
Mental Hygiene* and  
Pat Taylor, *Senate Special Committee on Aging*

Paper: "Administrative Policy Making: A Behavioral Theory"  
Malcolm L. Goggin, *University of Houston*

Disc.: To be announced

## CONFERENCE GROUP OF MORMON POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

Dennis L. Thompson, *Brigham Young University*, Convenor

Breakfast Meeting ..... Saturday, 7:30 a.m.

## CONFERENCE GROUP ON CULTURAL POLICY AND THE ARTS

Kevin V. Mulcahy, *Louisiana State University*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Comparative Cultural Policymaking ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Kevin V. Mulcahy, *Louisiana State University*

Paper: "Government and the Arts in the Modern World"  
Milton Cummings and Richard S. Katz, *Johns Hopkins University*

Disc.: Lawrence Mankin, *Arizona State University*  
Woody Kay, *Kalamazoo College*  
C. Richard Swaim, *University of Baltimore*

Panel 2. Cultural Administration as Public Administration ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Co-sponsored by the APSA Organized Section: Public Administration.

See "Daily Listing of Official Program" for details.

## CONFERENCE GROUP ON FRENCH POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Frank L. Wilson, *Purdue University*, Program Organizer

Business Meeting ..... Thursday, 12:30 p.m.

Panel 1. The Conservative Opposition in France ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: William R. Shonfeld, *University of California, Irvine*

Papers: "The Giscardians in Opposition"  
John R. Frears, *Loughborough University*  
"The Gaullists: Rallying for Power"  
Kay Lawson, *San Francisco State University*  
"The National Front and Racial Politics in France"  
Martin A. Schain, *New York University*  
"Judicial Opposition in Mett errand's France: The Emergence of the  
Constitutional Council as a Major Actor in the Policymaking Process"  
John Keeler, *University of Washington*

Disc.: To be announced

Roundtable 2. The Study of French Politics ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Hugh G. Thorburn, *Queen's University*

Participants: Michael S. Lewis-Beck, *University of Iowa*  
D. Bruce Marshall, *University of South Carolina*  
Roy Pierce, *University of Michigan*

Panel 3. The Left in Italy and France ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by the Conference Group on Italian Politics. See the panel  
listing under "Italian" in this section for details.

## CONFERENCE GROUP ON GERMAN POLITICS

Peter H. Merkl, *University of California, Santa Barbara*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. The GDR and "Inner-German"

Relations ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "GDR Identity and Recent Historical Reinterpretations"

Robert E. Herzstein, *University of South Carolina*

"Inner-German Relations"

Wolfgang-Uwe Friedrich, *Hochschule Hildesheim*

Panel 2. Brave New World?: New Social Movements

in the Federal Republic ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Joyce Marie Mushaben, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

Papers: "The Greens and the Peace Movement: Overlap or Cross-Purposes?"

Gregg O. Kvistad, *University of Denver*

Title unknown

Horst Mewes, *University of Colorado, Colorado Springs and  
Tubingen University*

"Values of the New Social Movement"

Peter H. Merkl, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Disc: Joyce Marie Mushaben, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

Panel 3. Arms Control and Atlantic

Relations ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Werner J. Feld, *University of New Orleans*

Participants: Francis Beer, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Konrad Kressley, *University of South Alabama*

Edwin Fedder, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

Konrad Raabe, *Loyola University*

## CONFERENCE GROUP ON ITALIAN POLITICS

Stephen M. Hellman, *York University*, Program Organizer

Panel. The Left in France and Italy ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by the Conference Group on French Politics and Society.

Co-chairs: Miriam A. Golden, *Wesleyan University* and  
George Ross, *Brandeis University*

Papers: "Union-Party Relations in Italy"

Miriam A. Golden, *Wesleyan University*

"Relations Between the French Socialist and Communist Parties"

George Ross, *Brandeis University*

"Union-Party Relations in France"

To be announced

"Communist-Socialist Relations in Italy"

To be announced

Disc: Stephen M. Hellman, *York University*

Business Meeting ..... Saturday, 12:30 p.m.

## CONFERENCE GROUP ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Stephen L. Elkin, *University of Maryland, College Park*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Was 1984 A Critical Election? ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Martin Shefter, *Cornell University*

- Papers: "1984: The Politics of the Permanent Campaign"  
Walter Dean Burnham, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
- "Right Turn: The 1984 Election and the Future of American Politics, or Party Alignment Without Voter Realignment"  
Thomas Ferguson, *University of Texas, Austin* and  
Joel Rogers, *Rutgers University*
- "Institutionalizing the Reagan Regime"  
Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter, *Cornell University*
- Disc.: Amy Bridges, *Harvard University*
- Panel 2. Continuity and Change in the  
American Welfare State ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- Chair: Sidney Verba, *Harvard University*
- Papers: "Between State and Society: Experts and American Politics"  
Lis Clemens, *University of Chicago* and  
John Ikenberry, *Princeton University*
- "Ideas, Institutions and Interests: The Response to Unemployment in Post-War America and Europe"  
Gary Mucciaroni, *Brown University*
- "The Federal Government and Unemployment: Economic or Welfare Policy?"  
Margaret Weir, *University of Chicago*
- "Child Welfare and Child Labor: The Origins and Uneven Development of the American Welfare State"  
John Drew, *Cornell University*
- Disc.: Jonas Pontusson, *Cornell University*  
Richard Bense, *New School for Social Research*
- Panel 3. Labor and the Liberal State ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.
- Chair: Michael Goldfield, *Cornell University*
- Papers: "Union Strategies, Party Coalitions, and Industrial Relations"  
Stephen Amberg, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
- "Labor's Subordination to the New Deal"  
Michael Goldfield, *Cornell University*
- "Liberalism and the Question of Free Labor"  
Karen Orren, *University of California, Los Angeles*
- "The Legal Foundations of Post-War U.S. Labor Policy"  
Joel Rogers, *Rutgers University*
- Disc.: J. David Greenstone, *University of Chicago*
- Panel 4. Constitutionalism, Realignment  
and Bureaucracy ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- Chair: Edward J. Erler, *San Bernadino State University*
- Papers: "Better To Go Down Dignified? Tocqueville on Right, Regulation and the Science of Party"  
Robert Eden, *Dalhousie University*
- Title unknown  
John A. Wettergreen, *San Jose State University*
- Disc.: Howard Reiter, *University of Connecticut*  
Sidney Milkis, *De Pauw University*
- Panel 5. The Politics of Urban Economic Development ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.
- Chair: Dale Rogers Marshall, *University of California, Davis*
- Papers: "The Dependent City, Business Power and Urban Economic Systems"  
Paul Kantor, *Fordham University*

"Economic Development in Small Cities"  
 Heywood Sanders, *Trinity University*  
 "Elite Theory and the Politics of Urban Development"  
 Clarence Stone, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Disc.: Peter Lupsha, *University of New Mexico*

Panel 6. The Future of Economic Democracy ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Philip Green, *Smith College*

Papers: "When It Comes to Principles and Pragmatism,  
 There Are No Secure Marriages"  
 Mark Kann, *University of Southern California*

Title unknown  
 Nathan Gardels, *Institute for National Strategy*

Disc.: To be announced

Panel 7. The Politics of Time ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Carmen Sirianni, *Northeastern University*

Papers: "Problems of Time in Social Theory"  
 Anthony Giddens, *Kings College, Cambridge University*

"Towards A Marxist Social Critique of Time"  
 Moishe Postone, *Center for Psycho-Social Studies*

"Working Time Policies in Europe"  
 Karl Hinrichs, *University of Bielefeld, F.R.G.*

"Working Time Options and the Problem of Equality"  
 Carmen Sirianni and Michele Eayrs, *Northeastern University*

Disc.: Joel Krieger, *Wellesley College*

Roundtable 8. Freedom and Community ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: To be announced

Participants: Larry Preston, *Northern Arizona University*  
 William T. Bluhm, *University of Rochester*

Panel 9. The Paradox of Knowledge and Power:

Michel Foucault ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Fred Dallmayr, *University of Notre Dame*

Papers: "Power and Repression: Foucault on Politics"  
 Stephen F. Schneck, *Catholic University*

"From Political Power to the Desiring Subject:  
 Metonymy in the Late Foucault"  
 Diane Rubenstein, *University of Cincinnati*

Disc.: Tom Kennan

Panel 10. The Rule of Law, Corporation

and Pluralism ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "The Rule of Law in Pluralist Society"  
 Mark Tushnet, *Georgetown University School of Law*

"Corporatism and the Rule of Law: *The End of Liberalism*,  
 Revisited"  
 Donald Brand, *University of Pennsylvania*

"Rule of Law, Objective Standards and Pluralist Democracy"  
 Karol Soltan, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Disc.: To be announced

Roundtable 11. Non-Judicial Dispute Settlement ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Wayne McIntosh, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Participants: Malcolm Feeley, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Bert Kritzer, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*  
Sally Merry, *Wellesley College*  
Stephen Daniels, *American Bar Foundation*  
Christine Harrington, *New York University*

Panel 12. Socialist States in Capitalist

International Economic Regimes ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "Centrally Planned Economies in the IMF/World Bank:  
An Uneasy Relationship?"

Lawrence Holmes, *The World Bank*

"International Trade Regime and East-West Relations"

Raymond Ahearn, *Congressional Research Service*

"Crisis in Europe: Possible Impacts on 'Mini' European Regime"

Mario Nuti, *European University Institute, Italy*

"International Capitalist Institutions versus Centrally Planned  
Societies: Mutual Adaptation or Independence"

Bart Kaminski, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Disc.: To be announced

Panel 13. Democratic Capitalism Past the Crossroads?

Competing Perspectives on European Political Economy ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: John P. Freeman, *University of Minnesota*

Papers: "Technological Change and the Political Economy of Class Compromise"

John K. Jacobsen, *University of Chicago*

"Explaining the Productive Activity of European State Enterprise:  
A Comparative Evaluation"

Raymond Duch, *University of Houston*

"The Changing Distribution of Power and Wealth in European  
Political Economies"

John P. Freeman, *University of Minnesota*

Disc.: Michael Wallerstein, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Panel 14. Thatcherism and Reaganism Compared:

Part I ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Norman Vig, *Carleton College*

Papers: "The Political Economy of Macro Economic Policy:  
Britain and the United States"

John D. Robertson, *Texas A&M University*

"Comparing Conservative Strategies: Thatcher, Reagan and  
Labor Market Governance"

David Robertson, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

"International Monetary Policy of the Reagan Administration"

Karen Bernstein, *Mills College*

Disc.: James Alt, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Panel 15. Thatcherism and Reaganism Compared:

Part II ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Jerold L. Waltman, *University of Southern Mississippi*

Papers: "Trade Union Policy"

Neil Mitchell, *Iowa State University*

"Industrial Policy"

Jeffrey B. Freyman, *Transylvania University*

"Consumer Protection"

Richard Flickinger, *Wittenburg University*

Disc.: David Robertson, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

Panel 16. Responses to Deindustrialization:

Privatization vs. Planning ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.

Co-sponsored by the American Political Science Association. See Panel 7-8 in "Daily Listing of Official Program" for details.

Panel 17. Social Security and the Crisis

of the State ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

Co-chairs: James Malloy and B. Guy Peters, *University of Pittsburgh*

Papers: "Social Security and the Crisis of the State"

B. Guy Peters, *University of Pittsburgh*

"Latin America"

James Malloy, *University of Pittsburgh*

"Western Industrial Societies"

Gary Freeman, *University of Texas, Austin*

"Japan"

Steven Reed, *University of Alabama*

Disc.: William Ascher, *Duke University*

Panel 18. Economic Cycles and Political Impacts in the Semiperiphery:

A Comparative Perspective ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Mario Nuti, *European University Institute, Italy*

Papers: "World Economy and Regime Formation in Argentina: Long Cycles and Political Change"

Carlos Egen, *Williams College*

"Global Cycle and State Intervention in Semiperiphery"

Bart Kaminski, *University of Maryland, College Park*

"Economic Cycle and Political Violence: The Case of South Korea"

Chung-in Moon, *Williams College* and Do-Hun Kim, *SUNY at Albany*

"Technology, Long Waves, Policies and Growth Performance of the Semiperiphery"

Sam Cole, *SUNY at Buffalo*

Disc.: Mario Nuti, *European University Institute, Italy*

Guillermo O'Donnell, *University of Notre Dame*

Panel 19. Democracy and Deterence ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "The Democratic Process in the Context of American Security Policy"

Robert C. Johansen, *World Policy Institute*

"Damocles or Sisypheus: Problems of Deterence and Democracy in Alternative Security Systems"

Christopher Kruegler, *Harvard University*

"Deterence and the Dissolution of Democracy"

Stephen Rosow, *Brandeis University*

Disc.: Bradley Klein, *St. Lawrence University*

## CONFERENCE GROUP ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Louis J. Cantori, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County* and

Iliya Harik, *Indiana University*, Program Organizers

Roundtable 1. Ethnic Determinants of Middle Eastern

International Relations: Part I ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Louis J. Cantori, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

Participants: Iliya Harik, *Indiana University*  
Evelyn Early, *University of Notre Dame*  
Eric Davis, *Rutgers University*  
Hamled Ansari, *SAIS Johns Hopkins University*

Roundtable 2. Ethnic Determinants of Middle Eastern  
International Relations: Part II ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Iliya Harik, *Indiana University*

Participants: Louis J. Cantori, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*  
Richard Bianchi, *American University, Cairo*  
Nicolas Gavrielidas, *SUNY at Cortland*  
Augustus Richard Norton, *U.S. Military Academy, West Point*

## **DIRECT DEMOCRACY RESEARCH GROUP**

David B. Magleby, *Brigham Young University*, Program Organizer

Panel. Direct Democracy in the 1980s ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: David B. Magleby, *Brigham Young University*

Papers: "The Initiative Process, Money and the World of Political  
Consultants"

Larry M. Berg, *University of Southern California*

"Liquor-by-the-drink Finally Wins in Oklahoma"

Harry Holloway, *University of Oklahoma* and  
Tom Kielhorn

"Health Care Cost Containment and the Initiative Process"

Bruce B. Mason, *Arizona State University*

Disc.: Robert Benedict, *University of Utah*

## **EMORY UNIVERSITY/JOURNAL OF POLITICS**

Co-sponsored reception for friends and alumni of the Department  
of Political Science and *Journal of Politics* ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## **FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY GROUP**

George J. Graham, Jr., *Vanderbilt University*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Explorations in Post-Cartesian

Political Theory ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Hwa Yol Jung, *Moravian College*

Papers: "Descartes and the Technocratic Revolution"

Hwa Yol Jung, *Moravian College*

"Post-Cartesian Cartesianism: Nietzsche"

Fred Dallmayr, *University of Notre Dame*

"Cartesian Paradox and Post-Cartesian Promise in the Theory  
of Public Choice"

William T. Bluhm, *University of Rochester*

Disc.: Thomas Spragens, Jr., *Duke University*

Stephen Newman, *Ripon College*

Panel 2. Post-Structuralist Strategies ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Cleo Cherryholmes, *Michigan State University*



- Papers: "Reading Biographies"  
Michael J. Shapiro, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*  
Title unknown  
Cleo Cherryholmes, *Michigan State University*  
"Reading the Tradition: Approaches in Contemporary Political Theory"  
Folke Lindahl, *Oklahoma State University*
- Disc.: John Rieder, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*  
Michael T. Gibbons, *University of South Florida*
- Panel 3. Foundations of Politics ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.
- Chair: Julie Mostov, *New York University*
- Papers: "Institutional Necessities and Possibilities"  
Robert Grafstein, *University of Georgia*  
"In Search of a Foundation of Politics and the Political State: Hobbes and Spinoza"  
David A. Freeman, *Queens College*  
"Reason versus Nature: The Conventional Foundations of Rousseau's Politics"  
Joseph M. Schwartz, *Harvard University*
- Disc.: To be announced
- Panel 4. Rousseau and the Paradoxes of Sexual Politics ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.
- Chair: Nannerl O. Keohane, *Wellesley College*
- Papers: "Rousseau's Five Families"  
Melissa A. Butler, *Wabash College*  
"Love and Justice: Moral Education in Rousseau's *Emile*"  
Anne L. Harper, *Atlanta Center for Feminist Studies*  
"Misogyny and Modernity: Rousseau and the Pathologies of Freedom"  
Richard P. Hiskes, *University of Connecticut*
- Disc.: Joel Schwartz, *University of Michigan*
- Panel 5. Kant Celebration Session ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.
- Chair: Patrick Riley, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
- Papers: "Kantian Jurisprudence"  
John Domino, *Miami University*  
"A Platonic Source for Kant's Morality"  
Patrick Powers, *Assumption College*  
"Kant and Rousseau"  
Richard Velkley, *Rivier College*
- Disc.: Patrick Riley, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*  
Susan Shell, *Boston College*
- Panel 6. Political Theory, Policy, and Justification ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.
- Chair: Richard S. Beth, *Congressional Research Service*
- Papers: "Justice and Health Care Finance: Can Public Subsidies for Health Insurance Be Justified?"  
William P. Brandon, *Seton Hall University*  
"Environmentalism and Political Theory"  
Sandra K. Hinchman, *St. Lawrence University* and  
Lewis P. Hinchman, *Clarkson University*  
"Moral Theory and Political Conflict"  
Ron Replogle, *New York University*

- Disc.: Craig A. Rimmerman, *College of Charleston*
- Panel 7. Charismatic Leadership and the Theory of Democracy ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.
- Chair: William T. Bluhm, *University of Rochester*
- Papers: "Discourses of Charisma and the Spectacle of Electoral Politics:  
The Legitimation of Democracy in Informational Society"  
Timothy W. Luke, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*
- "Charismatic Leadership and Cultural Democracy"  
Edward B. Portis, *Texas A&M University*
- "Weber's Two Concepts of Democracy"  
Mark E. Warren, *University of Texas, San Antonio*
- Disc.: Stuart C. Gilman, *St. Louis University*
- Panel 8. Recent Approaches to the History of Political Theory ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.
- Chair: J. Peter Euben, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
- Papers: "Interpreting History: Contemporary Continental Perspectives"  
William Adams, *University of Santa Clara*
- "Feminist Theory and the History of Theory"  
Wendy Brown, *Williams College*
- "The 'New' New History of Political Thought: Skinner, Pocock and Beyond"  
Michael Lienesch, *University of North Carolina*
- "History, Reason and Participation in the Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas"  
Joel D. Schwartz, *College of William and Mary*
- Disc.: Deborah Baumgold, *University of Florida*
- Panel 9. Revisiting Liberalism Again ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.
- Chair: To be announced
- Papers: Title unknown  
James L. Curtis, *Swarthmore College*
- "The Founders' Liberalism and the Problem of Civic Virtue"  
Richard Sinopoli, *New York University*
- "Justice in Hobbes and Locke: Is Locke a Hobbesian?"  
Patrick Coby, *Idaho State University*
- Disc.: Robert C. Grady, *Eastern Michigan University*
- Panel 10. Death, Extinction and Fear: Modern Holocausts and the End of Modernity ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- Chair: Jean Bethke Elshtain, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
- Papers: "The Confrontation with Death: The Genesis of Reflexivity"  
Dennis Wakefield, *Texas Tech University*
- "The Political Value of Fear"  
Thomas Dunn, *University of Houston*
- Disc.: Jean Bethke Elshtain, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*  
James Der Derian, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
- Panel 11. Political Deliberation, Rhetoric and Evaluation ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.
- Chair: To be announced
- Papers: Title unknown  
John S. Nelson, *University of Iowa*

"Bending Truth to Action: Entering the Cave"

George J. Graham, Jr., *Vanderbilt University*

"Politics, Persuasion and Evaluation"

Wayne A. Kimmel, *Political Consultant*

Disc.: Thomas L. Thorson, *Indiana University, South Bend*

Reception for members and friends ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## **GEORGETOWN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICS**

James B. Williams, *Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics*,  
Program Organizer

Panel 1. Plato ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Christopher Bruell, *Boston College*

Papers: "Plato's Treatment of Alcibiades"

Steve Forde, *Dalhousie University*

"Plato's *Alcibiades I*"

Mark Blitz, *Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

"The *Clitophon* and the Problem of Socratic Education"

Clifford Orwin, *University of Toronto*

Disc.: Christopher Bruell, *Boston College*

Thomas Pangle, *University of Toronto*

Panel 2. Rousseau ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Christopher Kelly, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

Papers: "Rousseau on Natural Goodness"

Arthur Melzer, *Michigan State University*

"Rousseau and Modern Anthropology"

Richard Carter, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

Disc.: Marc Plattner, *National Endowment for Democracy*

Henry Higuera, *St. John's College*

Panel 3. The American Founding ..... Friday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Richard G. Stevens, *Defense Intelligence College*

Papers: "Executive and Judicial Powers Under the Constitution"

David Nichols, *Catholic University of America*

"The Political Questions Doctrine: Is It Constitutional?"

Kenneth Holland, *University of Vermont*

Disc.: Richard G. Stevens, *Defense Intelligence College*

Panel 4. The Bishops and the Economy ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Panel 5. Eric Voegelin ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Ellis Sandoz, *Louisiana State University*

Papers: "Voegelin's Reading of Hegel"

David Walsh, *Catholic University of America*

"Voegelin, Nietzsche, and the Crisis of Modernity"

James L. Wisner, *Loyola University of Chicago*

"Voegelin's Evolving Views of Gnosticism, Mysticism  
and Modern Radical Politics"

Russell Nieli, *Rider College*

Disc.: Ellis Sandoz, *Louisiana State University*

Panel 6. Varieties of Naturalism

In Political Theory ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

- Chair: John Stanley, *University of California, Riverside*
- Papers: "Nature and Artifice in Marx"  
Paul Thomas, *University of California, Berkeley*  
"Nature and Artifice: A Structural Programmatic Perspective"  
Shawn Rosenberg, *University of California, Irvine*
- Disc.: John Stanley, *University of California, Riverside*
- Panel 7. Statesmanship and the Cold War ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.
- Chair: Thomas Hyde, *North Park College*
- Papers: "What's Good About the Cold War?—Dean Acheson and Its Origins"  
Jeffrey Salmon, *Comparative Strategy*  
"The Carter Modification of Containment"  
Jerel Rosati, *University of South Carolina*
- Disc.: Daniel Mahoney, *Catholic University of America*
- Panel 8. Policy Debate in the Soviet Union:  
Its Nature and Implications ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.
- Chair: Charles Fairbanks, *SAIS, Johns Hopkins University*
- Papers: "Policy Toward the West"  
Jerry Hough, *Brookings Institution*  
"Policy Toward the Third World"  
Stephen Sestanovitch, *National Security Council*
- Disc.: Myron Rush, *Cornell University*

## **HARVARD UNIVERSITY**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Government ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA-CHAMPAIGN**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **INDIAN POLICY NETWORK**

Meeting ..... Saturday, 5:30 p.m.

Topic: "Research on Native American Governments and Policy Issues"

Convener: Michael E. Melody, *Barry University*

## **INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

Oskar Gruenwald, *Institute for Interdisciplinary Research*, Program Organizer

The panel and reception are co-sponsored by the Institute for  
Interdisciplinary Research.

Panel. Capitalism, Socialism and Human Rights:  
Interdisciplinary Christian Perspectives ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Oskar Gruenwald, *Institute for Interdisciplinary Research*

Papers: "Economic Systems and Human Dignity"  
William R. Marty, *Memphis State University*  
"Examining the American Catholic Bishops' Pastoral"  
Brian G. Sullivan, *Western Kentucky University*  
"The Yugoslav Experiment and Democratic Socialism"  
Oskar Gruenwald, *Institute for Interdisciplinary Research*

**"Capitalism and Socialism in Theological Perspective"**  
David Morsey, *Institute for Interdisciplinary Research*

Disc.: Charles R. Dechert, *Catholic University of America*

Reception for members and friends ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION**

Peter Katzenstein, *Cornell University*, Editor

Editorial Board Meeting ..... Saturday, 6:00 p.m.

**INTER-UNIVERSITY SEMINAR ON ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY**

Stephen J. Cimbala, *Pennsylvania State University*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Challenges to Deterrence in the 1990s:

Policy ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: John Allen Williams, *Loyola University of Chicago*

Papers: "Maritime Strategy and the Deterrence of War"  
John Allen Williams, *Loyola University of Chicago*

"Avoiding Nuclear War by Other Means"  
David W. Tarr, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

"Indigenous Third World Industries and Conventional Deterrence"  
Stephanie Neuman, *Columbia University*

"Strategy of Conflict in an N-Nation Nuclear World"  
Alan Ned Sabrosky, *U.S. Army War College*

"Deterrence Might Require Mixed Strategies"  
Michael D. Intriligator, *University of California, Los Angeles* and  
Dagobert L. Brito, *Rice University*

Disc.: Charles F. Hermann, *Ohio State University*  
Bruce M. Russett, *Yale University*

Panel 2. Challenges to Deterrence in the 1990s:

Technology ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Stephen J. Cimbala, *Pennsylvania State University*

Papers: "Targeting for Nuclear Winter"  
Michael F. Altfeld, *Michigan State University* and  
Stephen J. Cimbala, *Pennsylvania State University*

"The Future of Tactical Nuclear Weapons"  
John M. Weinstein, *U.S. Department of the Army*

"The Evolving Geopolitics of Strategic Nuclear Basing for the 1990s"  
Robert Harkavy, *Pennsylvania State University*

"Changing Technologies and the Deterrence Environment of the 1990s"  
Kevin Lewis, *The Rand Corporation*

Disc.: Jeffrey Salmon, *Stanford Research Institute*  
Paul Ingholt, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*

**INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

Governing Council Meeting ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

J. David Singer, *University of Michigan*, President

William Welsh, *University of South Carolina*, Executive Director

**UNIVERSITY OF IOWA**

Reception for friends and alumni of the

Department of Political Science ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## LAW AND POLITICAL PROCESS STUDY GROUP

Panel. Law and the Political Process  
Study Group ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: John S. Shockley, *Western Illinois University*

Papers: "Campaign Finance and Shifting Patterns of Political Power"  
David Adamany, *Wayne State University*

"Campaign Financing of Judicial Elections"  
Marlene Nicholson, *DePaul University College of Law*

## LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

Reception for friends and alumni of the Department of  
Political Science and the Institute of Politics ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## MAX WEBER COLLOQUIA AND SYMPOSIA

Vatro Murvar, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*, Program Organizer

Panel. Max Weber's Legacy Today ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "Ferdinand Toennies and Max Weber"  
John Samples, *Southwest Texas State University*

"Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber"  
Larry G. Keeter, *Appalachian State University*

"New Directions in the Intellectual Legacy of Max Weber"  
William Mayrl, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

## UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## MICROCOMPUTER USERS' GROUP

G. David Garson, *North Carolina State University*, Program Organizer

Roundtable 1. Microcomputers in Teaching ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: George Watson, *Arizona State University*

Roundtable 2. Microcomputers in Research ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: James T. Caldwell, *Stanford University*

Papers: "Framework and Elite Research"  
James T. Caldwell, *Stanford University*

"Micro-computer Work Stations for Researchers"  
Robert Brookshire, *North Texas State University*

"Microtools: Data Analysis/Research"  
Peter Joffis and Gregory A. Marks, *University of Michigan*

"Data Collection/Analysis Programs"  
Richard McIntosh, *University of California, Berkeley*  
"Analysis of Court Decisions"  
Stuart S. Nagel, *University of Illinois, Urbana*  
"Evaluation of Dbase Managers"  
C. Neal Tate, *North Texas State University*

Disc.: Thomas Madron, *North Texas State University*

*Social Science Microcomputer Review*

Reception ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Dirk Vandewalle, *Columbia University*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Change in the Middle East:

The Comparative Perspective ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: John Waterbury, *Princeton University*

Papers: Title unknown

Lisa Anderson, *Harvard University*

Title unknown

Jill Crystal, *Harvard University*

Disc.: Ian Lustick, *Dartmouth College*

Panel 2. Change in the Middle East:

The International Perspective ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: Title unknown

Mahmud Elwafally, *University of Pittsburgh*

Title unknown

Dirk Vandewalle, *Columbia University*

Disc.: Dirk Vandewalle, *Columbia University*

## MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

*American Journal of Political Science*

Editorial Board Meeting ..... Friday, 5:30 p.m.

Executive Council Meeting ..... Thursday, 5:30 p.m.

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Business Meeting ..... Thursday, 12:30 p.m.

## UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Reception for friends and alumni of the

Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

Information Session ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Participants: Warren E. Miller, *Arizona State University*

Raymond E. Wolfinger, *University of California, Berkeley*

Santa Traugott, *University of Michigan*

## NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Gary McDowell, *National Endowment for the Humanities*, Program Organizer

Panel. Political Science and the Study  
of the Constitution ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Gary McDowell, *National Endowment for the Humanities*

Papers: Title unknown  
Harry Clor, *Kenyon College*

Title unknown  
Gene Hickok, *Dickinson University*

Title unknown  
Richard E. Morgan, *Bowdoin College*

Title unknown  
Richard G. Stevens, *Defense Intelligence College*

Disc.: Lino Graglia, *University of Texas Law School, Austin*  
Stephen Boyd, *University of Texas, San Antonio*

## UNIVERSITY OF NEW ORLEANS

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

David M. Speak, *Georgia Southern College* and  
Charles R. Dechert, *Catholic University of America*, Co-organizers

Panel 1. Reconstructing Liberal Theory ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Richard Flathman, *Johns Hopkins University*

Papers: "On Reason in Liberal Society"  
Thomas Spragens, *Duke University*  
"Justifying Liberty: Strategies of Reconstruction"  
James Fishkin, *University of Texas, Austin*

Disc.: Charles W. Anderson, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*  
Iari Shapiro, *Yale University*

Panel 2. Popular Politics Through Literature ..... Friday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: John S. Nelson, *University of Iowa*

Papers: "God Watches Over Dumb Animals, Small Children and the USA"  
Michael R. Fitzgerald, *University of Tennessee* and  
Lee Sigelman, *University of Kentucky*

"Our Town Revisited: The Fiction of the American Small Town"  
Jean Bethke Elshtain, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

"America in a Changing World: Perspectives from 'International  
Intrigue' Fiction"  
James Der Derian, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

"Horror, Crisis, and Control: Tales of Facing Evil"  
John S. Nelson, *University of Iowa*

Disc.: Mary E. Hawkesworth, *University of Louisville*

Panel 3. Re-Examining Marx: The Locus  
of Authority ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: James P. Matsoukas, *Macalester College*

Papers: "The Nation-State, Permanent or Transitory (or Was Marx  
Right for the Wrong Reason?)"  
Justine Mann, *Georgia Southern College*

"A Platonic Diagram on Two Great World Systems"  
Steven Greffenius, *University of Iowa*

Disc.: Steven R. Mansfield, *Augusta College*



Panel 4. Reason in Policy ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Neil Mitchell, *Iowa State University*

Papers: "Clinical Medical Decision-Making: In Defense of Wisdom"  
Thomas Shevory, *Marshall University*

"Science and Policy: The Role of Conflicting Ideologies in  
Public Land Decisions"  
James N. Gladden, *Indiana University*

"The Highest Walls: Archetypes as Prison Barriers"  
David M. Speak, *Georgia Southern College*

Disc: Ira Strauber, *Grinnell College*

Panel 5. Religion and the American Economy ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Robert Holsworth, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Papers: "The American Catholic Bishops' Letter on the Economy:  
Debated Issues"

Charles R. Dechert, *Catholic University of America*

"Catholic Social Teaching and the Political Economy"  
Regis A. Factor, *University of South Florida*

Disc: David L. Schaefer, *College of the Holy Cross*  
Robert Holsworth, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Panel 6. Defending Liberalism ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: William Galston, *Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies*

Papers: "Defending Liberalism II: Moving Beyond Galston"  
J. P. Geise, *Clarkson University*

"The End of the End of Liberalism"  
Alfonso Damico, *University of Florida*

Disc: Edward B. Portis, *Texas A&M University*

Panel 7. Practices of Political Speech  
and Action ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Don Herzog, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Papers: "Program, Partners and Leadership in Revolutionary Coalitions"  
Terrence E. Cook, *Washington State University*

"The Stuff of Politics and Civic Integrity"  
Patrick J. Dobel, *University of Michigan, Dearborn*

"Rhetorics of Rights and Interests in Group Politics"  
John S. Nelson, *University of Iowa*

## **UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **PERSONAL COMPUTER USERS' GROUP**

Charles M. Benjamin, *Bethel College*, Program Organizer

Panel. Applications of the Conflict Analysis  
Personal Computer Program ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Charles M. Benjamin, *Bethel College*

Participants: Robert Harvey  
Niall Fraser, *University of Waterloo*  
Keith Hipel, *University of Waterloo*  
Theodore Mitchell, *University of Nevada, Reno*  
Charles A. Powell, *University of Southern California*

## **POLITICAL SCIENTISTS SPECIALIZING ON JAPAN**

Lee W. Farnsworth, *Brigham Young University*, Program Organizer

Panel. Changing Patterns of Policymaking  
in Japan ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Lee W. Farnsworth, *Brigham Young University*

Participants: Haruhiro Fukui, *University of California, Santa Barbara*  
T. J. Pemple, *Cornell University*  
Kozo Yamamura, *University of Washington*

Breakfast Meeting ..... Saturday, 7:30 a.m.

## **THE REVIEW OF POLITICS**

Editorial Advisory Board Meeting ..... Friday, 7:30 a.m.

## **UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## **SOCIETY FOR GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Kent F. Moors, *Duquesne University*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Aristotle ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: James F. Davidson, *Tulane University*

Papers: "Goodness, Nobility and Virtue in the *Nicomachean Ethics*"  
Steven B. Smith, *Yale University*  
"Aristotle's Theory of a Constitution"  
William E. Conklin, *University of Windsor*

Disc.: Judith A. Swanson, *University of Chicago*  
Ronald Beiner, *University of Toronto*

Panel 2. The Political Theory of the  
Greek Historians ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: To be announced

Papers: "Cyrus' Corruption of Aristocracy"  
Gary Glenn, *Northern Illinois University*  
Title unknown  
Clifford Orwin, *University of Toronto*

Disc.: Christopher Bruell, *Boston College*

Panel 3. Plato ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: John R. Kayser, *University of New Hampshire*

Papers: "Skopos, Content, and Place of the *Gorgias* in the  
Platonic Canon"  
George Manake, *Montclair State College*

"Platonic Dialogue and the Limits of Political Opinion"  
Kent F. Moors, *Duquesne University*

Disc.: Thomas K. Lindsay, *University of Chicago*

## **SOCIETY FOR SOCIAL STUDIES OF SCIENCE**

Edward J. Woodhouse, *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*, Program Organizer

Panel. Science Policy ..... Saturday, 8:45 a.m.

Chair: Edward J. Woodhouse, *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*

Papers: "Comparative Third World Science Policy: India and Nigeria"  
Michael Th. Greven, *Phillipps University*

"Science Policy in the Reagan Years: A Test of Neustadt's Theory"  
Joseph Morone, *GE Corporate Research and Development*

"Science in the Regulatory Process: Promising Innovations,  
Key Shortcomings"

Edward J. Woodhouse, *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*

Open Meeting ..... Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

Discussion on whether there is a need for more systematic contact among political scientists interested in science, technology and politics.

## **UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA**

Reception for friends and alumni of the

Department of Political Science ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

## **SOUTHWESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION**

Executive Council Meeting ..... Friday, 12:30 p.m.

## **STATELESS NATIONS COLLOQUIA AND SYMPOSIA**

Vatro Murvar, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*, Program Organizer

Panel 1. Stateless Nations Compared ..... Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Ghada Talhami, *Lake Forest College*

Papers: "Eritrean Revolution: A Submerged Nation"  
Ghada Talhami, *Lake Forest College*

"Crimean Tatars: A Stateless Nation"  
Ghulam M. Haniff, *St. Cloud University*

"The Submerged Nation of Kurdistan"  
Charles M. Benjamin, *Bethel College*

Panel 2. Stateless Nations Compared ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Chair: Charles Powell, *University of Southern California*

Papers: "Kosovo: An Interesting Comparison"  
Arshi Pipa, *University of Minnesota*

"Scots: A Submerged Nation?"  
Charles Powell, *University of Southern California*

## **STUDY GROUP ON POLITICAL INFORMATION PROCESSING**

John C. Wahlke, *University of Arizona*, Program Organizer

Workshop. Computational Modes of Political

Decision Making ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Presenter: Stuart J. Thorson, *Syracuse University*

## **TULANE UNIVERSITY**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**

Reception for friends and alumni of the Department  
of Government and Foreign Affairs ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN SAINT LOUIS**

Nightcap reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 10:30 p.m.

## **WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION**

Executive Council and Program Committee Meeting ..... Friday, 5:30 p.m.

## **UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON**

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## **WOMEN'S CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Rita Mae Kelly, *Arizona State University*, Program Organizer

Business Meeting 1 ..... Friday, 7:30 a.m.

Business Meeting 2 ..... Saturday, 7:30 a.m.

Panel 1. Women, Violence and the  
Political System ..... Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Judith Stiehm, *University of Southern California*

Papers: "Sexual Abuse, Fear of Sexual Abuse, and Political Behavior"  
Steven A. Peterson and Bettina Franzese, *Alfred University*

"Family Violence, Feminist Strategies, and Parliament in  
Nineteenth Century England"  
Mary L. Shanley, *Vassar College*

"Militarization: Its Impact on Women"  
Mary Lou Kendrigan, *Michigan State University*

Panel 2. Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity:  
Justice, Equity or Policy Failure ..... Thursday, 8:45 a.m.

Co-sponsored by Caucus for a New Political Science.

Chair: Joyce M. Mitchell, *Eugene, Oregon*

Papers: "Affirmative Action, Equal Opportunity and the  
Problem of Intent"

Gayle Binion, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

"Judicial Aspects of Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity"  
Charles M. Lamb, *SUNY at Buffalo*

"The Gender Factor: Criteria for Success or Failure"  
Mary Thornberry, *Davidson College*

Disc.: Ann Matasar, *Roosevelt University*

Panel 3. The Epistemological Foundations of Research  
on Women and Politics ..... Thursday, 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Maria J. Falco, *Loyola University*

Papers: "Epistemology, Social Change, and Women and Politics"  
Rita Mae Kelly, *Arizona State University*

"The Epistemological Challenge of French Theoretical Feminism"

Patrice McDermott, *Carter Presidential Materials Projects*

"Male-Ordered Politics: Feminism and Political Science"

Kathy E. Ferguson, *Siena College*

"Hermeneutics: Problems and Promises for Doing Feminist Theory"

Eloise Buker, *Gonzaga University*

Disc.: Diane Fowikes, *Georgia State University*  
Mary Hawkesworth, *University of Louisville*

Panel 4. Negotiating for Retirement:

Gender and Other Issues ..... Friday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession  
and Caucus for a New Political Science. See "Daily Listing of Official  
Program" for details.

Panel 5. The 1984 Elections and the  
Ferraro Factor ..... Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by Caucus for a New Political Science.

Chair: Barbara Farah, *New York Times*

Panel 6. Roundtable on Incorporating Materials  
on Women and Politics in Textbooks ..... Friday, 3:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession.  
See "Daily Listing of Official Program" for details.

Panel 7. The Difference Women Make  
in the Legislative Process ..... Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Marianne Githens, *Goucher College*

Panel 8. A Global Look at the Political  
Role of Women ..... Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by the American Political Science Association.  
See Panel 12-11 in the "Daily Listing of Official Program" for details.

Panel 9. The Interdependence of Gender, Race and  
Class in American Politics ..... Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

Co-sponsored by the American Political Science Association and Caucus for  
a New Political Science. See Panel 12-9 in the "Daily Listing of Official  
Program" for details.

Reception 1 ..... Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

Reception 2 ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

## YALE UNIVERSITY

Reception for friends and alumni of the  
Department of Political Science ..... Friday, 6:30 p.m.

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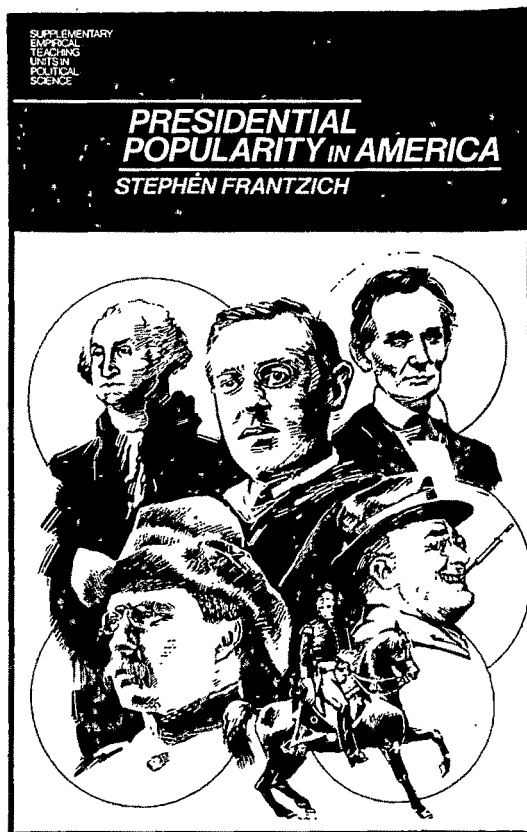
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## 81st Annual Meeting August 29-September 1, 1985

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2. Those pre-registering to attend the meeting have until **August 1, 1985** to send in their form and check. Any pre-registration forms received after August 1 will be returned to the sender, who must then register at the meeting.

3. Pre-registration cards sent to APSA without a check will be returned.

4. A participant who pre-registers and then must withdraw from the Meeting will receive a refund if one is requested in writing before August 1. No requests for refunds will be accepted after August 1.

5. Upon receipt of pre-registration and remittance, APSA will send to the participant a registration badge and receipt for the fee.

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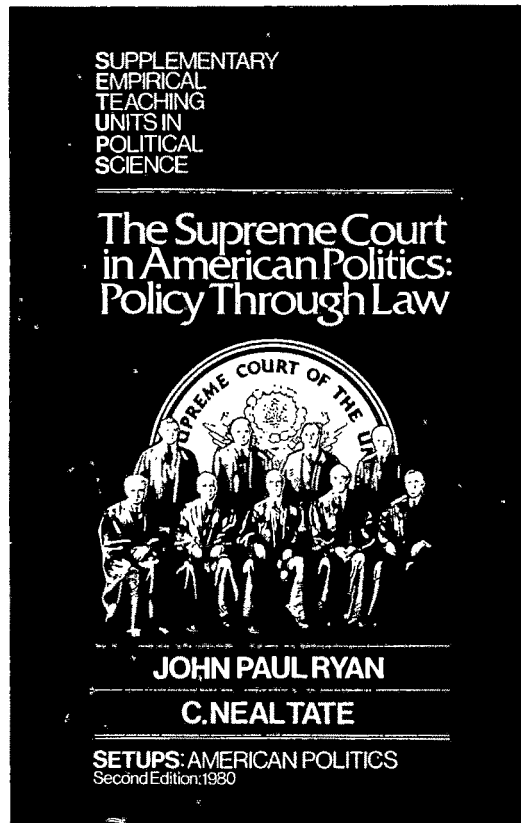
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A file of applicants seeking employment will be available for review by employers, and descriptions of position openings will be made available to applicants. Adequate facilities for personal interview will be provided.

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Starting on Thursday, August 29, the service will be available daily in the New Orleans Hilton. The hours will be 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m., except for the last day of the meeting, Sunday, September 1, when the hours will be from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Snacks will be available for the children.

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The Association will again provide a roommate matching service for Annual Meeting participants who wish to share the cost of a hotel room with another person at the New Orleans Hilton and therefore be able to split the cost for a double room.

To participate, you should fill out the form below and your hotel reservation form in this issue of *PS*. Be sure to include expected date and time of arrival and departure on your hotel reservation form. Then send your completed roommate form and hotel reservation form to APSA (*not* to the hotel).

As soon as your reservation with the hotel is confirmed, APSA will notify you that the room is confirmed and will give you the name of your roommate. Once you receive a room confirmation from APSA, you and your roommate will be responsible for any costs incurred. Any subsequent changes in your plans should be directly coordinated with your roommate and the New Orleans Hilton.

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Title or rank \_\_\_\_\_

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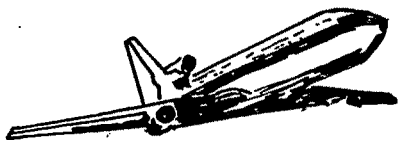
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Volume XVIII Number 3

*In this issue . . .*

**Gerrymandering:  
Political Science Goes to Court**

Bernard Grofman, Guest Editor

Bruce Cain

Gordon Baker

Nelson W. Polsby

*Also . . .*

Dina Zinnes on Editing the *APSR*

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**Summer 1985 Volume XVIII Number 3**

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## Editor's Corner

Political Science Goes to Court arises from a discussion Bernard Grofman and I had last summer over lunch about ideas for *PS*. I had known Bernie primarily as the conduit for manuscripts from the reclusive *PS* author A Wuffle.

We agreed that an issue on reapportionment and specifically the role of political scientists as expert witnesses in the courts would have broad appeal to our readership. The California case of *Badham v. Eu* provides the perfect vehicle. The late, politically savvy Philip Burton was said to have fashioned California's congressional district lines on the back of an envelope with the apparent result—upon adoption by the State of California—of adding at least six new Democratic seats to the congressional delegation. Cries of "We were robbed!" were heard from Republicans throughout the country and the case has been brought to court.

Does California's congressional reapportionment constitute an unconstitutional gerrymander? Who better to ask than political scientists?

Four political scientists have been called upon to serve as expert witnesses in *Bad-*

*ham v. Eu*: Grofman and Gordon Baker whose declarations support the arguments of the plaintiffs, and Nelson W. Polsby and Bruce Cain who warn that elimination of the gerrymander is unwise even if it were possible.

After a useful introduction by Grofman, excerpts of the declarations of the four political scientists appear. Our purpose is to give readers a taste of the memoranda submitted. Because space is limited, much has been omitted, including some material which is referenced but not presented in the declarations. We have performed minimal editing to be faithful to the original text.

Guest editor Grofman has been scrupulous in separating his work as editor from that as a party in the case, as you will see. He also convinced A Wuffle to write an addendum to the symposium to evaluate the techniques used by the expert witnesses and to provide some lessons for use by other political scientists who venture into the courts as expert witnesses.

Catherine Rudder

## Letter to the Editor

### Mary Lepper Memorial Fund

We are organizing a Memorial Fund for Mary Lepper to provide awards or scholarships for women graduate students in political science.

Mary Lepper, whose service to women in higher education and particularly in political science, spanned more than a decade, died in June 1984 at the age of 54. She had been on the faculty of Syracuse, San Jose State, George Mason, North Carolina, California State Fullerton, and Southern Colorado University. She served as associate director of the U.S. Civil Service Commission's Executive Seminar Center and taught at the Federal Executive Institute in Virginia. Between 1973 and 1978 she was director of the Higher Education Division and special assistant to the director, Office of Civil Rights, HEW. She was active in many professional organizations, was elected president of ISA, West, and authored *Foreign Policy Formulation* and articles on affirmative action.

Mary's professional career is especially notable for bridging the academic and policy-making realms with distinction,

and for an intense commitment to civil rights and women's issues. She played an instrumental role in founding and supporting several associations of women political scientists including the national Women's Caucus for Political Science, WPSA's Committee on the Status of Women, the Women's Committee of ASPA, and the Bay Area Women in Political Science. Many students and colleagues owe their careers and involvement in professional organizations to her unstinting personal attention, encouragement, and generosity. Mary's courageous, thoughtful, supportive role in the development of many political scientists and public administrators has made a lasting contribution.

Those wishing to make contributions or pledges to the fund should make checks payable to the Women's Caucus for Political Science, Mary Lepper Fund. Receipts will be sent after WCPS has obtained tax-exempt status.

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Editor's Introduction

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Excerpts from First Declaration in *Badham v. Eu*

Gordon Baker  
Excerpts from Declaration in *Badham v. Eu*

Bruce Cain  
Excerpts from Declaration in *Badham v. Eu*

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Declaration in *Badham v. Eu*

Bernard Grofman  
Excerpts from Second Declaration in *Badham v. Eu*

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Postscript

A Wuffle  
Expert Versus Expert: Lessons from *Badham v. Eu*

# Editor's Introduction

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## I. Introduction

This minisymposium brings together excerpts from the expert witness declarations of four political scientists in an important case challenging California's congressional reapportionment as an unconstitutional political gerrymander, *Badham v. Eu* (D.C. California, 1984).<sup>1,2</sup> These declarations are merely the "opening gun" in *Badham*. If the case goes to trial, we can anticipate additional statistical analyses will be performed and, of course, each of these experts would be subject to cross-examination about his testimony. Nonetheless, these four declarations represent an excellent illustration of the potential for political science (and political scientists) to be helpful to (even if not determinative of) judicial decision-making in an important policy arena.

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<sup>1</sup>Additional declarations from other political scientists and from past or present members of Congress and the state legislature were also filed in *Badham*. The four declarations chosen for excerpting, two on each side (Gordon Baker and Bernard Grofman for the Republican plaintiffs and Bruce Cain and Nelson Polsby for the Democrats (the State of California)), encompass the full range of issues considered in the case. Each author was allowed to pick the excerpts from his own declaration(s), subject to a space limitation, and/or to write new material including reflections on the case and on the testimony offered by the political scientists in it. Only Professor Baker took up this invitation to write a postscript to the material he prepared for trial.

<sup>2</sup>Each of these political scientists has written extensively on redistricting and related issues:

Gordon Baker is professor of political science, University of California, Santa Barbara. His books include *The Reapportionment Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1966), and he has served as consultant to the Special Masters appointed by the California Supreme Court in 1973 to redistrict the state's legislative and congressional districts. His most recent article on reapportionment is "Whatever Happened to the Reapportionment Revolution?" in B. Grofman and A. Lijphart (Eds.), *Electoral Law and Their Political Consequences* (Agathon, 1985, forthcoming).

Bruce Cain, associate professor of political science, California Institute of Technology, is author of *The Reapportionment Puzzle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) and was a special consultant to the California General Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee in 1981. (He did not, however, have any responsibility for the drafting of the *congressional* plans in California.) His most recent article on reapportionment is a forthcoming comment in the *UCLA Law Review* (October 1985).

Bernard Grofman, professor of political science and social psychology, University of California, Irvine, is co-editor (along with Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay and Howard Scarrow) of *Representation and Redistricting Issues*. He has served as an expert witness or court appointed consultant in legislative or congressional litigation in nine states and in cases involving local jurisdictions in several other states. His most recent publication on reapportionment is "Criteria for Districting: A Social Science Perspective" (*UCLA Law Review*, October 1985).

Nelson W. Polsby is professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley. Among his many books is the edited volume *Reapportionment in the 1970's* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Polsby has written numerous books and articles on presidential elections, the U.S. Congress, electoral politics in Britain, community power and various public policy issues.

The basic issues raised by *Badham* are as follows:

What is a gerrymander?<sup>3</sup> Are there manageable standards through which political gerrymandering can be detected and measured? Is there (prima facie) evidence giving rise to a (rebuttable) presumption that the California congressional plans in 1981 and 1983 were political gerrymandering? Ought political gerrymandering to be justiciable? If so, did the degree of political manipulation in the California congressional plan(s)<sup>4</sup> rise to the level of constitutional violation? If political gerrymandering is held justiciable, on whom should the burden of proof of gerrymandering rest?<sup>5</sup>

In addressing these issues, the political scientists in *Badham* debated normative, methodological, and empirical questions ranging from "What is the proper role of the courts in our federal system?" to "What is an appropriate research methodology to measure gerrymandering?" and "Is it possible to tell when a California congressional district is politically competitive?" and "Are the 1981 and 1983 congressional plans substantively identical in their partisan impact?" to minutiae such as "Was Congressman Clausen's new district more favorable or less favorable to his election chances than his old one?" and "When did Congressman Dornan decide not to seek reelection—before or after it became clear that his old district was going to be dismembered?" Over a dozen maps and dozens of tables and graphs were introduced as part of the expert witness declarations. Because of space considerations only a small portion of that material could be reproduced here.

The purposes of this minisymposium are (a) to make available to the broader political science community some good examples of applied political science research which show the ways in which normative, factual, and measurement issues are intertwined, (b) to offer information about an important policy question now before the courts—the justiciability of political gerrymandering, and (c) to illustrate the increased role of political science testimony in legal disputes, especially those involving class action suits addressing fundamental constitutional rights.

## II. Social Science in Court

Beginning with *Baker v. Carr*, political scientists played an important role in reapportionment litigation<sup>6</sup> and political scientists now regularly testify in voting rights cases, e.g., those involving challenge to multimember district plans or at-large elections.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup>For example, is a gerrymander to be known by the intent of its designers or its (probable) political effects?

<sup>4</sup>*Badham* is complicated by the fact that the 1981 congressional plan passed by the California legislature which was used in the 1982 elections was rejected by voter referendum and a "new" plan was passed in 1983 and took effect in 1984. How different the new plan (AB2X) is from the old plan (AB301) is one of the issues at dispute in the lawsuit since it affects the extent to which 1982 election results are relevant in judging the effect of AB2X. In the declarations AB2X is generally referred to as Plan II and AB301 as Plan I.

<sup>5</sup>It might seem that the burden should rest on the plaintiffs; but *Justice Stevens* in a concurring opinion in *Karcher v. Daggett* asserted that it was his view that the plaintiffs (once they have established their legitimacy as a harmed class) need only make a prima facie showing of gerrymandering, and then the burden shifts to the state to show that the challenged features of the plan can be justified on the basis of legitimate state purposes (e.g., avoiding racial vote dilution or insuring population equality).

<sup>6</sup>Perhaps the single best instance of this is the critical role of lawyer-political scientist Robert Dixon in *Gaffney v. Cummings*, 412 U.S. 735 (1973). See Gordon E. Baker, "Threading the Political Thicket by Tracing the Steps of the Late Robert G. Dixon, Jr.: An Appraisal and Appreciation." In B. Grofman, et al., *Representation and Redistricting Issues*, op. cit., 21-34.

<sup>7</sup>Areas of testimony included population and related census statistics, compactness standards, analysis of the concentration and dispersion of majority population, measures of racially

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Over the past two decades, it has become increasingly common for social scientists to provide courtroom testimony and affidavits in class action litigation under Section 5 and (more recently) Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as amended in 1982), or under Title VII (employment discrimination) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and in school desegregation suits and other civil rights actions.<sup>8</sup> In addition, social science testimony has been offered on a wide range of other issues including the verdict effects of excluding jurors unwilling to impose the death penalty, standards for deceptive advertising, survey data on trademark infringement, definitions of labor markets, antitrust, reliability of eyewitness testimony, likelihood of recidivism, labor relations disputes, social psychological aspects of environmental safety, and socio-linguistic aspects of taped conversations alleged to be incriminating.<sup>9</sup>

Social scientists testify both from general professional knowledge and about specific research they may have conducted which was commissioned by one of the litigants. While many judges remain skeptical or uncomprehending of statistical and other methodology, in some areas, e.g., Title VII litigation, multivariate regression and even logit and log-linear analyses have been accepted as probative.

Among the factors which may account for the dramatic increase in the use of social science in the courts are (a) the increased regulatory role of government; (b) the increasing quantitative sophistication of the various social sciences; (c) the increased technical complexity of statutory and administrative regulations, which requires "experts" to interpret their "meaning"; (d) the enhanced importance of statutorily sanctioned class action suits; (e) the existence of a new cadre of civil rights attorneys with some training in contemporary social science and in statistics; and (f) the increased willingness of activist judges to draw on social science testimony in writing opinions which advance liberal social causes.<sup>10</sup> In addition, (g) once one side has introduced social science testimony, the other side will almost inevitably do so as well.

All seven of these reasons help to account for the importance of social science testimony in the litigation area which I know best, class action suits brought under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. Here, language in earlier court cases and in the legislative record when the Voting Rights Act was extended and amended in 1982 requires courts to consider factors such as the lingering effects of past discrimination, the extent to which voting is polarized along racial lines, and the presence of racially motivated campaigning tactics. In practice it is simply impossible for courts to

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polarized voting, effects of alternative election methods, identification of neighborhoods and communities of interest, analysis of township and county crossings, analysis of campaigning practices, effects of alternative registration procedures on minority registration and turnout, and delineation of racially competitive districts and/or of districts in which minority voting strength has been submerged.

<sup>8</sup>Introductory references to a vast and burgeoning literature include P. Meier, J. Sacks and S. L. Zabell, "What Happened in *Hazelwood*: Statistics, Employment Discrimination and the 80% Rule," *American Bar Association Journal* (Winter 1984), 139-186; D. Baldus and J. W. L. Cole, *Statistical Proof of Discrimination* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Shepards, 1980); Sanders, et al., "The Relevance of Irrelevant Testimony: Why Lawyers Use Social Science Experts in School Desegregation Cases," *Law and Society Review*, Vol. 16 (1982); David Lopus, "The Numbers Game Is the Only Game in Town," *Howard Law Journal*, Vol. 20 (1977), 374-418; and Bernard Grofman, Michael Migalski and Nicholas Noviello, "The 'Totality of Circumstances' Test in Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act: A Social Science Perspective," *Law and Policy* (April 1985).

<sup>9</sup>For a very useful review see M. Saks and C. Baron (Eds.), *The Use, Nonuse and Misuse of Applied Social Science in the Courts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, 1980).

<sup>10</sup>A focus on rights defined in terms of outcomes rather than processes has also been suggested as a factor, since analysis of outcomes often requires sophisticated statistical techniques for causal inference. I was reminded of this point by Jonathan Pool (personal communication, May 27, 1985).



evaluate these factors without hearing testimony from sociologists or political scientists.<sup>11</sup> As a result, Section 2 cases are replete with testimony from social scientists — often conflicting testimony<sup>12</sup> — on just these points, and a number of political scientists have established a consulting career testifying on behalf of the NAACP Legal Defense or MALDEF or some similar organization against local jurisdictions accused of Section 2 violation, while a few political scientists have established an even more lucrative consulting practice testifying in defense of such local jurisdictions in Section 2 cases in the South and Southwest.<sup>13</sup>

### III. Political Gerrymandering

Intentional *racial* gerrymandering has been held to be prohibited by the 14th Amendment (see, e.g., *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 364 U.S. 339 (1960) and *Rogers v. Lodge*, 458 U.S. 613 (1982)), and districting which has the effect of diluting minority voting strength is prohibited by the new (1982) language of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. Even though racial gerrymandering has long been held to be justiciable, federal (and state) courts, concerned to avoid at least the thorniest part of the political ticket which Justice Frankfurter warned about, in the two decades since *Baker* have by and large refused to deal with allegations of *political* gerrymandering. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s courts have held political gerrymandering in single member districts to be nonjusticiable<sup>14</sup> although the door to holding political gerrymandering in *multimember* districts to be justiciable was left open.<sup>15</sup>

A 1983 case heard before the Supreme Court suggested that the legal status of political gerrymandering might be about to change. Various of the opinions in *Karcher v. Daggett*, 103 S. Ct. 2653 (1983), a suit challenging population discrepancies in New Jersey's congressional districts, indicated that a number of Supreme Court Justices had come to believe that reliance on a numerical "one person one vote" standard could not guarantee the "fair and effective representation" whose achievement was the justification for the Court's intervention in the redistricting arena in the first place.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, Justice Stevens' concurring opinion in *Karcher* and Justice Powell's separate dissenting opinion in that case argued explicitly for the desirability of judicial review of political gerrymandering. In particular, Justice Stevens provided a

<sup>11</sup>See Grofman, Migalski and Noviello, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup>See, e.g., the discussion of competing definitions of racially polarized voting in B. Grofman, "Criteria for Districting: A Social Science Perspective," *op. cit.* What is the appropriate definition of racially polarized voting, a social science question if there ever was one, will be an issue directly before the U.S. Supreme Court this October term in the North Carolina Section 2 case, *Edmisten v. Gingles* (D.C. N.C. 1984). The definition used by the district court in that case was one proffered to them by one of the expert witnesses in the case (myself).

<sup>13</sup>In Section 2, as in many other areas of social science courtroom testimony, it appears that, with rare exceptions, experts testify exclusively for plaintiffs or exclusively for defendants. In part this may occur because, as Richard Lampert (professor of law, University of Michigan, personal communication, 1981) once succinctly put it, "It is probably more common for experts to be paid because of the positions they espouse than for the experts to espouse positions because they are paid." All four experts whose declarations we have excerpted identify with the Democratic party. Cain and Polsby in their previously published work have strongly rejected the notion that political gerrymandering should be justiciable. Baker and Grofman, on the other hand, had in previously published work endorsed the justiciability of political gerrymandering.

<sup>14</sup>See, e.g., *Jimenez v. Hidalgo County Water Improvement District No. 2*, 68 F.R.D. 668 (S.D. Texas 1975), *aff'd mem* 424 U.S. 950 (1976); *WMCA, Inc. v. Lomenzo*, 238 F. Supp. 916 (S.D. N.Y.) *aff'd* 328 U.S. 4 (1965) (per curiam); *Cousins v. City Council of City of Chicago*, 466 F.2d 830, 844 (7th Cir.) *cert. denied* 409 U.S. 893 (1972).

<sup>15</sup>See esp. *Whitcomb v. Chavis*, 403 U.S. 124 at 143-144 (1971).

<sup>16</sup>377 U.S. 533 at 565-566 (1964).

detailed discussion of appropriate criteria to test for the presence of intentional political gerrymandering.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, some remarks in the opinion of Justice White in *Karcher* (an opinion which was joined by Chief Justice Burger and Justice Rehnquist) were interpreted by many scholars (myself included) to imply that there were five potential votes on the Court in favor of the justiciability of political gerrymandering.<sup>18</sup>

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Two suits were brought in federal district courts in the 1980s challenging state or congressional districting plans on political gerrymandering grounds, one brought by Republicans in a state controlled by Democrats, California (*Badham*), and one brought by Democrats in a state controlled by Republicans, Indiana (*Bandemer v. Davis*).<sup>19</sup> For a time, it was uncertain which of the two cases would first go to trial, but for a variety of rather esoteric legal reasons *Badham* has not yet been heard, while *Bandemer* was decided in favor of the Democratic plaintiffs in 1984 and is now scheduled to be heard on appeal (under the name *Davis v. Bandemer*) by the U.S. Supreme Court in its fall term this year.<sup>20,21</sup>

The *Bandemer* court was largely guided by the views of Justice Stevens in his concurring opinion in *Karcher*. Justice Stevens enunciated three elements that a claim of unconstitutional gerrymandering must satisfy before that claim ought to be considered justiciable. Plaintiffs must provide:

- (1) a demonstration that they "belong to a politically salient class . . . whose geographical distribution is sufficiently ascertainable that it could have been taken into account into drawing district boundaries."

<sup>17</sup>Justice Stevens' opinion in *Karcher* drew extensively on work by political scientists, in particular on Charles Backstrom, Leonard Robins and Scott Eller, "Issues in Gerrymandering: An Exploratory Measure of Partisan Gerrymandering Applied to Minnesota," *Minnesota Law Review*, Vol. 62 (1978), 1121-1159.

<sup>18</sup>I have modified this optimism about the probability of political gerrymandering being held unconstitutional in the light of Justice White's recent expressed position in a subsequent motion for a stay of a lower court order in *Karcher* 104 S. Ct. 1691 at 1696-97 (1984).

<sup>19</sup>Indiana's legislative plans were also challenged on Section 2 grounds in *Indiana Branches of the NAACP v. Orr* (D.C. Indiana 1984), a case which was consolidated for trial with *Bandemer*, and in which plaintiffs lost. I testified for the State of Indiana in both cases, but my testimony in *Bandemer* did not reach a conclusion as to the merits of the allegation of political gerrymandering. In the Section 2 litigation, however, I testified that Indiana's legislative plans did not have a racially vote dilutive effect. The district court's judgment in the Section 2 case that there was no Section 2 violation is not being appealed by the NAACP.

<sup>20</sup>The declarations in *Badham* excerpted in this minisymposium were filed prior to the decision of the *Bandemer* court but after the decision in *Karcher*.

<sup>21</sup>Litigation about political gerrymandering makes for strange bedfellows. The California Democratic Congressional Delegation has filed an Amicus Brief supporting the Indiana Republicans in *Bandemer*. (If Indiana's legislative plan is held to be unconstitutional, it's hard to imagine that California's congressional plan won't also fall.) The Republican National Committee has filed an Amicus Brief in support of the *Bandemer* holding that gerrymandering is justiciable. (Most state legislatures are under Democratic control.) The Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) has filed an Amicus urging that *Bandemer* be reversed. (An undue emphasis on district compactness as a key indicia of political gerrymandering is perceived to have unfavorable political consequences for the geographically diffused Hispanic population.)

- (2) a demonstration that "in relevant district or districts or in the state as a whole, their proportionate voting influence has been adversely affected by the challenged scheme."
- (3) "a prima facie showing that raises a rebuttable presumption of discrimination."

By a 2-1 majority, the *Bandemer* court held that this threefold test had been met. The Court majority further concluded that defendants had failed to provide acceptable justifications for deviations from compactness (which the court regarded as severe) and asserted that the districts, especially those in the House, were drawn with "little apparent emphasis on 'community of interest.'" Also, the plan's origins were characterized as "fiercely competitive and unashamedly partisan," and the majority party was held to have been motivated to "insulate itself from risk of losing control of the General Assembly."

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Perhaps the most controversial element of the *Bandemer* majority's reasoning, other than its striking reversal of long-standing precedents that political gerrymandering was not justiciable, was its reliance on a measure of the discrepancy between the vote share received by the Democrats and their share of legislative seats (in the Indiana House, 51.9% of the statewide votes for House members but only 43% of the (100) seats; in the Indiana Senate 53.1% of the statewide votes for state senators but only 52% of the (25) seats up for election in that year) as a direct measure of gerrymandering impact. For example, the dissenting judge in *Bandemer*, rather stingingly asserted that "a comparison between the percentage of Democratic votes cast statewide for legislative candidates and the number of seats actually won, standing alone, fails to prove dilution." Judge Pell then went on to recalculate the seats-vote discrepancy, using a methodology which he claimed was supported by the expert opinion (Backstrom, Robins and Eller, *op. cit.*) cited approvingly by Justice Stevens in *Karcher*, and then asserted that, under those calculations (46% of the votes (not 51.9%) versus 43% of the seats) the plaintiffs have failed to demonstrate that "they have suffered vote dilution." Moreover, in the Indiana Senate, with only 25 seats being contested, 52.0% of the seats (13 of 25) was as close to perfect proportionality with 53.2% of the votes as could mathematically be achieved.

In the space here I cannot do justice to a full treatment of the issues in *Bandemer*, a decision which I do not regard as well-reasoned. The forthcoming October 1985 issue of the *UCLA Law Review*, with articles by Richard Niemi, Daniel Lowenstein and Jonathan Steinberg, and myself, and comments by Bruce Cain and Martin Shapiro among others, will deal with districting criteria in general and partisan gerrymandering and the *Bandemer* opinion in particular, and I refer the reader to those articles for much more extensive analysis. The district court decision in *Bandemer* does not moot the relevance of the *Badham* declarations. They remain among the most sophisticated analyses of the political gerrymandering issue written to date. Because *Bandemer* fails to provide definitive legal standards for defining and measuring gerrymandering, if political gerrymandering is held justiciable by the Supreme Court, then *Badham* will probably be the next of many cases to be heard and, unlike *Bandemer*, it is likely to be a case in which political science testimony will play a critical role—and one which I believe will be helpful in clarifying both the factual and the methodological issues with which federal district courts must cope if intelligent judgments about allegations of political gerrymandering are to be reached.

## **Excerpts from First Declaration of Bernard Grofman in *Badham v. Eu***

I, Bernard Grofman, declare:

1. I am a professor of political science at the University of California, Irvine.

... I am thoroughly familiar with the congressional districts delineated in Assembly Bill 2X as implemented with the so-called March 17, Technical Changes. The congressional districts of A.B. 2X (Plan II, passed in 1983) as implemented constitute an egregious form of partisan gerrymandering.

### **Methods of Gerrymandering**

Gerrymandering is a technique which operates to minimize or cancel out the voting strength of racial or political elements of the voting population by one or more of the following twelve methods:

- (1) Packing the voting strength of a group to insure that much of its voting strength is wasted in districts which are won by lop-sided margins—in particular, packing its strength to a greater extent than is true for the voting strength of the group controlling the district.
- (2) Fragmenting or submerging the voting strength of a group to create districts in which that group will constitute a permanent (or near certain) minority.
- (3) Reducing the re-election likelihood of some of a group's representatives by altering district boundaries to put two or more representatives from the group into the same district.
- (4) Reducing the re-election likelihood of some of a group's representatives by altering district boundaries to cut-up old districts so as to make it impossible for these representatives to continue to represent the bulk of their former constituents.
- (5) Reducing the (re)election likelihood of group representatives in previously marginal/competitive seats by, wherever practicable, reducing the group's voting strength in these seats.
- (6) Enhancing the re-election likelihood of representatives of the group in control of the redistricting process by preserving old district lines for those representatives to the greatest extent practicable, so as to benefit from name-recognition and other advantages of incumbency status such as previous campaign organizations and personal-contact networks.
- (7) Enhancing the re-election likelihood of representatives of the group in control of the redistricting process by manipulating district boundaries to shore-up the controlling group's voting strength in previously marginal/competitive seats wherever practicable.
- (8) Manipulating district boundaries so as to create an advantage in the open seats (i.e., seats with no incumbent running) for the group controlling the districting.
- (9) Unnecessarily disregarding compactness standards in drawing district lines.
- (10) Unnecessarily disregarding city, town, and county boundaries in drawing district lines.
- (11) Unnecessarily disregarding communities of interest in drawing district lines.
- (12) Unnecessarily disregarding equal population standards in drawing district lines.

In devising congressional districts in 1981 (Plan I) and in 1983 (Plan II) there is clear prima facie evidence that the Democratic majorities in the California Senate and

Assembly made use of the first 11 of these 12 methods to gerrymander to dilute Republican voting strength.<sup>1</sup>

*Three Main Factors Demonstrate the Gerrymander:*

- A. tortuously shaped districts (see Map I [Map I omitted]);
- B. the decimation of (1980) Republican incumbents; and
- C. the large discrepancy between the votes received by Democratic congressional candidates (51.6%) and the proportion of seats won by Democrats in the 1982 congressional election (62.2%).

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*The 22 Democratic incumbents in 1980 were virtually assured re-election in 1982. Of the 21 who ran, 21 were elected. . . . The fate of 1980 Republican incumbents . . . was quite different.*

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In addition there is evidence pointing to the manipulation of district lines for partisan political purpose.

Plan II also insulates California's congressional representatives from public opinion and virtually eliminates the possibility of change through the electoral process, because only a handful of the districts it creates are open to political competition. Plan II's lock-in of Plan I's pattern of Democratic control via "safe" seats for both Democratic and Republican (1982) incumbents gives rise to an absence of competition that violates the norm that representation should be responsive to voter choices and

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<sup>1</sup>In my view "what defines a gerrymander is the fact that some group or groups (e.g., a given political party or a given racial/linguistic group) is discriminated against compared to one or more other groups in that a greater number of votes is needed for the former to achieve a given proportion of legislative seats than is true for the latter, and this bias is not one that can be attributed solely to the differing degree of geographic concentration among the groups" (Bernard Grofman and Howard Scarrow, "Current Issues in Reapportionment," *Law and Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1982), 435-474). This is another way of saying that gerrymandering exists when votes are not accorded the same weight.

I believe that districting is inherently political and that the notion of blindfolded districting paying no attention to political outcome but only looking at formal guidelines such as compactness or equal population is fundamentally misguided. I also believe that when legislatures are controlled by what Professor David Mayhew of Yale University (David R. Mayhew, "Congressional Representation: Theory and Practice in Drawing the Districts," in Nelson Polsby (Ed.), *Reapportionment in the 1970s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971)) has so aptly called "partisan lust," it is both appropriate and necessary for courts to assure effective representation to all citizens (see also Robert G. Dixon, *Democratic Representation and Reapportionment in Law and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), and "Fair Criteria and Procedures for Establishing Legislative Districts" in *Policy Studies Journal*, Special Issue on Reapportionment, Vol. 9, No. 6 (April 1981), 839-850, reprinted in B. Grofman, A. Lijphart, R. MacKay and H. Scarrow (Eds.), *Representation and Redistricting Issues* (1982), 7-19; and Richard G. Niemi and John Deegan, Jr., "Competition, Responsiveness and the Swing Ratio," *American Political Science Review* (1978); Gordon E. Baker, *The Reapportionment Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1966; Bernard Grofman, "For Single Member Districts Random Is Not Equal," in B. Grofman, A. Lijphart, R. MacKay, and H. Scarrow (Eds.), *Representation and Redistricting Issues* (1982), 55-58).

Like Justice White and Justice Stevens (in *Karcher*), my research on reapportionment equality is an inadequate method of judging the constitutionality of a reapportionment plan," and that an "obvious gerrymander" should not be "wholly immune from attack simply because it comes closer to perfect population equality than every competing plan."

should be free to change over time in accord with the wishes of the electorate.<sup>2</sup> It denies to all voters the opportunity to exercise an effective franchise.

### A. Packing and Fragmentation of Republican Voting Strength

In the 1982 election held under Plan I, Democrats came to control the congressional delegation 28-17 (compared to a 22-21 split in 1980 under a districting plan prepared by the California Supreme Court in 1973). The districts created in Plan I and Plan II, except for a handful of marginal/competitive districts, are ones in which the present incumbents (or others of the same party) are virtually unbeatable. (By a marginal seat we mean a district which was won with less than 55% of the vote. In 1982 these were Districts 1, 6, 17, 30, 36, and 38.) They insure that, in a state which is overall highly competitive, a Democrat majority in the congressional delegation is guaranteed for the rest of the decade.

This guaranteed Democratic control of the California congressional delegation was achieved by distributing Republican vote strength so as to dilute it. Both parties have safe seats which submerge opposition voting strength and both parties waste votes in winning a number of packed seats by lop-sided margins, *but the net advantage is to the Democrats*. The Democratic advantage was created by freezing party control in 39 safe seats (including all of the newly created (open) seats)—seats which are disproportionately safe for Democrats by a 23-16 edge—and by creating only six marginal districts—which are also disproportionately favorable to the Democrats (currently 5-1 in Democratic hands, see Table F (omitted)). The 28 Democrats in 1982 won their seats with an average of 64.2% per seat while the Republicans won their seats by an average of 66.5% per seat (data shown in Tables B and E (omitted)).<sup>3</sup> These average victory margins indicate an absence of political competition. The six seats identified in Table F are the only ones which are at all likely to change hands, as the vote margins shown in Tables B and E (omitted) make clear.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, even of these six marginal seats, given the party registration figures (see Table F (omitted)), Republicans are very unlikely to pick up more than three (i.e., two more than they presently have: District 1 and District 38). Thus, even in a year of a solid Republican statewide sweep, thanks to the Democrats' skillful gerrymandering, the congressional delegation should remain with at least a 26-19 Democratic edge. Indeed, even if all

<sup>2</sup>Richard G. Niemi and John Deegan, Jr., "Competition, Responsiveness and the Swing Ratio," *American Political Science Review* (1978), 1304.

<sup>3</sup>This difference must be understood in context of the reduction of Republican seats from 21 in 1980 to 17 in 1982. As Cain (Bruce Cain, "Assessing the Partisan Effects of Redistricting," Social Sciences Working Paper 491, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology, September 1983: 5) trenchantly puts it, "The key then to the partisan gerrymander is that incumbents in the party controlling redistricting will be treated differently from those in the party that does not. The average level of electoral safety might actually increase more among incumbents in the non-controlling party than among those in the controlling party since greater safety is a by-product of higher electoral inefficiency." Indeed, "If one were to consider the average gain or loss of incumbents by party, one might mistakenly conclude that the non-controlling party was better off. The point is that many of the individual incumbents in the noncontrolling party will be better off, but if the gerrymander is effective, the party as a whole will be worse off." It is important to realize that in California a combination of "partisan reconstruction" (i.e., changes in the distribution of partisan registration across districts) and "the artful removal of inconveniently placed [Republican] incumbents" was used to alter the seat distribution and make the majority party more "efficiently distributed" than the minority party (Cain, 1983: 35).

<sup>4</sup>Dellums (Dist.-8) may be vulnerable, but that is doubtful given his 56% success against a very well-financed Republican challenger in 1982. Moreover, the district is overwhelmingly Democratic in registration (a 34.8 percentage point Democratic registration edge in 1982) and has been made marginally more so in Plan II.

six of the marginal seats in Plan II simultaneously went Republican (rather than as is now true, having only one marginal seat, District 17, in Republican hands), the delegation would remain with a Democratic majority.

The way in which Plan I and Plan II create a Democratic partisan advantage can also be shown by looking at registration figures in Plan I and Plan II versus registration in the 1980 districts. We can see from Figure 1 (omitted) that *Republican votes are more packed into safe seats in Burton I and Burton II than they were in 1980* (the Plan I (black dashed) line and the Plan II (black dotted) line are both to the left of the 1980 (red) line in the left (overwhelmingly Republican) part of the registration distribution). On the other hand, in the middle part of the registration distribution (where competitive seats may be found) Plan I and Plan II shift the curve to the right, i.e., *makes all the potentially competitive seats more Democratic*.

## **B. Differential Treatment of Republican and Democratic Incumbents**

The 22 Democratic incumbents in 1980 were virtually assured re-election in 1982. Of the 21 who ran, 21 were elected and the one Democrat who chose not to run (J. Burton) did so for reasons unconnected with redistricting in a seat which remained Democratic<sup>5</sup> (see Table 1).

Eighteen of the 21 Democratic incumbents who ran did so from safe seats (victory margins greater than 56%). Indeed the 21 Democratic incumbents who ran and won in 1982 had an *average* victory margin of 66.2%. None of the 21 Democratic 1980 incumbents who ran in 1982 had any other incumbent put in their district.<sup>6</sup> (See Table 2 (omitted); for further details see Tables A and B (omitted).)

The re-election chances of the Democratic incumbents from the three Democratic-won seats that were marginal in 1980 were enhanced in Plan I by adding net Democratic registration to these seats (+9.3 to District 5, which became District 6 in Plan I; +1.0 to D-11; +4.0 to D-36; see Table B (omitted)). Democratic vote margins increased in all three seats in the 1982 elections.

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*By knocking out some Republican incumbents by placing two of them together in the same district or by carving up a district so as to deny the Republican incumbent a constituency to represent, the Democrats . . . were able to achieve an important reduction in Republican strength.*

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The fate of 1980 Republican incumbents in Plan I and Plan II was quite different. Only 15 of the 21 Republican incumbents were permitted to keep their seats with no other incumbent put in their district, and two of these were given districts which were so changed as to make it harder (in the case of Clausen, a Republican in District 2, which became District 1 electing Bosco, a Democrat under Plan I) or impossible (in the case of Dornan, a Republican in District 27, a dramatically changed district which elected Levine, a Democrat, in new District 27) for a Republican to win. The six Republican incumbents from the six other districts won by Republicans in 1980 (20, 21, 22, 26, 33, 35) were placed together in three districts, thus turning six Republican districts into three (see Table 1).

<sup>5</sup>Although a geographically grotesque district but strongly Democratic seat was carved out for him three days before the filing deadline John Burton announced his decision to retire, and the seat was won by a "last minute" Democrat running an underfinanced campaign.

<sup>6</sup>John Burton's former seat also had no incumbent put into it.

Dornan's old District 27 was cut up into a number of pieces, leaving no logical constituency from which he could run. The new District 27 was more than 20 percentage points more Democratic prone in registration than the old 27th; and was easily won by a Democrat (Levine) with 60% of the vote. Dornan decided not to run for Congress again, but to seek other office (Barone and Ujifusa, 1983: 140). Clausen's district (old District 2, became new District 1), already marginal, had net Democratic registration strength added to it, leaving it vulnerable to a Democratic challenge. In 1982 Clausen lost the seat by 51.4-48.6%. (Author's Note: The numbers shown here correct those in the original text.)

Plan II reinforces the lock-in of seats disproportionately in the hands of the Democrats. In Plan II as in Plan I, all but six seats are safe (23 D, 16 R), and four of the six seats that were marginal in 1982 have been made more Democratic than they were in Plan I (although in two cases, only incrementally more so, see Table F). Also, District 30 which is listed in Table F as a marginal seat will probably not remain so. Martinez, who was an incumbent only for a few months, after narrowly winning a special election, was not well established in this district and was running against Rousselot, a well-financed Republican incumbent from another district who had shifted to District 30. Given the strong Democratic registration edge in Martinez' district, in the future this is likely to be a safe Democratic seat, since "it seems unlikely that a Republican will make as great an effort or do as well in future elections as Rousselot did in 1982" (Barone and Ujifusa, 1983: 66).

### C. Partisan Advantage for Democrats in the Open Seats

Although only *two* new congressional seats were given to California in 1982, Plan I managed to create *five* new open seats (seats without incumbents who could run in them). (As noted in the section above, this was done by placing six Republican incumbents into three districts.) Of these five new open seats, four were won by the Democrats. All of these (except possibly for District 34, which is comfortably Democratic) were safe seats in Plan I and remain so in Plan II. (See Table E (omitted) for details.) Thus, in the new open seats the Democrats have assured a 4-1 edge for the rest of the decade.

By knocking out some Republican incumbents by placing two of them together in the same district or by carving up a district so as to deny the Republican incumbent a constituency to represent, the Democrats with Plan I were able to achieve an important reduction in Republican strength. Incumbents in a district (due to name recognition, familiarity with the district, an in-place campaign organization, media access, the franking privilege, and ability to tap campaign funds and other campaigning resources) customarily run ahead of their statewide ticket and of the vote that might be projected on the basis of partisan registration figures alone, i.e., incumbents on average run considerably better than non-incumbents.<sup>7</sup> Cain argues (and I would agree) that "the displacement of incumbents is perhaps even more important to the outcome of the first post-districting election than are many changes in the underlying partisan composition caused by redistricting."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the first post-districting congressional

<sup>7</sup>See, e.g., Robert S. Erikson, "The Advantage of Incumbency in Congressional Elections," *Polity*, Vol. 3 (1971), 395-404; David R. Mayhew, "Congressional Representation: Theory and Practice in Drawing the Districts," in N. Polsby (ed.), *Reapportionment in the 1970s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Morris P. Fiorina, *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); John A. Ferejohn, "On the Decline of Competition in Congressional Elections," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 71 (March 1977), 166-176; Bruce E. Cain, "Assessing the Partisan Effects of Redistricting," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1-4, 1983; Social Science Working Paper 491, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology, September 1978.

<sup>8</sup>Bruce E. Cain, *op. cit.*



election sets in place almost all the incumbents who will play key roles in the delegation—since defeat of congressional incumbents who run for reelection is very rare (Mayhew, 1974).<sup>9</sup>

#### **D. Disregarding of Standards for Redistricting**

While the bizarre district fashioned for John Burton in Plan I is no longer in its original form, even New Jersey's notorious fishhook shaped Congressional District #7 (see Justice Stevens' opinion in *Karcher v. Daggett* for description) can't match California's Congressional District #32 in Plan II for monstrosity and ill-compactness. Moreover District #32 is only one of a number of glaring examples of irregularly shaped districts in Plan II which wander without any rhyme or reason over the California landscape save to pick up (or submerge) pockets of partisan voting strength. Plan II, even more than Plan I, unnecessarily disregards city and county boundaries (see, e.g., Districts 38 and 44 to name but two).

In every part of the state there are congressional districts in which Republican voting strength has been submerged by lines drawn so as to pick up pockets of concentrated Democratic strength to buttress Democratic control of a district; and there are districts in which Republicans have been packed (and their votes wasted) by lines drawn so as to pick up pockets of concentrated Republican strength to remove them from potentially competitive seats.

For example . . . (examples omitted).

[Author's Note: The remaining 23 (typed) pages of the Declaration have been omitted. They contain discussions of compactness of districts, seats-votes relationships, district competitiveness, the virtual identity in partisan terms of the 1981 and 1983 California congressional plans, the feasibility of predicting congressional election outcomes in California and the effects of incumbency advantage, and the application to California of the gerrymandering test proposed by Justice Stevens in *Karcher v. Daggett*. Also omitted from the Declaration were roughly 20 pages of tables, graphs, and maps.]

<sup>9</sup>David R. Mayhew, *op. cit.*

**SUMMARY TABLE 1**  
**Differential Treatment of Republican and Democratic 1980 Incumbents:**  
**Plan I and Plan II\***

**(a) Incumbent Preservation and Incumbent-Seat Preservation**

	Elected in 1980	1980 Incumbent put alone in a district, ran and won that district in 1982	1980 Incumbent put alone in a district but didn't run; seat won by candidate of same party as incumbent <sup>a</sup>
D	22	21	1
R	21	11	2

**(b) Incumbent Disadvantaged**

	Elected in 1980	1980 Incumbent put alone in a district, ran and lost that district in 1982 <sup>b</sup>	1980 Incumbent put alone in a district but didn't run; seat won by candidate of opposite party <sup>c</sup>	1980 Incumbents put together in a district with another incumbent of same party <sup>d</sup>	1980 Incumbents put together in a district with another incumbent of opposite party
D	22	0	0	0	0
R	21	1	1	6	0

**(c) Summary**

*Number of 1980 Incumbents Disadvantaged (or potentially disadvantaged) by Redistricting*

Democratic	Republican
0	8

*Number of 1980 Incumbents Helped (or potentially helped) by Redistricting*

Democratic	Republican
22	13

\*For details see Table A.

<sup>a</sup>For Column 3, Democratic seat is Burton D-5 (becomes D-6), Republican seats are Burgener R-43 and McCloskey R-12.

<sup>b</sup>For Column 2, Republican seat is Clausen R-2 (becomes Bosco D-1).

<sup>c</sup>For Column 3, Republican seat is Dornan R-27. This seat was cut to pieces.

<sup>d</sup>For Column 4, Republican seats are Goldwater R-20 and Fiedler R-21 (becoming Fiedler R-21), Moorhead R-22 and Rousselot R-26 (becoming Moorhead R-22), and Grisham R-33 and Dreier R-35 (becoming Dreier R-33). Goldwater chose to run for another office, Rousselot to change districts. (He ran unsuccessfully against a Democratic incumbent.) Thus, six Republican seats in 1980 were turned into three Republican seats in 1982. [Editor's Note: While Grisham ran against Dreier, the pairing of incumbent residences was Dreier and Lewis.]

## Excerpts from Declaration of Gordon E. Baker in *Badham v. Eu*

I, Gordon E. Baker, declare:

### Gerrymandering: New Dimension

Gerrymandering—the intentional manipulation of legislative boundaries for political advantage—is a venerable practice. Why, then, some might wonder, should we pay greater attention to it at this time? In particular, should judicial inquiry into constitutional issues of fair representation, intense for some two decades, now turn to what may well seem to comprise the heart of the “political thicket”? Throughout this period of reapportionment litigation, federal courts have alluded to the problem, with increasing concern shown by members of the Supreme Court of the United States, about its importance (e.g., *Karcher v. Daggett*, 103 S. Ct. 2653: 1983). Is the time ripe for a direct judicial examination of the gerrymander on constitutional grounds? And, if so, does California comprise an appropriate test case?

Prerequisite to answering such questions are: (1) an understanding of how and why gerrymandering, in magnitude, extent, and impact, has become an essentially new kind of issue rather than a mere extension of a traditional practice; and (2) a need to develop judicially manageable standards of identifying gerrymanders.

Prior to the reapportionment revolution of the 1960s, there existed a variety of constraints that conditioned boundary manipulation. For one thing, a large number of states simply failed to redistrict for several decades, the situation that triggered *Baker v. Carr* (369 U.S. 186: 1962), *Wesberry v. Sanders* (376 U.S. 1: 1964), *et al.* This resulted in great disparities in population among districts, a form of “silent” or “status quo” gerrymander that in practice minimized periodic boundary manipulation. For example, district lines for Congress were typically redrawn only in states—usually a minority—that lost or gained seats.

Even more significant were state constitutional provisions designed to limit gerrymandering. California was an excellent example. Prior to the mid-1960s when requirements of equipopulous districting made them largely obsolete, the California constitution (Art. IV, Sec. 27) contained several prohibitions against boundary manipulation. In forming congressional districts, no county could be divided unless its population entitled it to one or more districts; also, in more populous counties congressional districts had to be composed of compact contiguous Assembly districts (which, in turn, had to meet comparable boundary restrictions). Gerrymandering (of both congressional and Assembly districts) took place, of course, but it was confined almost entirely to Los Angeles County, and even there it was further moderated by some of the constitutional guidelines indicated. (Exhibit A, state map of 1951 congressional districts, omitted here.)

Paradoxically, the recent development of widespread and pervasive gerrymandering is the result of judicial preoccupation in the late 1960s and after with one facet of fair representation—equipopulous districts, increasingly stringent for congressional constituencies. (See *Kirkpatrick v. Preissler*, 394 U.S. 526: 1969; *White v. Weiser*, 412 U.S. 783: 1973; *Karcher v. Daggett*, 103 S. Ct. 2653: 1983.) Moreover, the adaptability of computer technology during the same period of time brought a new degree of sophistication to boundary manipulation. The results were likely to be far more durable than the comparatively crude guess-work that formerly characterized even the more professional efforts at political cartography.

Yet the original aim of representative equality did not rule out some retention of traditional considerations such as the use of local boundaries whenever possible in forming districts. We should not forget the prophetic warning of Chief Justice Earl Warren (a

former governor of California) in 1964: "Indiscriminate districting, without any regard for political subdivisions or natural or historical boundary lines, may be little more than an open invitation to partisan gerrymandering. . ." (*Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 478: 1964).

### **Standards for Limiting Gerrymandering**

Legal attempts to limit gerrymandering were common to other states as in California. Requirements that districts be compact and contiguous developed as the main descriptive guidelines in state constitutions or statutes. In regard to congressional districts, Congress laid down certain minimal standards under Article I, Section 4 of the Constitution permitting it to make or alter the manner of holding elections for representatives. From 1842 through 1911, decennial statutes reapportioning representatives among the states contained specific criteria that by 1911 included contiguity, compact territory, and approximate equality of district populations. In 1929, Congress enacted an "automatic" reapportionment statute establishing formulas to be implemented after each Census by presidential decree (unless Congress passed new or amended legislation). This reform, designed to preclude the kind of congressional inaction that followed the 1920 Census, omitted all previous districting standards, perhaps because they had not been enforced. The only sanction then conceivable was the unlikely course of refusal by the House to seat members elected from improperly drawn districts.

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*Paradoxically, the recent development of widespread and pervasive gerrymandering is the result of judicial preoccupation [since] the late 1960s . . . with one facet of fair representation—equipopulous districts. . .*

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In California there has been a long history of evolving criteria to limit boundary manipulation. Constitutional restraints discussed earlier date from the constitution of 1879. While most of these limitations were effectively undermined by the one person, one vote decisions of the late 1960s, an attempt to preserve their spirit and utility whenever feasible is found in Article XXI, proposed by the legislature and ratified by the voters in 1980. This new article superceded the former provisions of Article IV, much of which had been judicially invalidated. Actually, the new language regarding the formation of districts in some respects is more specific than was the case with the former provisions. In the official state pamphlet sent to all voters, the argument favoring the proposed revision referred to the gerrymandering problem in this language: "From past experience, we know what could happen with next year's reapportionment. Without the restrictions in Proposition 6 California could end up with districts that are confusing, unfair and unrepresentative. Proposition 6 will block forces in the Legislature from gaining unfair dominance by one political party or insuring reelection for particular incumbents" (*California Ballot Pamphlet*, Primary Election, June 3, 1980, p. 22). In addition to providing for decennial readjustment of contiguous single-member districts "of reasonably equal" population, the new amendment\* contained this key provision designed to constrain extremes in boundary manipulation:

. . . (e) The geographical integrity of any city, county, or city and county, or of any geographical region shall be respected to the extent possible without violating the requirements of any subdivision of this section.

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\*Sections from original text summarized herein.

Broadly viewed, these provisions built upon the more specific guidelines developed in 1973 after an impasse between the California legislature and governor resulted in no valid redistricting being enacted after the 1970 Census. The state Supreme Court appointed Special Masters (comprised of three retired state judges) to fashion for the Court's approval new legislative and congressional districts. The Masters held four well-publicized hearings in various parts of the state, consulted expert opinion and literature, and developed guidelines indicated in this relevant portion of their Report:

### **Criteria for Reapportionment**

Having considered the oral and written presentations, pertinent provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution and Statutes of California, the case law expressed in judicial decisions, and authoritative sources in the field of political science, the following are recommended as the criteria to be used in formulating plans for reapportionment of legislative districts in California:

1. As required by the federal Constitution, the districts in each plan should be numerically equal in population as nearly as practicable, with strict equality in the case of congressional districts . . . and reasonable equality in the case of state legislative districts. . . .
2. The territory included within a district should be contiguous and compact, taking into account the availability and facility of transportation and communication between the people in a proposed district, between the people and candidates in the district, and between the people and their elected representatives.
3. Counties and cities within a proposed district should be maintained intact, insofar as practicable. (See Cal. Const., Art. IV, sec. 6; *Silver v. Brown* (1965) 63 Cal.2d 270, 279.)
4. The integrity of California's basic geographical regions (coastal, mountain, desert, central valley and intermediate valley regions), should be preserved insofar as practicable.
5. The social and economic interests common to the population of an area which are probable subjects of legislative action, generally termed a "community of interests" (cf. Gov. Code, sec. 25001) should be considered in determining whether the area should be included within or excluded from a proposed district in order that all of the citizens of the district might be represented reasonably, fairly and effectively. Examples of such interests, among others, are those common to an urban area, a rural area, an industrial area or an agricultural area, and those common to areas in which the people share similar living standards, use the same transportation facilities, have similar work opportunities, or have access to the same media of communication relevant to the election process.

Most of the people making oral or written presentations urged consideration of the foregoing criteria in formulating proposed reapportionment plans. Many presentations were made urging adherence to the criteria of maintaining the integrity of counties and cities, and deploring needless division thereof in the formulation of districts. It is clear that in many situations county and city boundaries define political, economic and social boundaries of population groups. Furthermore, organizations with legitimate political concerns are constituted along local political subdivision lines. Therefore, unnecessary division of counties and cities in reapportionment districting should be avoided. . . (Report and Recommendations of Special Masters on Reapportionment, August 31, 1973 in *Legislature of State of California v. Reinecke*, 110 App. Cal. Rptr. 727-728).

In applying these criteria, the Masters sought to take into account the potential

political implications of creating new constituencies as well as a goal of fairness to the various parties and interests affected:

In formulating these plans the Masters were aware of the observations of the United States Supreme Court that "Districting inevitably has sharp political impact and inevitably political decisions must be made by those charged with the task" (*White v. Weiser*, 93 S. Ct. 2355), and that "Politics and political considerations are inseparable from districting and apportionment," and districting without regard for political impact "may produce, whether intended or not, the most grossly gerrymandered results" (*Gaffney v. Cummings*, 93 S. Ct. 2321, 2331, 2332). It is also true that political fairness is an appropriate goal of reapportionment (*Gaffney v. Cummings*, *supra*) and that there are legitimate interests to be served by allowing incumbents and their constituents to maintain existing relationships and in affording incumbents fair opportunities to seek reelection. Accordingly, it was deemed appropriate to consider whether the recommended plans are politically fair and whether they needlessly prejudice the legitimate interests of incumbents and their constituents.

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*It is difficult to identify a single district [in the Los Angeles area] that does not appear at least partially suspect. The obvious question is whether these tortuous lines can be justified by any neutral criteria whatsoever.*

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Testing for political fairness is at best an imprecise endeavor. Techniques employed in other states and mentioned in some decisions are not practical in California where there have been major population shifts and where traditionally and historically voters have demonstrated more political independence than voters elsewhere. However, with general measuring devices such as party registration and such electoral data as is available it should be possible to detect a redistricting plan likely to produce a manifestly unfair political result. On the basis of such testing it appears that the proposed and recommended plans are neither politically unfair nor unfair to incumbents, but may result in fewer "safe seats" and more "competitive seats."

Political science literature suggests that the most effective means of avoiding the creation of constituencies that unduly favor one of the political parties is to create an appropriate number of competitive districts (see, e.g., *Reapportionment in the 1970s*, ed. N. Polsby, 1971). The typical legislative approach is to maximize safe seats for both parties. Ideal districting should accommodate shifting political trends, allowing electoral majorities to be represented by legislative majorities. The central rationale of two party politics is that it offers voters alternative choices of candidates and programs. According to democratic theory, parties should contest for public support through electoral mechanisms that translate predominant public opinion into public policy. This involves the ability of popularly elected majorities to govern, while insuring the representation of the minority party, temporarily out of power, as a check on a usually transitory majority party. . . (Report and Recommendations of Special Masters on Reapportionment, August 31, 1973 in *Legislature of State of California v. Reinecke*, 110 App. Cal. Rptr. 749-750).

The results achieved by California's Masters are worthy of special note. They indicate that the specific and demanding criteria set forth can produce a redistricting that meets standards of contiguity, compactness, and close population equality. Only four of the 43 counties with under 250,000 population were divided, while only 11 cities

of less than 250,000 inhabitants were not kept intact (and in most of these the bulk of the population was located in one district).<sup>\*</sup> In such instances the report explained the reasons for the few exceptions to its goal of attempting to preserve the integrity of local subdivision boundaries.

After the Masters' report was made public, an opportunity for reactions from those areas and individuals affected most directly brought forth a number of communications. A substantial Memorandum drafted by the Counsel for the Masters carefully explained reasons for the judgments that had been made. Appendix B contains fragments of this analysis.<sup>\*\*</sup> The first four pages suggest the kinds of trade-offs necessary in any redistricting, while the remaining segments comprise a sample of specific objections, with explanations that reveal the kinds of choices—seldom easy—that must be made even by those committed to maximizing the ideal of political fairness. Incidentally, none of the objections filed appeared to charge gerrymandering or political favoritism.

From the standpoint of subsequent electoral experience, the congressional districting plan of 1973 reflected a sensitivity to shifts in voter support. In 1974 Democrats captured 28 seats, the Republicans only 15. This disparity did not result from constituency boundaries so much as a strong general Democratic tide that year and the fact that single-member districts ordinarily skew results disproportionately upward for the party winning a heavy statewide majority. A more valid indicator of the plan's adaptability to electoral changes is the fact that by 1980 the Democratic margin had shrunk by six seats to 22-21.

### Identifying Gerrymandering

The extensive attention just accorded to the 1973 redistricting by California's Special Masters provides a valuable context for a discussion of gerrymandering—as a contrasting point of reference. The procedures, development of criteria, and accommodation of complex and often antagonistic variables set a standard worthy of emulation, while the maps themselves demonstrate a successful implementation of *desiderata* crucial to the goal of fair and effective representation.

But, can gerrymanders be identified in ways that might make a districting arrangement constitutionally suspect, under any judicial determination of that practice? Are contorted lines necessarily evidence of boundary manipulation? Attempts to quantify gerrymanders in terms of indicia of compactness have run afoul of the fact that rectangular or circular shapes may ignore socio-political features and even physical terrain. At the same time, a plan can be judged in terms of previous historical precedent or alternative models that might come closer to stated criteria. For example, contrast the statewide maps of California congressional districts drawn in 1982 (Exhibit C)<sup>\*\*</sup> with the previously valid plan drawn by the Special Masters in 1973 (Exhibit B).<sup>\*\*</sup> Query: can the distorted district lines and frequent breaching of county boundaries in 1982 contrasted with 1973 be justified by some legitimate state objective? Or, is the only explanation political and partisan? Justice Stevens of the Supreme Court of the United States has asserted that "if a plan has a significant adverse impact upon a defined political group, an additional showing that it departs dramatically from neutral

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<sup>\*</sup>Note: There are 400 incorporated cities in California under 250,000 population (plus seven cities over 250,000 population). This compilation does not include any minor divisions which may have resulted from following census tract lines in areas where city lines are very irregular, or divisions which do not divide populations" (*Legislature . . . v. Reinecke*, 110 App. Cal Rptr., 753).

<sup>\*\*</sup>Omitted here.

criteria should suffice to shift the task of justification to the state defendants" (concurring in *Karcher v. Daggett*, 103 S. Ct. 2672: 1983).

In examining California for evidence of gerrymandering, one must pay particular attention to the Los Angeles area, location of the largest single group of congressional districts, with the opportunities for boundary manipulation especially inviting. The map of the 1981 districts (invalidated by popular referendum, but used temporarily by state court decree for 1982 elections only) is found in Exhibit D. The tortuous district lines cannot be explained either by the kinds of criteria developed by the Masters in 1973 or by the fresh state constitutional requirement of 1980 (Article XXI) regarding the integrity of city and county boundaries and of geographical regions. Political considerations—plus close population equality—appear to be the only rationales possible. This point is further demonstrated by the redistricting designed in late 1982. This permitted the political cartographers to take account of the November election results and to adjust district contours accordingly. Comparative party registration figures, together with data on electoral marginality, could verify whether the 1982 plan contested in this case served to strengthen incumbents, especially those of the majority party who seemed less "safe" than others. A visual comparison of the 1981 and 1982 plans reveals a substantial increase in boundary contortions. The earlier plan looks like a jig-saw puzzle, whereas the latter's squiggles and twisting angles would defy most jig-saw machines. Districts 27, 32, and 42 deserve special attention as the most flagrant examples of boundary manipulation (District 27 lacking contiguity as well as compactness). At the same time, Districts 22, 26, 34, and 38 are worthy of special note. Indeed, it is difficult to identify a single district that does not appear at least partially suspect. The obvious question is whether these tortuous lines can be justified by any neutral criteria whatsoever. The districts shown in Exhibit E seem to comprise more extreme examples of blatant gerrymandering than those found in the New Jersey congressional map included by the United States Supreme Court in its recent decision (*Karcher v. Daggett*, 103 S. Ct. 2666: 1983).

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*It is not too much to ask that districts, especially those completely lacking in compactness, be justified by reference to . . . neutral criteria. . . .*

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That the Los Angeles congressional map cannot be explained by features such as geography or communities of interest is demonstrated in various ways. One would contrast the map of the same area drawn by the Masters less than a decade earlier (Exhibit F). These 1973 lines are not only substantially compact, but were justified by such criteria as city and county boundaries, socio-economic communities of interest, transportation networks, etc., spelled out in public records. (Insofar as I can determine no justifications of the legislature's 1982 plans have yet been published.)

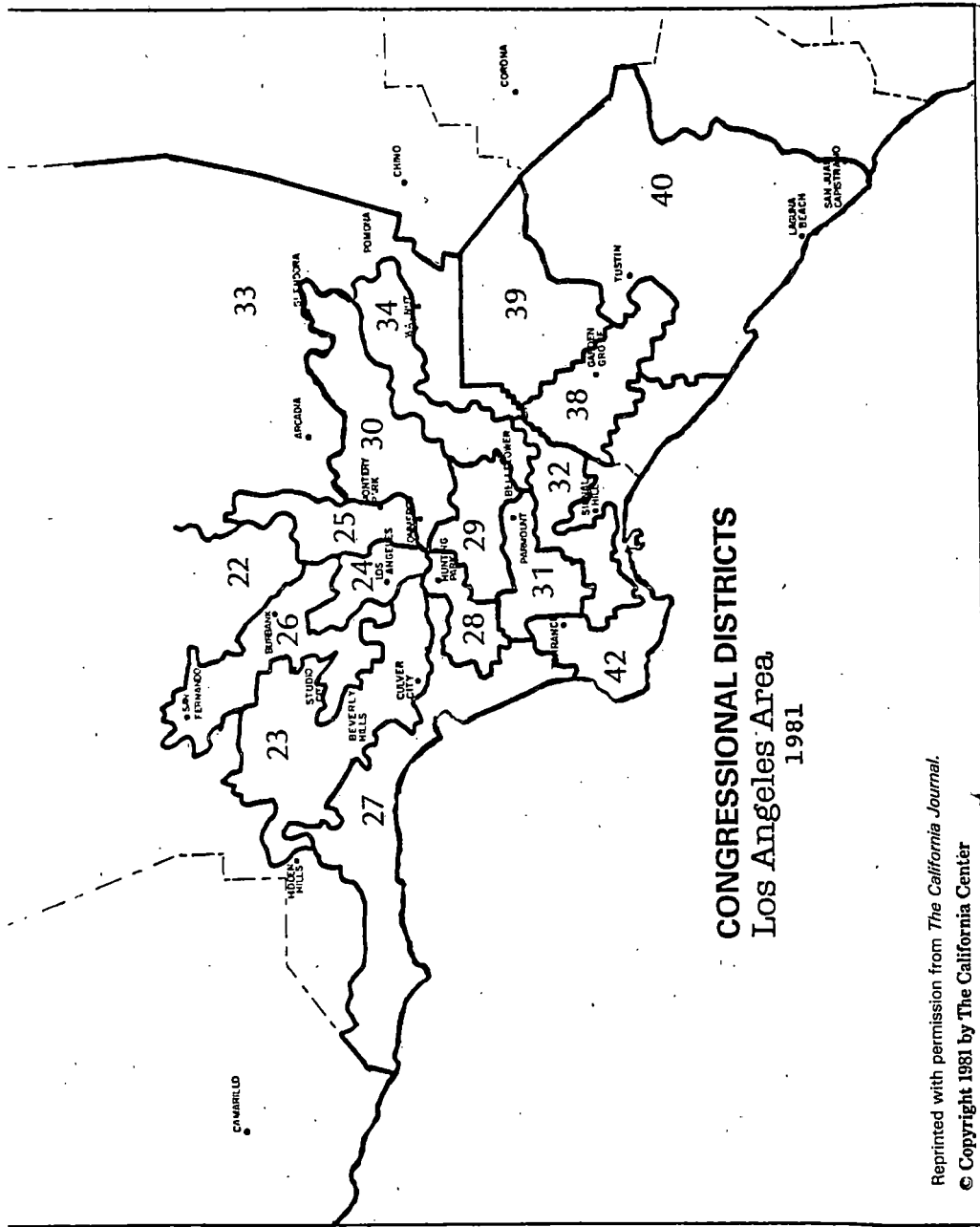
One further indicator of partisan gerrymandering in 1982 is suggested by the legislative and political context. A newly elected legislature was sworn in on December 6. New districts for the Assembly, Senate, and Congress were all hurriedly redrawn by the end of the month, shortly before a governor of the majority party in the legislature left office. There would appear to be no other explanation for such haste, since the first elections (June 1984 primary) were nearly a year and a half in the future.

### **Conclusion**

While gerrymandering can be demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt, as here, by the indicators discussed above and by statistical analyses of relevant data, it would seem more appropriate to place the burden of proof in such cases on the state. It is not too much to ask that districts, especially those completely lacking in compactness, be justified by reference to such neutral criteria as those spelled out above. Congres-

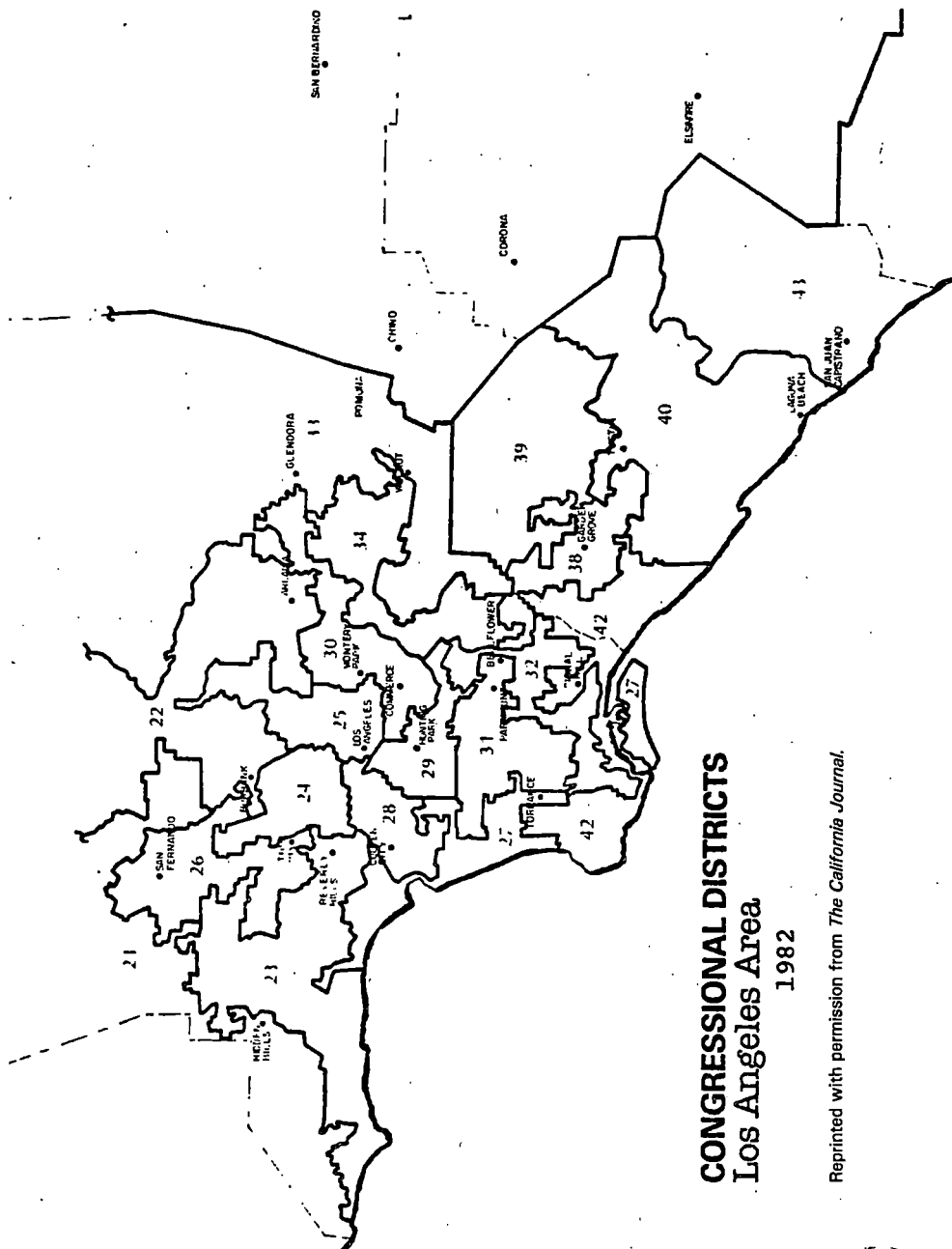


sional districting should be a special concern of federal courts, since the basic issue involved is dilution or debasement of the right to vote for federal office guaranteed by Article I. More important than the interests of political parties, or incumbents, or prospective candidates is the right of voters to have a meaningful choice and the preservation of some approximate communities of interest—both of which are minimized by gerrymandering. The parent case of the past two decades, *Wesberry v. Sanders*, dealt with the problem of great inequalities in population among congressional districts. But the basic consideration was much broader, as stated by Justice Hugo Black for the Court when he said that “. . . nothing in the language of that article [Art. I] gives support to a construction that would immunize state congressional apportionment laws which debase a citizen’s right to vote from the power of courts to protect the constitutional rights of individuals from legislative destruction. . .” (376 U.S. 6: 1964).



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**EXHIBIT D**

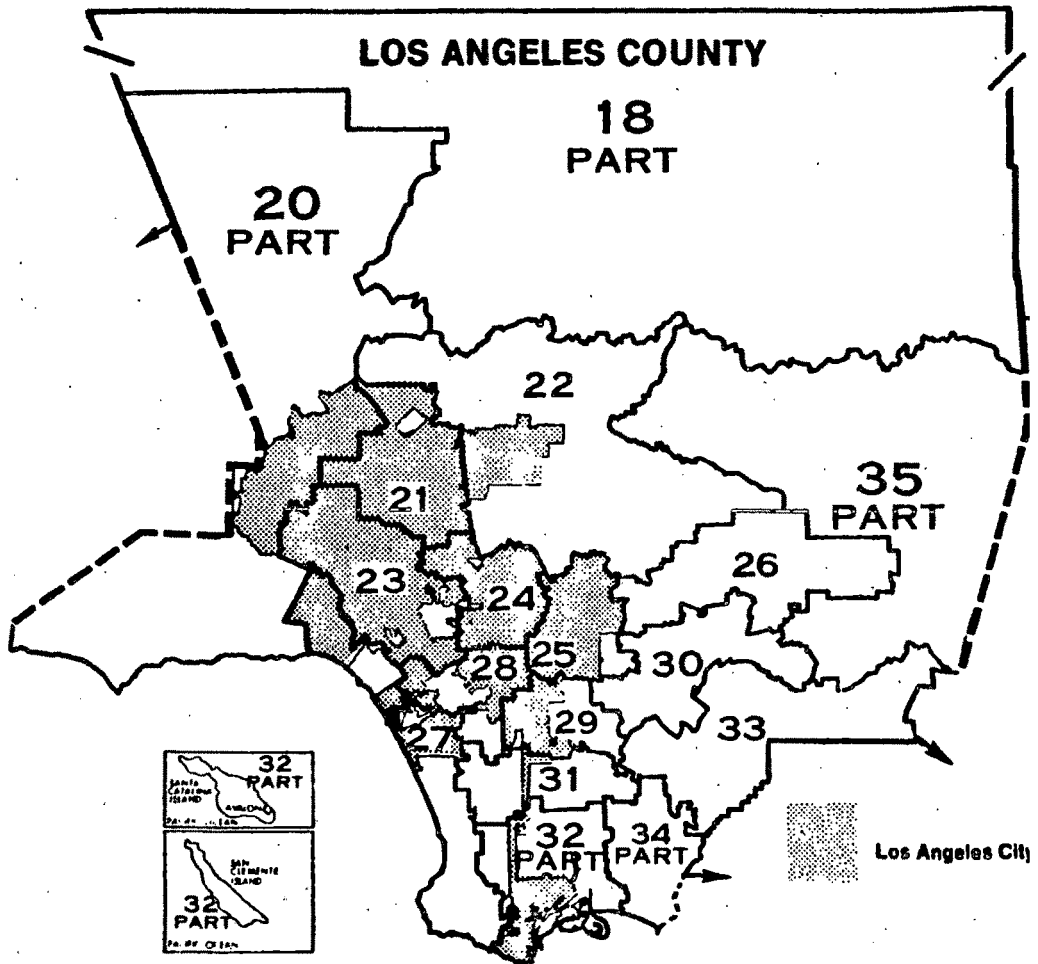


# **CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS** **Los Angeles Area**

1982

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EXHIBIT E



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS Los Angeles Area

1973

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EXHIBIT F

## **Excerpts from Declaration of Bruce Cain in *Badham v. Eu***

I, Bruce Cain, declare as follows: . . .

2. Based on my study of redistricting, I believe that the attempt to define unbiased and objective standards of political fairness is futile. The reasons for this are several. First, there are many possible standards of political fairness, and political scientists do not agree as to which is best, as is demonstrated by the contradictory arguments in the declarations of Professors Grofman and Baker. Professor Baker argues for a compactness criterion while Professor Grofman disparages the use of what he terms "formal criteria" such as the shape of district lines and proposes instead a seats-votes measure. Secondly, the two standards of political fairness proposed by Grofman and Baker will prove contradictory in many circumstances, and this will force the courts to choose between them. Thirdly, the proposed standards are inconsistent with other redistricting criteria—particularly, with the court's efforts in the last decade to protect racial and ethnic minority voting strength. Finally, attempts to use fairness formulae are fundamentally flawed and impractical: they underestimate the many complex factors that determine the outcome of an election and overestimate the capacity of social scientists to predict future electoral outcomes.

3. Apart from difficulties that arise with the proposed fairness principles in theory, the plaintiffs' discussions of the two plans passed by the legislature demonstrate the practical difficulties of applying these standards. Professor Baker's compactness criterion and Professor Grofman's seats-votes ratio lead both to exaggerate the political effects of the 1981 and 1982 bills, to overlook other justifiable reasons why districts are shaped as they are, and to ignore the radical implications that their standards have for racial and ethnic minorities in California.

### **4. Objective Standards of Political Fairness are Inconsistent with One Another.**

a. There are really two standards of political fairness being proposed. The first is a compactness requirement that would rule out or disfavor irregularly shaped districts. The simplest application of this doctrine would require that all districts be equipopulous and compact (presumably square shaped) and the amended version of this doctrine, which Professor Baker seems to embrace, would rule out "tortuous district lines" that "cannot be explained either by the kinds of criteria developed by the Masters in 1973 or by the fresh state constitutional amendment of 1980 (Article XXI) regarding the integrity of city and county boundaries and geographical regions" (Baker Declaration, p. 2). Since neither the Masters nor the California constitution acknowledge or attempt to define political fairness, it is unclear whether Professor Baker's reformulation of the compactness rule makes allowances for tortuous lines that maximize political fairness as defined by Grofman or others.

b. Professor Grofman, on the other hand, believes that the essence of political fairness lies not in formal or aesthetic criteria like compactness but rather in the equal weighting of votes. He defines a gerrymander as when some group needs a greater number of votes to achieve a given proportion of legislative seats than does another group. As he puts it, "I believe that districting is inherently political and that the notion of blindfolded districting paying no attention to political outcome but only looking at formal guidelines such as compactness or equal population is fundamentally misguided" (Grofman Declaration, p. 6). Grofman's position appears to be that irregular shapes that diminish the discrepancy between votes and seats are justifiable whereas those that do not are unjustifiable. His argument undermines the simple notion of compactness since he gives us no reason to believe that plans that have the most compact lines are the ones that minimize the discrepancy between seats and votes. It is very easy to construct an example of how a plan that gives the most proportionate outcome results in numerous noncompact districts: in fact, it would be a remarkable

real world coincidence if square districts happened to yield more proportionate results than noncompact districts. Political scientists have long observed that the easiest way to achieve proportionality between seats and votes would be to abandon contiguity and compactness altogether and implement some sort of proportional representation system such as is used in Europe. . . .

e. Aside from the fact that compact districts may not be politically fair, Grofman does not indicate how his notion of political fairness should be weighed against the other criteria laid out by the court masters in 1973 and defended by Baker in his declaration. What is a permissible discrepancy between seats and votes: how much of a discrepancy should we allow in order to accommodate communities of interest, city boundaries, geographical, minority and constitutional considerations?

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*Attempts to use fairness formulae are fundamentally flawed and impractical: They underestimate the many complex factors that determine the outcome of an election and overestimate the capacity of social scientists to predict future electoral outcomes.*

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f. The fact is that compactness and the seats-vote ratio are not the same standard. If the court chooses one, it could easily violate the other: if it chooses both, it leaves the question of political fairness totally unresolved and permits line drawers to pick the standard that justifies their preferred outcome with the seeming blessing of the court.

5. The Proposed Standards of Political Fairness Conflict with Efforts to Prevent the Dilution of Racial and Ethnic Minority Voting Strength.

a. Professor Grofman, in his writings on redistricting, has identified nearly two dozen criteria for redistricting, and has concluded that "there are multiple and conflicting 'reasonable' goals which have been advocated for reapportionment decision-making." He goes on to say that "many of the proposed criteria are incompatible in whole or in part, and the courts are going to face in the 1980's the task of untangling what various sets of criteria 'really' mean and how reapportionment statutes shall be interpreted when statutory provisions include conflicting criteria." The example he provides is as follows: "For example, to provide certain geographically dispersed minorities with districts in which 'their' voice will not be submerged may require crossing of county/city boundaries and/or require violations of minimal district compactness" (Grofman and Scarrow, 1981, pp. 9-10). I have made similar points in my writings.

b. Political fairness is thus only one of many competing values that must be traded off with other values such as respect for city/county lines, compactness, protection of minorities, preserving communities of interest, and the like. Professors Grofman and Baker unsuccessfully attempt to define political fairness, but even if they had succeeded, having a definition of political fairness gets us as far towards resolving the overall question of reconciling conflicting redistricting values as, say, having a good definition of when a city line has been violated. It is simply not clear how we should weigh political fairness against other criteria, and neither Grofman nor Baker tell us how this could be done.

c. Both the compactness and seats-votes standards will inevitably conflict with other redistricting values. Most importantly, they will make it hard to draw lines that protect racial and ethnic communities from vote dilution. Consider the compact district standard. As Professor Grofman points out in his example, minority communities do not necessarily or even usually assume compact shapes. I have included, in Exhibit B (omitted), two maps that show the concentrations of the black and Hispanic com-

munities in Los Angeles County. As the maps illustrate, the black community is fairly neatly segregated into south central Los Angeles and the western half of Pasadena. By comparison, the Hispanic population is quite dispersed. Not surprisingly, testimony by Hispanic leaders prior to the 1981 plan revealed that the Hispanics felt that the court masters plan, which Gordon Baker uses as his basis of comparison and which emphasized compactness more than the 1981 and 1982 legislative plans, was discriminatory against Hispanics (Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee, March 13, 1981, in San Jose, Testimony by Pedro Carillo, p. 10; Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee, February 20, 1981, in East Los Angeles, Testimony by Richard Santillan, p. 33). The black community fared quite well in 1973 because historical circumstance had concentrated their populations in a manner that was compatible with compact districts. Housing patterns were less favorable to the Hispanic community in this regard, and so the legislature was faced with the prospect of drawing noncompact lines to create more Hispanic representation or observing compactness at the expense of the Hispanic population. There is evidence, which I will discuss in a later part of this declaration, that in their haste to exaggerate the partisan effects of the 1981 and 1982 plans, the plaintiffs attribute partisan malice to ugly lines that were drawn to protect city boundaries and minority communities from being divided. Moreover, they seem oblivious to the fact that boundaries drawn to preserve minority communities or city lines in one seat unavoidably affected the compactness of neighboring boundaries as well. There is no guarantee that the overall visual effect of boundaries that try to reconcile the many and often conflicting interests in a state as diverse as California will also be aesthetically pleasing. The fact that the Masters produced a prettier plan may be another way of saying that they did less well than the legislature in protecting minority communities and other politically relevant interests. . . .

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*Political scientists have long observed that the easiest way to achieve proportionality between seats and votes would be to abandon contiguity and compactness altogether and implement some sort of proportional representation system. . . .*

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e. The seats-vote ratio also suffers the same problem as the compactness criterion as a measure of fairness: namely, that it discriminates against minorities and poorer, less well-educated people. The reason for this is as follows. A close correspondence between the share of a party's seats and its share of votes depends on two things: first, on the margins by which it wins in various districts (which is what the plaintiffs emphasize) and, secondly, on the number of voters in each district. Consider two very simple examples. In one, there is an electorate of 100 voters evenly distributed over four districts such that there are 25 voters in each one. A skillful gerrymander could theoretically arrange the lines such that Party A wins Districts 1, 2 and 3 by 13 to 12 margins and Party B wins District 4 by a margin of 25 to 0. As a consequence, Party A would have 75% of the seats with 39% of the vote and Party B would have 25% of the seats with 61% of the vote: by Grofman's seats-votes ratio, this would presumably be imbalanced (although he gives us no standard by which to judge whether a discrepancy is too great). Now consider a second example. Districts 1 through 4 all have equal populations, but because Districts 1 and 2 protect minority communities and because they traditionally have lower rates of participation, Districts 1 and 2 only have 15 voters each while Districts 3 and 4 have 35 voters each. Assume that Party A wins Districts 1 and 2 with 100% of the vote, and that Party B wins Districts 3 and 4 with 100% of the vote. The strength of the parties is now equally concentrated, but Party A wins 50% of the seats with 30% of the vote and Party B wins 50% of the

seats with 70% of the vote. The point is that nothing in Grofman's discussion of the seats-vote ratio takes into consideration the second case. Indeed, if we observe a discrepancy in the seats-vote ratio after a redistricting, the reason could be that because seats were drawn in a manner that protects minority interests, Democratic districts could be won with fewer votes.

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*Political fairness is thus only one of many competing values that must be traded off with other values. . . .*

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f. District lines are to be drawn on the basis of population and not registration data. The court has also encouraged states to be mindful of minority communities in drawing district lines. The easiest way to equalize the number of voters in various districts would be to draw lines on the basis of registration data but this would run counter to precedent on both counts. In a state such as California where there is a substantial minority community, there will inevitably be permanent discrepancies in the number of votes needed to win the average Democratic seat and the number of votes needed to win the average Republican seat. Consider Exhibit D (omitted), which shows the average votes for winners in congressional districts by party in California. As is evident, Democrats have won their seats with fewer average votes throughout this period *regardless of who controlled redistricting*, and 1982 was no exception. Moreover, as the table also shows, the Democrats have always controlled the congressional delegation, and they have always enjoyed a higher ratio of seats to votes—even after the Masters redistricting in 1973. The Democratic ratio of 62% of the seats with 52% of the vote is well within the normal range for the decade, and taking into account the facts that the size of the delegation changed (so the proportions could not be exactly identical) and that there was a large swing against the Republicans nationally, it is remarkable how much the results in 1974 and 1976 (right after the Masters' redistricting) resemble that of 1982. Professor Grofman's ahistorical presentation seems designed to shock those who are unfamiliar with the basic facts of California politics. A more balanced presentation would have acknowledged that the ratio of seats to votes in 1982 was really quite unremarkable despite the genius the popular press has attributed to the late Phil Burton. It is also unremarkable in the sense that many of those who cannot or do not register to vote in California are minorities (especially Hispanic), and assuming that their partisan inclinations resemble those who can and do register to vote (i.e., they are 60-80% Democratic), then the 62% share of the congressional seats held by the Democrats is actually far less than their potential support in the total population would justify. Only 32% of the state's population voted for a congressional candidate in 1982; the state's voter registration rolls include 49% of the state's population. Which set of individuals is more representative of the state and more appropriate for proportionality measures?

g. In short, Grofman's allegation that the discrepancy between seats and votes in 1982 shows political gerrymandering is false for two reasons: (1) he fails to account for the effects that protecting ethnic and racial minority communities will have on his seats-votes measure; (2) he fails to show that 1982 is an exceptional discrepancy in any case.

6. The Proposed Formula of Political Fairness Is Fundamentally Flawed and Impractical.

a. Apart from the way that the seats-votes ratio conflicts with other redistricting criteria such as the protection of minority communities from vote dilution, formulae of this sort are flawed in the sense that they overestimate the capacity of social scientists to predict the outcome of elections and underestimate the role of non-redistricting factors. I have considerable experience in the task of trying to predict electoral outcomes, and it has taught me to be cautious about claims to predict with any high



degree of accuracy: There are many factors that go into an election that cannot be adequately incorporated into a projection: e.g., the quality of a candidate, the quality of his or her campaign organization, the amount of money spent, the strength of national tides in favor or against a particular party. Given this complexity, it is hard to imagine how the court would be able to predict what the expected seats-votes ratio would be after a particular redistricting. Simple indicators will not do. Registration means different things in different areas of the state: a 48% Democratic registration indicates a more Democratically leaning district in Santa Cruz than in the San Fernando Valley, because loyalty rates and the partisan inclination of independent voters in these two areas differ greatly. Using the 1980 presidential results underestimates Democratic strength in seats because of Carter's unpopularity. Even my own relatively elaborate statistical calculations reported at the 1983 APSA meetings would have mispredicted key races such as the Bosco-Clausen one in Northern California.

b. In addition, there is the problem that the court would be getting into the business of predicting the seat shares of the Democratic and Republican parties under different redistricting schemes at a time when party loyalty is declining for both parties. There is considerable evidence that incumbency per se is a more important factor in congressional elections today than it was 20 years ago (Mayhew, 1974; Fiorina, 1977). A popular incumbent can cause a great number of those who identify with the opposite party to cross-over and vote for him or her. As the plaintiffs themselves admit, were this not so, Republicans would infrequently be elected to Congress from California since the Democrats have a considerable registration advantage. The incumbency advantage is partly a matter of having the resources of office (i.e., staff, mailing privileges, and the like), but it is also a matter of fitting the district in ways that are unrelated to partisanship—what the scholar Richard Fenno has called "home style." As political scientists have discovered, the impact of "home style" is difficult to measure, let alone project.

c. Not only is this trend likely to falsify court-condoned projections, but it raises the question of whether the court should allocate allegedly "fair" shares of seats to the largest parties at the expense of minor parties and independents. Will lines have to reflect "fairness" for minor parties and independents as well as the major parties? Will independents and minor party identifiers claim unfairness when they have been carved up in such a way as to prevent them from holding the balance in various districts across the state? Why do the rights of Democratic and Republican voters have precedence over other voters: the Democratic and Republican parties are not officially recognized by the Constitution, nor have they even been the dominant parties in every period of United States history.

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*The fact that the Masters produced a prettier plan may be another way of saying that they did less well than the legislature in protecting minority communities and other politically relevant interests. . . .*

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d. There are really two fundamental questions here. One is why any party should have a claim to seats-votes fairness when our political system (single-member districts with plurality voting rules) is ill-suited for producing proportional results. One of the arguments that people use to justify our political system is that by producing "exaggerated majorities," it fosters greater political stability than is found in proportional representation systems by preventing the proliferation of minor parties. This does not justify massive imbalances between seats and votes, but it does suggest that some degree of bias is to be expected and may actually have social benefit. The data clearly show that the seats-votes bias in 1982 is well within the normal range of California politics. As it was, *if a mere 35,404 votes (i.e., less than 0.5% of the total*

## Excerpts from Declaration

7,582,621 votes cast in the state and less than 4% of the 914,743 votes cast in the six closest races in 1982) had switched their vote from the Democrats to the Republicans, the Republicans would have gotten 23 out of the 45 seats in California with less than 50% of the vote. The second fundamental question is if a claim to seats-votes fairness is legitimate, then who has such a claim and who does not? Why should major parties have this right but minor parties not have it? These questions are implicit in the Grofman standard, but are never addressed in any satisfactory manner.

7. The Effects of the Legislature's Redistricting Have Been Greatly Exaggerated.

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### *The seats-votes ratio . . . discriminates against minorities and poorer, less well-educated people.*

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a. The fact that the Democratic delegation increased from 22-21 in 1980 to 28-17 in 1982 is indisputable. Since a redistricting occurred in 1981, it is reasonable to suspect that changes in the district boundaries had something to do with the increase in the size of the Democratic delegation. The problem is ascertaining how much of a difference redistricting made, and whether that contribution was extraordinary or excessive. . . .

b. In this regard, the declarations of Professors Grofman and Baker are somewhat disturbing since they appear to me to be overly eager to conclude that this was the most heinous act since the Turkish massacre of the Armenians. In their haste to convey this image, they have presented evidence and drawn conclusions injudiciously. . . .

. . . My own study, which Grofman cites, led me to the following conclusions. First, the Bosco gain was virtually unrelated to redistricting. The district changed little in registration, and the result seemed to have more to do with the candidates. The gains of the Berman and Bates seats were achieved when the Republican incumbents chose to accept the temptation to run for neighboring safe seats instead of staying and running in seats that had strongly Democratic registrations during an anti-Republican year. My own estimates indicate that had Fiedler stayed in the 26th, the Democrats would have had about a 30% chance of winning the seat back, and had Hunter stayed in the 44th, the Democrats would again have had about a 30% chance of winning. By vacating the seats, the Republicans lost the incumbency advantage, and in a Democratic year with an open race in seats that were both over 55% Democratic, the outcome was not surprisingly favorable to the Democrats. It is true that the legislature may have encouraged Hunter and Fiedler to flee for safer pastures, but who is to say that they would not have done so anyway? The point is that they were both representing districts that had very high Democratic registrations, and unless redistricting changed that, the incentive to leave was always going to be there.

## 8. Conclusions

A plan can have either partisan or bipartisan consequences, and there is something to be said against both. A bipartisan plan diminishes partisan discord, but often at the expense of protecting incumbents. A partisan plan creates partisan rancor, but at the same time offers slightly more competitive districts since the majority party stretches its resources to a slightly higher level of efficiency. Plans that claim to be nonpartisan may be nonpartisan in intention but will always have a partisan impact of some sort or another. The founding fathers sensed that redistricting was a political issue: i.e., that it involved conflicting values which reasonable people, let alone unreasonable ones, could disagree about, and they wisely left the task to the legislature. I am inclined to think that that is where the problem belongs, and that no formula or simple aesthetic criteria can replace political bargaining and compromise when there are important value disagreements. The way that a redistricting bill is put together is no more

haphazard than the way most legislation is put together: the difference is that we get a visual image of a district whereas the compromises of a bill are buried in legislative legalese. If the yearly budget of the state of California could be depicted as a map, it would be as tortuous as the legislature's lines. Assuming that people in California are tired of the partisan rancor that surrounds redistricting, then we should change the procedure by which a redistricting bill is passed to require a two-thirds vote. I think it unwise to try to define what is fair in the abstract: it is better to say that fair is what people think is fair. In my opinion, the court should avoid the temptation to arbitrate between conflicting ideas of fairness in redistricting and leave the matter to the legislature. . . .

## Declaration of Nelson W. Polsby in *Badham v. Eu*\*

I, Nelson W. Polsby, declare:

....

1. I offer the Court this declaration because I believe that it is helpful for the Court to consider the extent to which the reapportionment process is inescapably political and value-laden. The drawing of district boundaries requires the weighing of many different and often conflicting interests. Any result will be a political result pleasing to some and not to others. Tests that could be used by the courts to manage cases, like this one, in which a partisan group petitions the courts to impose a judicial result in a state in which one political party claims to be disadvantaged by the outcome of the political process, are not neutral but political in their outcomes, and trade-offs between and among the various tests that might be used require the exercise of political judgment.

2. In the early 1960s, the United States Supreme Court affirmed the principle that members of Congress must represent districts containing equal numbers of *individuals* (regardless of whether they vote or are even eligible to vote) as measured by the United States census. The application of this standard required only that the courts determine the respective populations of districts, a readily manageable task. The plaintiffs in this case, however, are asking the Court to do something much more difficult, namely protect the interests of one of many political or social *groups*, and have suggested that there may be an ideal degree of collective "effectiveness" of votes cast by a particular group. This is an entirely different matter.

3. Many groups could be said to have identifiable common political interests, including religious minorities (or in some jurisdictions, majorities) like Jews, Muslims, Roman Catholics, Baptists or Mormons; ethnic minorities such as Americans of Armenian, Italian or Polish descent; minorities with common sexual preferences like gays or lesbians; and ideologically like-minded people such as liberals and conservatives, neo-liberals or neo-conservatives. Claims could plausibly be made that suburban residents, farmers, renters or university students and professors are identifiable groups entitled to specific portions of the political pie, to be guaranteed by judicial intervention. Every reapportionment necessarily affects different groups differently, and even if it were desired, it would be impossible to guarantee, by judicial intervention, equally "effective" representation to the various political groups one could devise. Drawing districts to strengthen one group necessarily "weakens" others. For instance, in *United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg, Inc. v. Carey*, 430 U.S. 144 (1977), a reapportionment plan divided an Hassidic community in order to strengthen a black voting district. Because of the historical oppression of black people in the United States (even if not necessarily in Brooklyn), one might decide, as a political matter, that the "group" voting rights of Hassidic Jews were less in need of protection than those of blacks. Other political standards would have to be invoked in order to allocate influence among other groups. A legislature might, for example, choose to divide an established community of Irish Catholics into several districts while augmenting the influence of the collective votes of a new and politically active community of gay citizens. Ought judges to be called upon to decide how to rank the competing claims of these groups as well? And if so, what standards shall they use? Because there are many possible standards that commend themselves, and many groups whose claims would be tenable under one or more such standards, this seems to me the sort of decision better suited to the legislative than the judicial branch.

*\*Editor's Note: Except for brief introductory remarks, this declaration is reproduced in its entirety.*

4. Many "objective" or "fair" standards have been proposed to guide redistricting. These include the following:

- (a) Districts should be compact, according to any one of several conflicting definitions of "compact."
- (b) Districts should not cross city, county or other political subdivision boundaries.
- (c) Districts should be "marginal" or "competitive" as between the major political parties in order to provide close or hard-fought inter-party contests.
- (d) Districts should not divide geographic regions.
- (e) Districts should be drawn so that in some of them, some racial, linguistic or ethnic groups are guaranteed a majority.

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*Sound reasons support the choice of the electoral system that prevails in our country, including the preservation of a two-party system with clear governing majorities and governmental stability. . . .*

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- (f) Districts should not include more members of a particular group than is necessary to ensure that group a reasonable possibility of electing a candidate of their choosing.
- (g) Districts should be composed of persons having a "community of interest."
- (h) Districts should be drawn so that there will probably be a close or exact proportionality in the next election between a group's share of the total vote and its share of the total available seats.
- (i) Districts should be drawn so that they produce "symmetry" among groups, i.e., so that if group A got X% of the seats for Y% of the vote, group B would get an equivalent number of seats for the same vote turnout, and, presumably so on for groups C through Z.

It is unclear how courts could choose which of these plausible principles to invoke, or how to engineer trade-offs among them. To what extent might it be desirable to sacrifice city boundaries to make marginal districts? Should irregular districts that also favor racial minorities be prohibited? Is a district composed of a wealthy suburban community of interest so "packed" with Republicans that it should be divided up and replaced with two marginal seats composed of roughly even numbers of Democratic and Republican voters? Ought "safe" seats to be used to foster proportionality? Is "symmetry" desirable if it threatens to unseat an incumbent who has risen to a position of seniority and great influence in Washington?

5. I would like to pay particular attention to the three factors proposed by the plaintiffs' experts in their declarations as especially worthy of condemnation: lack of proportionality, lack of compactness, and lack of Republicans (or the creation of what they view as too many safe seats for Democrats). First, proportionality. The plaintiffs, in their briefs and in their experts' declarations, focus on the total number of votes cast statewide, for the many different congressional candidates affiliated with the Republican party in 45 distinct congressional races in 1982. They compare this number to the total number of votes cast statewide in all congressional races and conclude that the percentage of what they call "Republican votes" should bear some close proportional relationship to the percentage of congressional seats won by Republican candidates.

a. Yet, this proportionality is, as Professor Grofman has accurately observed, rare: "[e]xcept under very special circumstances, unlikely to be ever achieved in practice,

random [i.e., party blind or group blind] districting will not 'yield proportionality between a group's vote percentage and the percentage of seats it wins' (Grofman, Lijphart, McKay, and Scarrow, *For Single Member Districts Random is Not Equal in Representation and Redistricting Issues*, 1982). In Great Britain, constituencies are established by "neutral" non-partisan boundary commissions. Nonetheless, in the 1983 British parliamentary election, the results were dramatically disproportionate. The Conservative Party received 42.4% of the votes and 61.1% of the seats, Labour's share was 27.8% of the votes and 32.2% of the seats, while the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance got 25.4% of the votes and only 3.5% of the seats. Moreover, in the 1976 California elections under the Masters' "neutral" plan, the various Democratic congressional candidates collectively won about 56% of the vote and yet received 67% of the congressional seats, while the Republican candidates received less than 44% of the vote and only 33% of the available seats. Disproportionality does not demonstrate lack of "neutrality."

b. Proportionality cannot be guaranteed in a system of voting in which the winner of the most votes wins the election regardless of how many candidates run in each race. To assure proportionality it is necessary to have a proportional representation system of elections. This is not the sort of election system we have for Congress, although such systems exist elsewhere in the world, such as in Ireland, France, Malta, and Israel.

c. Sound reasons support the choice of the electoral system that prevails in our country, including the preservation of a two-party system with clear governing majorities and governmental stability, ideals which are not always clearly served by Continental democracies in which proportional representation is used. The plaintiffs are of course free to pursue the goal of attempting to convert our electoral system to proportional representation through our normal political processes.

6. Second, the plaintiffs express concern about irregularities in the shapes of some of California's congressional districts. But compactness, presumably the reverse of irregularity, like any other redistricting standard, has political consequences. It is not neutral. As Professor Baker says: "Attempts to quantify gerrymandering in terms of indicia of compactness have run afoul of the fact that rectangular or circular shapes may ignore sociopolitical features and even physical terrain." Many proposed communities of interest cannot be captured in squares, circles or other simple geometric shapes. Thus, the notion of community of interest conflicts with compactness. Moreover, compactness also conflicts and must be traded off with most of the other proposed desiderata of reapportionment, such as those I list in paragraph four.

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*It is important to recognize that, like all preferences with respect to reapportionment, a preference for marginal districts is a political preference that has political ramifications.*

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In fact, political goals of many kinds are frequently engaged in the drawing of district lines. Districts have been drawn in hopes of protecting incumbent members of Congress (1) by including many voters thought to be favorable to the incumbent's party or (2) excluding voters thought to be hostile. Districts have been drawn in hopes of weakening incumbents (3) by including the home territory of more than one incumbent within the boundaries of a single new district or (4) by including new (hence unfamiliar) or potentially hostile voters. Districts have also been drawn by state legislatures to create a new constituency congruent with the state legislative district of a state legislator who wants to run for the new seat.

All of these political ends can and from time to time have been pursued while obeying the constraint of equal population, and I predict that the imposition of further con-

straints will not create a significant inconvenience to their continued pursuit, because the more supposedly "neutral" criteria the court imposes, the more necessary it will be for legislatures to trade off between and among them, and this necessity will give scope for the pursuit of political ends.

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*When the Republican-dominated state legislature of New York tried to draw congressional district boundaries so as to defeat Democrats some years ago, their plans failed.*

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7. Finally, the plaintiffs and their experts are disturbed by the fact that, in their opinion, many of California's congressional seats are not "competitive" or "marginal" and are instead "safe" for one party or the other. It is important to recognize that, like all preferences with respect to reapportionment, a preference for marginal districts is a political preference that has political ramifications. Candidates in marginal districts are likely to be more preoccupied with pursuit of their re-election hopes than candidates from "safe" districts. Special interests and their money can be expected to play a more prominent role in marginal districts. Moreover, time spent in pursuit of re-election is time that is lost to the study or crafting of legislation. Legislative activity in the House of Representatives is increasingly demanding and difficult, and successful participation takes enormous time and effort. Further, a marginal district is likely to experience frequent changes of representatives. Since power in the Congress of the United States is directly linked to seniority, a state whose districts are marginal is likely to sacrifice power in Congress to states whose districts are less competitive and not only to those states. Experience is a significant asset—and lack of experience a significant liability—for any U.S. representative in dealing not only with other members of Congress but also with members of the executive branch, lobbyists, congressional staff, and others who participate in the process of lawmaking. Thus it may appear to those politicians responsible for drawing district boundaries to be in the general interests of the people of a given state to preserve the strength and the seniority of the state's congressional delegation. A state legislature could reasonably prefer a system which permits members of Congress from the state to amass influence in Washington over a system which draws a marginal seat for the representative. Should the Texas Legislature have drawn the Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn's district to make his re-election precarious (rather than the opposite, which is in fact what they did)? I regard this as a political decision. When very few congressional seats in the United States are "marginal" or "competitive," those states which insist on a high level of competitiveness are sacrificing a great deal of influence in Washington, and may be reducing the competence of Congress as a body of elected officials to deal with the experienced lobbyists and bureaucrats with whom they must interact in the policy-making process.

8. There is no guarantee that in the future Republican majorities will not appear in congressional districts currently held by Democratic incumbents. Indeed there is no guarantee that Republicans would lose in as many new districts as they did in 1982. When the Republican-dominated state legislature of New York tried to draw congressional district boundaries so as to defeat Democrats some years ago, their plans failed. In their free exercise of the ballot, voters in New York elected an unanticipated number of Democratic representatives to Congress anyway.

Precisely the same opportunity was also afforded California voters. No one claims that there is a constitutional guarantee that Republican candidates win elections they actually lose or that equal protection requires all voters to have the pleasure of voting for winning candidates for Congress. All voters—even those voting in seats that look as though they are "safe" for one party—risk ending up on the losing side. Can we, by

### **Declaration of Nelson W. Polsby**

redrawing district lines, make these risks more equal as between Democrats and Republicans? Presumably so, but not without trading away a great many of the other desiderata that also make legitimate claims. And therefore this politically sensitive task is confided to a political body. Within this body different interests must be weighed and varied criteria brought to bear. The result will be a political result pleasing to some and not to others. A different political result will occur in each and every state of the union, where a similar process goes on reflecting the myriad political forces that exist in great variety throughout the United States. These decisions are not set in concrete. In a decade's time in California and in 49 other states, the process will begin again reflecting a fresh alignment of political forces and political judgments in each particular time and place. Different winners and losers will emerge along with some surprises as voters fail to behave quite as predicted and as events slowly or quickly erode the premises on which the political judgments rested that influenced the last drawing of district lines. Thus these political judgments are temporary as well as constrained by state boundaries. Opportunities exist for the losing party in one battle to regroup to fight another day, or in another state capital. These considerations militate against the proposition that the political losses by a political party in any single such battle signify the deprivation of a constitutional right.



## Excerpts from Second Declaration of Bernard N. Grofman in *Badham v. Eu*

The 1980s California congressional plans are not shown to be gerrymanders by the fact that the 1982 results were grossly disproportional to the votes of the electorate, nor by the fact that these plans each have only a very small number of seats where both parties have reasonable chances for the victory, nor by the fact that each plan is characterized by tortuously shaped districts, e.g., in San Diego and Northern California, which have no justification in terms of minority protection or in preserving city boundaries intact, *although all three of these statements are true*. It is well recognized that single member districts cannot be expected to yield proportionality between a party's vote percentage and the percentage of seats it wins (indeed, defense experts cite my own work on just this point); and it is also recognized that neither the absence of competition, nor the existence of ill-compact districts, make a gerrymander in and of themselves. Each of these factors, rather, is an indicator of possible gerrymandering efforts. When all three of these factors are found together with others (e.g., a plan passed in frantic haste by a partisan majority with no input from the minority party, a plan with clear discriminatory impact on the incumbents of the minority party) we have evidence for the conclusion that a plan that looks like a gerrymander, was intended to be a gerrymander, and has the effects of a gerrymander, is a gerrymander.<sup>1</sup> . . .

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*A plan that looks like a gerrymander, was intended to be a gerrymander, and has the effects of a gerrymander, is a gerrymander. . . .*

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In my previous declaration I identify twelve techniques which provide *prima facie* indicia of gerrymandering, and I show that eleven of these twelve methods were used by the legislature in drawing 1980s congressional plans. *Nothing in the reply briefs or declarations challenges these basic findings*. To deal with each of the major points not already considered:

(a) That Democratic strength was added to several marginal Democratic seats is undeniable. That district lines were manipulated for partisan purposes is un rebutted.

(b) Even assuming, for sake of argument, that several districts in the L.A. area were drawn to enhance minority voting strength or follow city boundaries, this does not explain other districts which split San Diego or wander around the San Francisco Bay or the tortuously shaped districts in L.A. for which no such explanation has been offered; nor does it explain the manipulation of district boundaries for partisan advantage in districts throughout the state (including districts in the L.A. area such as 38, see discussion, pp. 17-19 and Table F, my earlier declaration).

(c) That Barry Goldwater, Jr. was running for higher office before his district was eliminated (a fact mentioned in my previous declaration) does not change the fact that his district was eliminated and that six districts previously held by Republican incumbents were collapsed into three, and one other Republican held district (Dornan—District 27) was cut into pieces while all 22 Democratic-held districts were preserved (see Table 1, my earlier declaration). That Dornan's district was chopped to bits (see map comparing 1980 and 1982 district lines from previous declaration) is not disputable. Further, contra the assertion in Cain (Declaration, p. 25), Dornan declared his candidacy for higher office only *after* it was apparent that, as a result of Democratic gerrymandering, he would not have a district left to run from (see Dornan declaration).

## **Excerpt from Second Declaration**

That Republican districts were collapsed or dismembered while Democratic incumbents had to bear no such burden is undisputed. No explanation has been offered to rebut the presumption that this inequity is motivated by other than partisan lust.\*

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\* Author's Note: Omitted material (roughly 20 typed pages) includes a discussion of appropriate and manageable standards for controlling partisan gerrymandering and a detailed rebuttal of a number of points raised by Cain.

<sup>1</sup>(Footnote omitted.)

## Postscript

Gordon E. Baker

Subsequent to the filing of *Badham v. Eu*, the 1984 California elections provided classic examples that pervasive gerrymandering has become the newest form of voting dilution. On a statewide basis, Republican congressional candidates in California captured a clear majority of the two-party vote, yet won only 18 of the 45 seats (or 40 percent). Congressional district lines were drawn by incumbent Democrats in Congress and ratified by the heavily Democratic California legislature.

It is probably little exaggeration to term the California legislature a self-perpetuating oligarchy, accountable primarily to itself by the act of carefully fencing voters in and out of districts calculated to preserve the status quo, regardless of all but monumental shifts in voter sentiment or population mobility. In other states (e.g., Indiana) the legislative oligarchies are Republican.

Does this type of voter debasement call for another bold move—as in 1964—by the United States Supreme Court? To many, this understandably seems to be the thorniest part of the “political thicket” that the late Justice Frankfurter had cautioned his colleagues to avoid. But, having entered it in 1964 and after, can the judiciary now ignore this new dimension of malapportionment? It is tempting to leave the problem to the “give-and-take” of the political process. But the process itself is closer to one of monopoly than of free competition. A quarter century ago the problem of malapportionment (geographically defined) was virtually immune from political remedies for much the same reasons.

Any judicial cognizance of the gerrymandering issue should be undertaken prudently, since identifying boundary-manipulation and fashioning remedies are admittedly more difficult than dealing only with population inequalities. Yet the kinds of indicators evident in the California litigation demonstrate that judicially manageable standards are available to apply. Hopefully, social scientists can provide more useful guidelines than was the case two decades ago. This does not mean that we can eliminate partisan advantage in the drawing of district boundaries. But it could mean that state legislatures might have to conform more closely to other expectations than population statistics alone—particularly, greater adherence to communities of interest, local government boundaries, and the creation of more competitive districts. These *desiderata* are not always compatible, but that they can be accommodated to a remarkable degree was shown by the court-appointed California Masters in 1973.

The question is not, as it was in the early 1960s, whether the Supreme Court should enter the political thicket. The courts have been there for some time. The question is whether the judiciary should continue to confine itself to those familiar but less productive brambles of the thicket, or redirect its scrutiny to the challenging goal of “fair and effective representation for all citizens” (Chief Justice Warren’s phrase) that made the entry itself justifiable.

# Expert vs. Expert: Lessons from *Badham v. Eu*

**A Wuffle\***

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## Introduction

Professors Cain and Grofman were kind enough to suggest that I review the expert witness declarations in *Badham v. Eu* (D.C. California, 1984) in the light of my own previous research on expert witness testimony to identify frequently used modes of argumentation.

The single most important observation I can make about the nature of the expert witness testimony in *Badham* is to note its high quality. The experts in *Badham* are addressing real issues. The differences among these experts rest on differing normative views and on disputes about difficult empirical and methodological questions. Moreover, the genuine expertise of these social scientists cannot be in dispute. Thus, the most common techniques used in disputations among experts: (1) impeaching an expert witness' motives (e.g., accusing him of being a "hired gun" or an "ideological partisan"); (2) downgrading his academic credentials or claims to subject matter expertise; and (3) finding instances where his testimony has been repudiated by the courts, are simply inapplicable. This has not left the experts in *Badham* at a loss for words—but none of the disagreements among them are in the nature of ad hominem attacks.

I have identified five tactics used by the experts in *Badham*.<sup>1</sup> Because the sequence of declarations was Baker and Grofman for plaintiffs, followed a month or so later by Cain and Polsby for the defendants, followed a month later by Grofman with a second declaration rebutting points made by Cain and Polsby, Grofman has *to date* had the last word. This is reflected in the present selections from the declarations.<sup>2</sup>

## Five Techniques of Argument

The most popular technique used in *Badham* is to

(1) *try to make the experts for the other side eat their own previously published words*.<sup>3</sup>

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\*Among A Wuffle's relatively few nonnumerate publications is "Wuffle's Advice to the Expert Witness," *PS* (Winter 1984), pp. 60-61.

<sup>1</sup>The reader should not interpret my categorizations here as expressing any position on the merits of any arguments or the truth of any factual assertions in *Badham*.

<sup>2</sup>I urge readers to keep these points in mind as they read the excerpts in this essay.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. "Anything you have ever said may be held against you," quoted in A Wuffle, "Wuffle's Advice to the Expert Witness in Court," *PS*, Vol. 60 (Winter 1984). Polsby cites Grofman, "For Single Member Districts Random Is Not Equal," in B. Grofman, A. Lijphart, R. McKay, and H. Scarrow (Eds.), *Representation and Redistricting Issues* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1982), 55-58. Grofman extensively cites Bruce E. Cain, "Assessing the Partisan Effects of Redistricting," Social Sciences Working Paper 491, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology (September 1983:5), referring to the author of that work as *Professor Cain* and to the author of the Cain Declaration simply as *Cain*; while Cain in

Both Cain and Grofman employ this task with glee, and Polsby, too, gets in the act.

Polsby: Plaintiffs' experts . . . conclude that the percentage of what they call "Republican votes" should bear some close proportional relationship to the percentage of congressional seats won by Republican candidates. Yet, this proportionality is, as *Professor Grofman has accurately observed* ("Random Is Not Equal" in Grofman, et al., *Representation and Redistricting Issues*, 1982), rare and "[e]xcept under very special circumstances unlikely to be ever achieved in practice, random [i.e., party blind or group blind] districting will not yield proportionality between a group's vote percentage and the percentage of seats it wins" (emphasis ours).

Cain: *Professor Grofman, in his writings on redistricting*, has identified nearly two dozen criteria for redistricting, and has concluded that "there are multiple and conflicting 'reasonable' goals which have been advocated for reapportionment decision-making." He goes on to say that "many of the proposed criteria are incompatible in whole or in part, and the courts are going to face in the 1980s the task of untangling what various sets of criteria 'really' mean and how reapportionment statutes shall be interpreted when statutory provisions include conflicting criteria." . . . Political fairness is thus only one of many competing values that must be traded off with other values such as respect for city/county lines, compactness, protection of minorities, preserving communities of interest and the like. . . . It is simply not clear how we should weigh political fairness against other criteria, and neither Grofman nor Baker tell us how this could be done (emphasis ours).

Grofman: Furthermore, as *Cain points out in his declaration* (p. 14), incumbency is of increasing importance in congressional elections. Eliminating the seats of Republican incumbents while preserving those of Democrats was a key tool in the Plan I gerrymander, and has continuing critical ramifications in Plan II (emphasis ours).

I agree fully with *Professor Cain* (1983: 35-36, emphasis ours) when he says in the conclusions of his research paper:

[A] proper assessment of the partisan effects of redistricting cannot overlook its impact on incumbency. To be sure, the post-redistricting election will introduce a net set of incumbents who will presumably also enjoy the electoral advantages of holding office. *However, the temporary scrambling of incumbents can have momentous importance at the election that follows the redistricting.* This should not be too surprising to political scientists since it seems logical that in any era when party loyalty counts for less and incumbency counts for more, redistricting tactics should include incumbent considerations. Indeed, if recent trends towards independence from the parties continue, redistrictings in the future could come to focus more on displacement issues and less on the partisan makeup of districts (emphasis in original).<sup>4</sup>

Grofman: *Cain (Declaration, p. 26) asserts that his own research* "revealed five Democratic incumbents whose districts were weakened significantly" by the first round of 1980s redistricting.

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turn cites B. Grofman and H. Scarrow, "Current Issues in Apportionment," *Law and Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1982), and Grofman, "For Single Member Districts Random Is Not Equal," *ibid.*, *Representation and Redistricting Issues* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1982), 55-58. It is well-known that the best possible testimony for one side of a case can come from testimony offered by witnesses for the other side.

<sup>4</sup>Bruce Cain, "Assessing the Partisan Effects of Redistricting," paper prepared for delivery to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1983; Social Sciences Working Paper 491, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology, September 1983. Citations are to this latter version.

Professor Cain (1983 research paper: 20), on the other hand, says of these so-called Democratic 'martyrs':

In fact, one of the most striking things about [my data analysis in] Table 3 is the high degree of electoral security enjoyed by all the Democratic 'martyrs.' All of them had Democratic registrations above 55%, and with the added advantage of incumbency, they all had a greater than 95% chance of being reelected even after their districts were altered.

Some of the "martyrs" were reduced a few points in their margin of victory, but the safety of their seats was basically unaffected (emphasis ours).

Grofman: Cain (Declaration, p. 22) asserts that Figure 1 in my previous declaration does not show "that there were fewer seats in the competitive ranges under the legislature's plans than there had been in 1980. . . ." Of course, even if for the sake of argument we accepted Cain's assertion that Figure 1 in my original declaration does not show reduced competition in Plan I compared to the Master's Plan in 1980, Figure 7 in Professor Cain's research paper (1982: 33) does show such a decline in competitiveness (emphasis ours).

Cain has worked out an ingenious new wrinkle on the tack of confounding an author by impugning his current views in pending litigation by contrasting them with views expressed in his previous research—a tack which I shall call:

(1b) *Guilt by coauthorship.*

Cain: A second curious allegation in the plaintiff's case is the one that the legislature's plan in 1982 is a "lock-in" of the 1981 results, and that these districts "insure that, in a state which is overall highly competitive, a Democratic majority in the congressional delegation is guaranteed for the rest of the decade." It is particularly remarkable that Grofman should make this claim, *since his frequent coauthor, Howard Scarrow, has demonstrated* that the most skillful redistricting gains are subject to the erosion of demographic change and to the sudden shifts of partisan winds (emphasis ours).<sup>5</sup>

Grofman replied to this charge in his second declaration.

Grofman: Cain quotes my frequent coauthor, Professor Howard Scarrow, on the "short-livedness" of political gerrymanders. However, the New York Republican gerrymander referred to by Professor Scarrow (and Professor Polsby in his declaration) was one in which the Republicans tried to cut their margins too thin and ended up losing marginal seats in which they thought they had given themselves an edge. In California, the Democrats were smarter.

At this point, Grofman seeks to trump Cain's quote of Scarrow by making use of technique #1, quoting Professor Cain back at Cain.

Grofman: As Professor Cain (1983 research paper, *op. cit.*, 34-35) shows, key elements of the Democrat gerrymander here in California were incumbent displacement (by the carving up of previously Republican-held districts) and the creation of safe seats disproportionately in Democratic hands (emphasis ours).

A second technique used in *Badham*, designed to sow dissension in the ranks of the "enemy" experts, is to

(2) *play off one expert witness against another expert witness for the same side by claiming that the two have contradicted each other.*

<sup>5</sup>Howard A. Scarrow, "The Impact of Reapportionment on Party Representation in the State of New York," in B. Grofman, A. Lijphart, R. McKay and H. Scarrow (Eds.), *Representation and Redistricting Issues* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1982), 223-236. See also H. Scarrow, "Partisan Gerrymandering—Invidious or Malevolent?" *Journal of Politics* (Fall 1982), pp. 810-821.

Cain: First, there are many possible standards of political fairness, and political scientists do not agree as to which is best, *as is demonstrated by the contradictory arguments in the declarations of Professors Grofman and Baker*. Professor Baker argues for a compactness criterion while Professor Grofman disparages the use of what he terms "formal criteria" such as the shape of district lines and proposes instead a seats-votes measure. Secondly, the standards of political fairness proposed by Grofman and Baker will prove contradictory in many circumstances, and this will force the courts to choose between them (emphasis ours).

Grofman responds with mild sarcasm to this provocation by asserting (under "Minor Points" in his second declaration):

Grofman: Professor Baker and I are alleged by defense reply briefs to hold opposing views on what constitutes a gerrymander. I found this a bit confusing, since he and I are planning to coauthor a research article on gerrymandering because we share common views. We both believe that absence of compactness is simply a potential indicator of an attempt to gerrymander, although often a revealing one, and that a gerrymander's measure is in its political impact. We both believe that tortuously shaped districts require justification (e.g., by showing them to be *necessary* for racial or linguistic representation). As Professor Baker wrote in his declaration, "gerrymandering is the intentional manipulation of legislative boundaries for political advantage."

A standard rhetorical trick used by both sides in *Badham* is to

(3) *create, through hyperbole, a straw man and then knock it down.*

Grofman: My . . . research shows Plan I (and its lock-in by Plan II) to be *far* and away the most artful and the most massive partisan gerrymander in the past two decades of congressional reapportionment history.

This testimony is restated by Cain as follows:

Cain: The fact that the Democratic delegation increased from 22-21 in 1980 to 28-17 in 1982 is indisputable. Since a redistricting occurred in 1981, it is reasonable to suspect that changes in the district boundaries had something to do with the increase in the size of the Democratic delegation. The problem is ascertaining how much of a difference redistricting made. . . .

In this regard, the declarations of Professors Grofman and Baker are somewhat disturbing since they appear to me to be overly eager to conclude that *this was the most heinous act since the Turkish massacre of the Armenians* (emphasis ours).

Cain then goes on to suggest that particular Republican losses might well have occurred even without redistricting and calls attention to the purported flaws in Grofman's treatment of registration changes from Plan I to Plan II. Grofman rebuts by the now familiar tactic of quoting Professor Cain against Cain.

Grofman: Cain in his declaration suggests that plaintiff's experts exaggerate the unfairness of the California congressional plans. He says (p. 14), "My own analysis . . . indicates that there was a redistricting effect, but that it was less than the plaintiffs seem to think it was." *Professor Cain's own 1983 research article containing an evaluation of the effects of the first of these plans (prepared for an academic audience, not a lawsuit) thus can provide the court with a baseline: the plans are certainly at least as pernicious and extensive in their effects as Professor Cain demonstrates them to be.*

*Professor Cain's* research conclusion (1983 research paper: 35, emphasis ours) was as follows:

What then has been the total change from 1980 to 1982? . . . The answer would appear to be that the combination of partisan reconstruction and the artful removal of inconveniently placed incumbents can alter the seat distribution and make the majority party more efficiently distributed than the

minority party. *In the case of California, it was enough to help swing five seats to the Democrats.*

My own analyses show that redistricting affected partisan control in five seats and may have had a significant impact on partisan control in a sixth (emphasis added).<sup>8</sup>

A fourth standard practice in confrontation between experts, though relatively rare in the declarations in *Badham*, is to

(4) *nit-pick*.<sup>7</sup>

Cain: There also appear to be numerous factual errors in the Baker and Grofman Declarations. Appendix A of the Baker Declaration indicates that the Masters only split 17 cities whereas the true figure is closer to 61. Grofman claims that the legislature's plan divides 37 cities whereas the legislature's own data indicates that they split 31 cities. Baker eliminates "minor divisions" . . . without applying the same standard to the legislature's plan as comparison. Grofman gives us no explanation for why he contests the legislature's own estimates and no indication of where the discrepancies lie.<sup>8</sup>

Grofman: Cain (Declaration, p. 18) asserts that Professor Baker's Declaration indicates that the Master's plan split 17 cities. Cain has apparently misread the data in Baker's Declaration, Appendix A, p. 3, which is a xerox of material prepared for the Masters. The data in Appendix A, p. 3, shows 11 cities split, not 17. Eleven is also the figure reported by Professor Baker.

Cain: Grofman states that "Clausen's district, already marginal, had net Democratic strength added to it, leaving it vulnerable to a Democratic challenge. In 1982, Clausen lost the seat by 53-47. To start with, Grofman has not stated the facts accurately. The Democratic challenger, Doug Bosco, defeated Clausen 49.8% to 47.2%. As to his claim that redistricting was the culprit, what we might ask, was the "net Democratic strength that was added to the seat? . . ." According to the Secretary of State, the Democratic registration in the old CD2 was 52.2% and according to the May 1982 Report of Registration following the 1981 redistricting, the Democratic in the new CD1 (i.e., Clausen's renumbered seat) was 51.2%. . . . Democratic registration had actually fallen. . . . Even if for the sake of argument we assume that the Secretary of State's figures are less accurate than Professor Grofman's (which is, of course, a rather dubious assumption), the difference according to his own estimates is on the order of 2 registration points.

A final technique which is central to disputes among experts is to

(5) *claim the opposing expert has told the truth but not the whole truth*.<sup>9</sup>

Cain: As an empirical example of the proposition that compactness and proportionality are uncorrelated, consider the seats-votes ratios of three states with unusually compact congressional boundaries. . . . Idaho Democrats got 47% of the vote in 1982, but both of the state's congressional seats went to the Republicans. In Utah, the Democrats got 30% of the vote in 1982, but the Republicans won all three seats. And in New Mexico, the Democrats won 51% of the vote in 1982, but only managed to win one of the state's three seats.

Now we look at Grofman's rebuttal to this argument by Cain.

Grofman: Whether or not they have compact districts, congressional delegations

<sup>8</sup>Footnote from original omitted.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Confucius say: expert witness like a rubber tire; either one big puncture or lots of little ones and credibility shot (A Wuffle, "Wuffle's Advice to the Expert Witness in Court," *op. cit.*).

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Technique #3, use of hyperbole.

<sup>9</sup>In declarations prepared for use in litigation in federal courts in California, each expert must affirm "under penalty of perjury" that the material in his/her declaration is "true and correct."



with two or three members such as the examples of Idaho and Utah cited by Professor Cain (p. 4 of his declaration) can never be expected to give proportionality of seats and votes because of small-number "lumpiness" effects (the only possible outcomes in a two-member delegation are 0%, 50%, and 100%). Thus, these examples are irrelevant to the case at hand.

On the other hand, consider the following exchange.

Grofman: [One of the] three main factors which demonstrate the gerrymander [is] . . . the large discrepancy between the votes received by Democratic congressional candidates (51.6%) and the proportion of seats won by Democrats in the 1982 congressional election (62.2%).

Cain: The Democratic ratio of 62% of the seats with 52% of the votes is well within the normal range for the decade and taking into account the facts that the size of the delegation changed (so the proportions could not be exactly identical) and that there was a large swing against the Republicans nationally, it is remarkable how much the results in 1974 and 1976 (right after the Masters' redistricting) resemble that in 1982. *Professor Grofman's ahistorical presentation seems designed to shock those who are unfamiliar with the basic facts of California politics.* A more balanced presentation would have acknowledged that the ratio of seats to votes in 1982 was really quite unremarkable despite the genius the popular press has attributed to the late Phil Burton (emphasis ours).

For another example of facts which are true but are alleged to be misleading, consider the following exchange.

Cain: An example of [major change between Plan II and Plan I] . . . is the trade of territory between districts 32, 42, 29, 28, 27, and 38, involving approximately 60,000 persons in each district or 360,000 people in total. Considering that the districts had equal populations in 1982, these were remarkably large trades.

Grofman: Nowhere is there any rebuttal to [the] . . . data which shows Plan II to be Plan I in terms of partisan registration and political effect. Some bodies and some geography have been moved around but the *partisan* gerrymandering is *exactly the same*. For example, Cain calls attention to the trade of territory between districts 42, 29, 28, 27, and 38 involving 360,000 people—but three of these districts had safe Democratic incumbents who stayed safe, and there was only one Democratic incumbent to have his reelection chance significantly affected, in District 38, a marginal seat which was made safer for the Democratic party; while at the same time a Republican in District 42 (who received 69% of the total vote in 1982) was given more Republicans (which he didn't need).

### Concluding Discussion

It is easy to see a duel of experts as being much like a medieval joust. The winner may be he whose lance is most accurately pointed or he who is planted most firmly in the (factual) saddle. However, like the federal court which will eventually hear *Badham*, we must not let ourselves be distracted from the central legal issues in that case, e.g., the justiciability of political gerrymandering, by paying too much attention to the battle between experts except as it bears on those central issues. Also, although one side or the other in *Badham* must *lose*, political science (and *all* the experts who testified in *Badham*) can be said to have *won* to the extent that the debate among these political science experts helps federal courts to better understand a very complex policy question.

### **Prospects for Voter Registration Reform: A Report on the Experiences of the Human SERVE Campaign**

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Two years ago, an organization called Human SERVE initiated a national campaign to make access to voter registration widely available in American society for the first time. In this article, we report on the successes of that campaign and on the various sources of political resistance to it.

SERVE attempts to persuade governors, county executives, and mayors to issue executive orders directing that voter registration services be made available at reception desks in public facilities, and to persuade the directors of voluntary health and social agencies to establish similar services. By this means, it would become possible to register to vote at unemployment and welfare offices, hospitals and public health centers, daycare centers and family planning clinics, senior citizen centers and agencies for

the disabled, state liquor stores and lottery outlets, and settlement houses, YWCAs, municipal recreation programs, public libraries and the like. If this innovation were to be widely adopted, the American voter registration arrangements would become more nearly comparable to the European systems of universal registration—whether automatic registration at age 18 or door-to-door canvasses.

The SERVE strategy is based on the premise that difficulties in registering are the main reason for non-voting. Once registered, about 85 percent turn out to vote in presidential elections, and the disparity in participation between, for example, the most and least educated registrants shrinks to about 15 points. But only about 60 percent of the voting age population is registered in the United States. The opportunity to register at a range of service centers should thus enlarge electoral participation, particularly among the poor and minorities who vote less but use public and voluntary agencies more.

Two recent institutional developments laid the groundwork for this attempt. One was the success of the long struggle to stop government from preventing people from registering and voting, which culminated in the Voting Rights Act. Most of the legal barriers—from literacy tests to year-long residence requirements to poll taxes—have been swept away. The other institutional change was the great expansion of the welfare state after 1965. The multiplication of public and (publicly funded) voluntary social programs has brought millions of poorer and minority people who are less likely to be registered into more or less regular contact with governmental and quasi-governmental agencies. The historic problem of low registration in this country could

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he at least partly solved by allowing people to register at these agencies.

Moreover, there was reason to think that agency-based registration would find proponents among the agencies themselves. For one thing, it was not really so novel. Five states already permitted people to register to vote at motor vehicle offices (Maine, Ohio, Michigan, Arizona, and Oregon). Some voluntary agencies, such as settlement houses and YWCAs, have from time to time sponsored registration drives, and in this period there was reason to believe many more would be open to the idea of helping their clients to vote as a means of building a political defense of the social programs, and thus of agency budgets. Finally, there was a legislative precedent: California law says that "each county shall provide for the solicitation of registration by personnel of state agencies."

### **Voluntary Agencies Fear Political Retaliation**

The two of us formed the *Human Service Employees Registration and Voter Education Fund* (that is, Human SERVE) in the spring of 1983, together with Hulbert James, a veteran of the civil rights and welfare rights movements of the 1960s. James also served as executive director during the first 18 months. By fall, Human SERVE had a board of directors which included the heads of the Council on Social Work Education, the National Association of Social Workers, the American Public Health Association, the Affiliated Leadership League of and for the Blind of America, the American Orthopsychiatric Association, the National Board of the YWCA, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the Children's Foundation, Wider Opportunities for Women, and the Dean of the Columbia University School of Social Work. In the next few months, more national social welfare organizations endorsed the strategy: the American Association of Citizens with Disabilities, the American Humane Association, the American Nurses Association, the Community Services Division of the AFL-CIO, the National Planning and Reproductive Health Association, the National Abortion Fed-

eration, and the National Medical Student Association, as well as NOW and AFSCME. At about the same time, the National Association of Secretaries of State issued a report urging that "voluntary agency staff members conduct voter registration," and that "state, county and municipal employees whose work brings them into frequent contact with the public offer to register any citizen seeking assistance at government agencies while discharging their regular duties." We made good use of that report around the country.

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*Once registered, about 85 percent turn out to vote in presidential elections. . . .*

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All of these organizations publicized agency-based voter registration in newsletters and mailings, and some, including the American Public Welfare Association, the National Association of Social Workers, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, and the National Board of the YWCA, assigned national staff to spur local affiliates to implement voter registration. (The National Association of Black Social Workers, and the National Association of Neighborhood Centers endorsed voter registration, but did not join our national coalition because of the racial tensions evident generally in the national voter registration effort in the 1980-84 period.)

With broad support in the social welfare community, we were able to raise money from foundations and individual donors to hire a national staff and field organizers in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Florida, Ohio, Michigan, Texas, California, and Oregon; to contribute toward the costs of an organizer already working with local groups in Illinois who were interested in promoting agency-based registration; and to pay the expenses of volunteer organizers in Connecticut, Tennessee and West Virginia.

The headquarters staff in New York City dealt with funders and the media, spoke before human service audiences across the country, worked with the national

social welfare associations and public officials, organized a litigation campaign against obstructive boards of elections, prepared publicity materials for use in the fields, and otherwise coordinated the work of field organizers.

Meanwhile, the field organizers concentrated on persuading local voluntary social and health agencies to begin offering voter registration services. There are 125,000 such agencies which offer direct services, two-thirds of them formed during the flowering of domestic social reform after 1960, and many of them affiliated with the national organizations which had endorsed the drive. The organizing approach was top down and bottom up. We would promote endorsements and publicity by national human service organizations, while simultaneously working in the field with their local affiliates. At the local level, schools of social work were often helpful in this process, serving as supplementary organizing centers by encouraging their students to press for the development of voter registration services in the agencies where they interned several days a week and by calling meetings of agency executives in their communities to promote the campaign.

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*Many human service workers worried that beneficiaries might think they were being coerced to register as a condition of receiving service, or were concerned that registration was a "political" activity and therefore unprofessional. . . .*

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By the close of registration in October 1984, 1,500 voluntary agencies across the country had registered 275,000 people. Agencies serving women were the most active: YWCAs registered 100,000; Planned Parenthood agencies, 30,000; and another 25,000 were registered by the National Abortion Federation, women's health clinics, and day-

care programs. The remaining 90,000 were mainly registered by health facilities, such as community health centers, mental health centers, and centers for the disabled. In New York City, 35 hospitals participated.

Still, this has to be seen as a modest result. Voluntary agencies have the capacity to register millions, but only about one percent of them participated. Partly this was because it took time to disseminate the idea and because agencies are slow to innovate. In addition, many human service workers worried that beneficiaries might think they were being coerced to register as a condition of receiving service, or were concerned that registration was a "political" activity and therefore unprofessional (although they see no such problem in lobbying on their own behalf—for state licensing or legislation granting them "third party" payments, for example). It must also be said that most human service workers are ambivalent about their clients as political allies, even though the slashing of social program benefits also means fewer human service jobs.

But fear overrode all of these diverse sources of reluctance. Agency directors were afraid that voter registration would provoke the wrath either of their rich and conservative board members or of incumbent political leaders who dispense public subsidies. Even formal endorsements were not always easy to get. United Way of America considered joining the effort, but backed off to avoid objections from its business and industry contributors. The National Association of Community Health Centers decided it was wiser not to provoke the Reagan administration. (The Community Action Foundation, which represents local "community action agencies," could not join the campaign because of federal statutes expressly prohibiting anti-poverty agencies from using federal money to conduct voter registration.)

On the local level, risk of political reprisals was clearest, of course, in communities under Republican control, and agency directors were quick to say so—in the Republican-controlled counties on Long Island, for example. True, registration

services were strictly nonpartisan. But it was obvious that the disproportionately poor and minority people who would be registered were probable Democrats. More interesting, and revealing, is that voluntary agencies also felt in jeopardy in Democratically controlled jurisdictions, particularly where incumbent political leaders were at odds with the minority community. Many agencies in New York City, for example, shied away from participation because of their reliance on Koch administration subsidies. For similar reasons, few voluntary agencies in southern states felt free to participate.

### **Resistance by Political Incumbents**

Human SERVE's effort to promote directives establishing voter registration services in state, county, and municipal agencies also reveals the stakes which incumbent politicians have in preventing the expansion of the electorate from below. Of course, we anticipated a good deal of resistance: we obviously did not expect Republican officials to want to register social program beneficiaries, and we thought a good many Democrats in secure seats would be ambivalent at best. Most of our efforts were directed to state and local Democrats who had been elected by the upsurge of minority voting in 1982. The timidity and footdragging even by these politicians whose electoral fortunes would be advanced by more voters from the bottom is revealing. The problem, in brief, is that few politicians are willing to risk the political infighting associated with the prospect of a large-scale infusion of new voters.

We turn first to the successes, including the symbolic successes, for they may matter in the long run. Between March and September 1984, Human SERVE succeeded in obtaining six gubernatorial executive orders, four of them directing that voter registration services be established in all state agencies (Texas, Ohio, New York, and Montana), and two of them (New Mexico and West Virginia) applying only to human service departments (which means largely welfare offices). In addition, the governor of Minnesota issued a permissive letter to department heads saying he was sup-

portive of the idea, but he fell short of directing that it be implemented. (These orders—with the exception of Montana—were all issued, as we had anticipated, by Democratic governors who had been elected in 1982.)

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*Agency directors were afraid that voter registration would provoke the wrath either of their rich and conservative board members or of incumbent political leaders who dispense public subsidies.*

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Orders applying to county agencies were issued in Travis County (Austin), Texas; Essex County (Newark), New Jersey; Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, as well as the Ohio counties of Franklin and Green. Directives limited just to human service agencies were issued in Contra Costa County, California; Orange (Tallahassee) and Dade (Miami) counties in Florida; Middlesex County, New Jersey; and Multnomah County (Portland), Oregon. Mayors issued orders covering municipal agencies in two New Jersey cities (New Brunswick and Camden), and in seven Ohio cities (Akron, Canton, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Mansfield, Shelby, and Stubenville).

The gubernatorial orders in New Mexico and Ohio were stimulated by news articles carried by the *New York Times* and the wire services describing the strategy being advanced by SERVE; state officials contacted us, and we then assisted in developing and implementing the orders. The orders in Texas and New York resulted from the lobbying efforts of coalitions of human service organizations and labor unions developed by our state organizers (the AFL-CIO was extremely helpful in Texas, and District Council 37-AFSCME was crucial in New York). The West Virginia order resulted because the head of the state human resources department was also president of the American Public Welfare Association (APWA) with which we worked closely.

Although APWA did not officially endorse the SERVE strategy, it was very supportive: it featured the strategy in newsletters and issued a "guidance memorandum" which instructed local public welfare officials on ways to implement voter registration without running afoul of federal auditors on the grounds that grant-in-aid funds were being used for unauthorized purposes. The permissive letter in Minnesota resulted from the efforts of a statewide SERVE organization formed by local activists. All of the county and municipal orders were obtained by SERVE field staff, except in Ohio where the Secretary of State, Sherrod Brown, promoted them.

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Several state legislatures also acted to authorize public workers to conduct registration in state agencies while discharging their regular duties. (As we said earlier, California already had such a law on the books; the SERVE organizer there is trying to get counties to implement it over the Republican governor's opposition but with the support of the Democratic secretary of state, and the courts will presently be asked to order implementation in a suit being prepared jointly with ACLU.)

A bill sponsored by a broad coalition became effective on July 1, 1984, in Illinois authorizing representatives of qualified "civic organizations" to be deputized to register voters; it also per-

mits (but does not require) the deputization of workers in some state agencies. In February 1984, the state of Washington passed a bill instructing every state agency with significant contacts with the public to provide registration services. The work of the Florida SERVE organizer voted to authorize state workers to register citizens (but fear of retaliation by the Reagan administration, to be discussed in a moment, has so far held up implementation). And a Maryland coalition organized by the state Planned Parenthood Federation, with which SERVE works, secured passage of a bill in April 1985 which directs that space, posters and newly-devised statewide registration forms be made available in the departments of human service, health and mental hygiene, and motor vehicles.

We are not modest about SERVE's accomplishments in the brief time it has existed. But it is just as significant that this simple and almost cost-free way of facilitating access to registration has been resisted and obstructed by politicians, including those who would benefit from the votes of low-income and minority people. Even black mayors were reluctant to risk political attack. Our Illinois organizer failed to obtain an executive order in Chicago because Mayor Washington decided he did not need another rhubarb with the white members of the city council.

When politicians did order agency-based registration, they were often hesitant to implement it, or reversed themselves in the face of attack. Governor Anaya's effort to establish registration services in state welfare agencies throughout New Mexico (if that experiment went smoothly, he planned to extend it to all state departments) was instantly denounced by Republicans and Democrats alike, and by most editorialists and political cartoonists in the state. The attorney general, a member of a wing of the Democratic party not particularly sympathetic to the new Hispanic governor, declared that the order violated Article 2, Section 8 of the state constitution which says that "All elections shall be free and open and no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage." The

governor ended the experiment almost as soon as it had begun.

Or consider the situation in Michigan where we had little hope that the beleaguered governor, who was fighting off a tax revolt, would issue an executive order. Instead, the Michigan Human SERVE organizer persuaded the secretary of state and the commissioners of five state departments to circulate a letter endorsing (but not ordering) voter registration services in public agencies. This largely symbolic gesture provoked majorities in both houses of the legislature (including decisive numbers of Democrats) to pass an amendment to an appropriations bill in March 1984 expressly prohibiting these departments from offering voter registration or cooperating with Human SERVE. Meanwhile, the Democratically controlled legislature in Massachusetts, which has some of the most archaic registration procedures in the country, voted down a succession of liberalizing voter registration measures, including registration by postcard, advanced by state SERVE coalition and other reform organizations.

Within 72 hours of the issuance of the New York State executive order in June 1984, the Republican Party persuaded a state supreme court judge to issue a temporary restraining order preventing Governor Cuomo from proceeding. The court accepted the claim that the Republican party would be "irreparably harmed" because state employees would try to bias new registrants toward the Democratic party; the court also accepted the claim that the governor had invaded the legislature's constitutionally granted power over voter registration. Upon appeal, the courts rejected the "presumption that state agencies will act improperly," and lifted the injunction. But by then the Republicans had succeeded in delaying implementation until after the presidential election, just as Cuomo had delayed issuing the original order until after the state Democratic presidential primary in June in which Jesse Jackson was running. The Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court also unanimously rejected the constitutional claim, and the matter is now pending before the New York State Court of

Appeals where we expect it will also be decided that the governor did not violate the separation of powers. The Republicans also sued in Ohio after Governor Celeste issued an order, but the suit was subsequently withdrawn.

However, there was a two-week period in September 1984 when Cuomo, between court appeals, was permitted to proceed. Tables and posters had been prepared in advance and were placed in unemployment office waiting rooms throughout the state. Approximately 2,500 postcard registration forms were completed and deposited in drop-in boxes and another 17,000 forms were taken home (but we do not know how many were completed and mailed back to local boards of elections). In Ohio, when forms were made available in state agencies, including state liquor stores, lottery outlets, and unemployment offices during August and September 1984, the secretary of state reported that 59,000 forms were completed and returned.

The Democratic governors who issued executive orders are also being harassed by the Reagan administration. The trouble began in Texas where Governor White's executive order has so far been implemented only in the state's 450 local human service offices (over the objections by the Texas Republican party that it is a partisan ploy, since "there are no Republicans on the welfare lines"). The director of the Employment Commission balked at implementing White's executive order and wrote instead to the United States Department of Labor asking whether it would be proper for federally funded state personnel to pass out voter registration forms. The labor department not unexpectedly replied that it would be

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*The Democratic governors who issued executive orders are . . . being harassed by the Reagan administration.*

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improper and immediately distributed a similar opinion to all state employment directors. New York and Ohio went ahead anyway, but in the most cautious

way: they set up voter registration tables in all waiting rooms, but instructed employees not to ask unemployment applicants whether they were registered nor to answer questions about how to fill out

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the forms, so that the only federal funds being used are for the rental of the few square feet of space under each table. This "passive" approach, as administrators call it, is being adopted to avoid a confrontation with the federal government.

But the federal government has not let it go at that. On September 27, 1984, the Office of Personnel Management wrote Governors Celeste, Cuomo and White that "It has come to our attention that your state is using its employees to ask individuals if they are registered to vote. . . . If they express some interest in registering, state employees are used to help the individual to become registered. The concern has been raised as to whether this use of state personnel interferes with or affects the results of the election this November 1984." The OPM letter went on to imply that governors were forcing state personnel to influence people to register as Democrats, thus violating the 1970 Intergovernmental Personnel Act which protects state employees from being coerced to engage in "partisan political purposes and . . . from using their official authority for the purpose of interfering with or affecting the result of an election." The letter ended by demanding that the governors forward all materials pertaining to their registration programs and hinted that federal grants-in-aid might be in jeopardy.

Governor Celeste said it was "black-mail"; Governor Cuomo complained of "a transparently political attempt to cur-

tail the access of United States citizens to the ballot box, not only here in New York but in other states as well"; and Governor White called a press conference in a state agency waiting room and distributed voter registration cards, declaring that he was going to begin a vigorous program to implement his executive order throughout all state agencies (which he has so far done only in welfare offices). All three governors rejected the allegation that state employees were being compelled to engage in partisan activities—Celeste and White because voters in Ohio and Texas do not register by party, and Cuomo because state employees were doing nothing more than making registration forms available in waiting rooms.

The issue is not whether federal funds can be used by the states for purposes other than those for which they were specifically granted. The Department of Labor and the Selective Service recently reached an agreement to encourage federally funded state job training officials to act as "uncompensated registrars" for Selective Service, so that applicants for job training will now have a chance to register for the draft. And the Defense Department mounted its own federally funded agency-based voter registration program: "Those who have volunteered to serve this great nation should be in the forefront in shaping and influencing its future through the electoral process," wrote Casper Weinberger in a June 1984 letter directing that military commanders actively facilitate the registration of personnel under their commands. In any event, the question of whether states and localities may use federally funded personnel to conduct registration has reached the courts in Ohio where the secretary of state and PROJECT VOTE! (a national voter registration organization) have entered a suit against OPM. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1985, OPM Executive Director, Donald Devine, was denied reconfirmation by the Senate, an action that resulted in part from a series of hearings in the House convened by Barney Frank (D-MA), which exposed his harassing actions toward the governors.

In principle, electoral competition should



stimulate political contenders to mobilize voters. During the 1984 presidential campaign, however, neither party wanted new voters from the bottom. True, the press reported that the Republicans spent over \$10 million, but that was to register better-off people. Using computer tapes from the Census Bureau, credit bureaus, motor vehicle bureaus, and boards of elections, they merged and purged the tapes in order to pinpoint two-car owners living in high-priced homes who were unregistered and telephoned to see if they agreed that Reagan was doing a good job so that a paid canvasser could either stop by their homes or mail postcard registration forms to them.

The Republican party's strategy is understandable enough, given the unlikelihood that low-income voters would support the Republican ticket. For its part, the Democratic National Committee did virtually nothing, although DNC officials repeatedly announced that millions of dollars would be devoted to voter registration. To the best of our knowledge, less than \$2 million was spent, and that not on voter registration but on getting out the vote.

SERVE fruitlessly attempted to persuade the DNC to encourage state and local Democratic officials to issue and implement executive orders as an inexpensive way to open the electoral system to low-income and minority people (considering Republican opposition at the local level, we saw no point in approaching the RNC for support). The only action that we know of consisted of a letter from Charles Manatt which was distributed to 450-odd state party chairpersons, governors, secretaries of state and other local Democratic officials urging them, among other things, to follow the examples of Governors White, Celeste and Cuomo by issuing "Executive Orders instructing state agencies which have frequent contact with the public to help register eligible citizens. A good short-term step would be to place registration forms in government agencies and publicize their availability." The letter was dated September 26, 1984—just one week before the close of registration in most states.

That large numbers of new voters would pose a risk to incumbents is obvious

enough, and it explains the resistance SERVE encountered among many state and local politicians. It does not, however, explain the reluctance of national Democratic leaders confronting the election of 1984 to assemble a national majority by enlisting new voters from the bottom. This hints at even more serious threats which electoral expansion poses to existing patterns of party organization, at least over the longer term.

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It is often said that the non-voting population in the United States is too diversified to have a distinctive politics, and public opinion survey data do tend to confirm this. Were that the whole of it, the inclusion of non-voters would enlarge the scale of electoral participation without intensifying class or group polarization. But the sharp socioeconomic difference between voters and nonvoters suggests that polarization would occur. The problem with opinion polling is that it reflects the underdevelopment of political attitudes resulting from the historic exclusion of low-income groups from active electoral participation. In other words, what survey data cannot reveal, and what politicians sense, is that political attitudes would change over time if the allegiance of voters from the bottom became the object of political competition, for then it would be necessary to articulate their class grievances and aspirations in order to win their support. The political socialization resulting from this kind of dynamic interaction between leaders and constituents—which can only occur if registration becomes more accessible—would threaten more than particular incumbents. The inevitable public policy conflicts would put party support at risk among other electoral constituencies with different interests, threaten internal structures of party oligarchy, and jeopardize sources of fund-

ing from big contributors—all of which are costs the Democratic party was unwilling to pay in order to win a single national election.

### **Registration Barriers Erected by Boards of Elections**

Boards of elections are usually the instruments of the local political parties, and they shape their practices to screen out certain categories of potential voters. From the beginning of the twentieth century, when voter registration was introduced throughout the nation, it became difficult or impossible for blacks, white sharecroppers and dirt farmers to vote in the South and difficult for many of the urban poor and industrial workers to vote in the North. Despite the gains made by the civil rights movement in eliminating legal barriers, the administrative barriers erected by the boards continue to restrict access to the franchise.

In principle, boards of elections could have implemented agency-based registration in most places long ago: in mail-registration states by arranging with county, municipal, and voluntary agencies to put posters, tables and stacks of registration cards in waiting rooms, and in non-mail-registration states by recruiting and deputizing volunteers (e.g., from the League of Women Voters or community groups) to staff tables, or by deputizing agency receptionists. After all, if a young man can register for the draft at a post office, why shouldn't he be allowed to register to vote there? If tax forms are made available in banks, why shouldn't postcard registration forms also be? If motor vehicle license forms are mailed, why not include voter registration forms? And why shouldn't working women be allowed to register at daycare centers, welfare recipients at welfare centers, the unemployed at employment offices? But none of that would be consistent with the interests of local political establishments in keeping the gates to the electoral system as tightly closed as possible.

The most general problem is that few boards make voter registration widely available in the community, and they usually do what they can to prevent

others from doing so. In postcard registration states, boards of elections often try to frustrate registration campaigns by limiting the number of forms given out. In states without mail registration, many boards refuse to open satellite centers or to deputize volunteer registrars. They typically justify these refusals with the familiar adage that if people are not interested enough to travel to an office where voter registration is available (which may be half way across a county) or sophisticated enough to figure out where that is, they do not deserve to vote anyway. Local boards were also usually unwilling to deputize staff members from public or voluntary agencies, even when state laws contain language to the effect that they may deputize as many volunteers as are necessary to ensure that all citizens have the opportunity to vote.

Restrictive local boards created something of a farce in Connecticut where there is no deputization except in Hartford and to a limited extent in New Haven. We had been urging the governor both to issue an executive order establishing registration in state agencies and to bring pressure on the boards to deputize state workers (as well as volunteers from community groups). He decided instead to direct his department heads to submit plans showing how they would make it easy for volunteers to canvass for new registrants in waiting rooms (e.g., by making tables available, etc.). Every department sent in detailed plans, some of them enthusiastically. But he did not press town election officials to liberalize deputization practices. Consequently, agency administrators throughout Connecticut waited over the summer of 1984 for volunteer registrars who never appeared because they could not get deputized.

Boards which do deputize often do so selectively; they will deputize members of the League of Women Voters or the Moral Majority, but not members of the NAACP and ACORN or employees of human service agencies. Moreover, volunteer deputies are sometimes told that some sites are off-limits—such as welfare and unemployment offices or public housing projects. The Richmond, Virginia board revoked the deputy status of

NAACP volunteers canvassing on federal surplus cheese distribution lines; a Catholic registrar in New Haven refused to deputize staff members from Planned Parenthood.

In Massachusetts, local election officials generally will not deputize volunteers, but they are required by state law to dispatch their own employees to sites of "principal activity" at a designated time if petitioned by ten registered voters. However, the Worcester and New Bedford town clerks simply denied that welfare centers, unemployment offices, and community health facilities where low-income and minority people congregate are places of principal activity.

A number of boards which were willing to deputize volunteers so hobbled them with restrictions that they gave up in frustration ("Pick up the forms after 9:00 a.m., and return them by 4:45 p.m. Late forms will be voided."). Sometimes forms are given out only 20 or 25 at a time—that's how it works in Indianapolis, for example—so that volunteers must spend more time traveling than registering. To make matters worse, after the forms are completed and returned, Indianapolis officials require the volunteers to repeat the entire process by which they were initially deputized: they must again secure permission from representatives of one of the political parties, again secure the permission of the county registrar, and again undergo training, after which they again receive only 20 or 25 cards. A similar system exists in Detroit. Volunteers are required to attend a two-hour training session to learn how to fill out forms, and they are required to repeat the training process and to be redeputized each time registration is closed. That means agencies wanting to offer registration services have to arrange for staff members to be retrained about six times each year. The situation in Michigan as a whole is even more complicated; it has 1,500 boards of elections (25 percent of the total in the United States), and anyone deputized by a particular board can only register people who live in that tiny jurisdiction. Consequently, social agencies must send staff to be deputized in all of the jurisdictions from which they draw clients.

These are only some of the typical problems in non-mail-registration states; a complete inventory of obstructions would fill a small book. So there is something to be said for legislation permitting registration by postcard, which now exists in 21 states covering 60 percent of the population. By itself, postcard registration does not appreciably raise registration levels because no provision is made to distribute the forms widely. It nevertheless reduces the ability of boards of elections to control access to registration. Anyone, or at least any registered voter, can usually get the forms to register others.

### **Obstructions in the Courts**

Since our registration efforts were being frustrated, we turned to the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and the Lawyers Guild to join in a coalition to launch a barrage of lawsuits against registrars in a dozen or more states. Attorneys from the Public Interest Research Group and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America also participate, as do representatives from most of the national voter registration groups. The coalition, which is now chaired by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, began filing suits in the spring of 1984; some were won, most were lost in the lower courts. A suit was won by Planned Parenthood in Connecticut (where the judge accepted the claim that the failure to deputize was a violation of the Voting Rights Act), and another was won by PROJECT VOTE! in Rhode Island. (PROJECT VOTE! also won suits in eight different federal courts forcing local welfare and unemployment officials to permit volunteers to canvass for new registrants in waiting rooms.) But suits were lost in Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire and Michigan, some of which are on appeal. The main problem is that the courts are not accepting the argument that the First Amendment protects the right to register (although a successful suit in Iowa produced some language supportive of that theory). Were the courts to accept the First Amendment theory,

boards of elections would then have to demonstrate a compelling state interest to justify not deputizing volunteers and distributing forms widely.

Moreover, the courts have been agreeing with the defense offered by boards of elections that they are in fact reaching out to register new voters, a claim supported by the ostensible fact that most people are registered. In Michigan, for example, we filed suit with the aid of the local chapter of the Civil Liberties Union, but the case failed in part because board officials testified that upwards of 90 percent of the age-eligible population was registered. We did not know then that Michigan has not purged its rolls of those who have died or moved since 1975 (nationally, about 16 percent of households move every year, and one percent of those over 18 years of age die). The Census Bureau's Current Population Survey estimates that less than 80 percent of Michiganites claim to be registered, and that figure should be discounted by 10 percent to correct for overreporting. As the deputy secretary in charge of elections later told us, "A lot of dust accumulates on the rolls, but it doesn't hurt anyone."

But the "dust" does matter. It creates the widespread illusion that there is no need to change registration procedures, since just about everyone is registered. Moreover, inflated registration rates falsely depress estimates of turnout among registered voters, and that is also harmful to the cause of registration reform. After all, if many registered voters ostensibly fail to vote, then registration reform is not an effective way to enlarge turnout. These illusions are being progressively magnified because many states have liberalized their purge rules over the past two decades, allowing non-voters to remain on the rolls for from four to ten years although they may have long since moved or died. Illinois officials conducted a study in 1984 of 25 local jurisdictions and found that many of them were reporting registration levels of more than 100 percent of the voting age population. In Alabama, many jurisdictions have not purged the rolls since passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, which doubtless explains why that state

reported a 1980 registration level of 77.4 percent compared with Georgia's 61.4 and South Carolina's 56 percent. Even states which purge religiously cannot altogether avoid the problem. In California, notices are sent to all registered voters before each primary; the names of those returned by the post office are placed on an "Oath of Continuous Residency List," and are so notified; they are then purged if they do not vote in the primary. Even so, California officials estimate that their rolls contain 7 to 8 percentage points of deadwood, reducing their 1980 official registration figure of 64.8 to 57 percent. Subtracting the same minimum percentage would reduce Pennsylvania's 1980 official level of 65.5 to below 60 percent, and New York's 61.1 to about 55 percent.

Based on Current Population Survey estimates and detailed conversations with elections officials in the secretary of state offices of 15 states, we judge that the minimum deadwood being carried on the rolls in any state is about 8 to 10 percent. The maximum is upwards of 50 percent. The average for the country is probably close to 20 percent, or more than 20 million out of the 127 million official registrants, which means that only about 60 percent of the 174 million eligible voters in 1984 were registered.

### **Circumventing the Dilemma of Reform**

To the extent that we think about voting and non-voting as rooted in political conflict, we tend to locate that conflict in the tumultuous politics at the turn of the century when new legal barriers to the exercise of the franchise together with a system of procedural barriers known as voter registration were introduced throughout the country. But the opposition Human SERVE provoked suggests that the politics of voting and nonvoting is not just a heritage of the past. Rather, electoral constriction is embedded in contemporary politics, and it is vigorous and pervasive.

For this reason, there is not much hope that Congress will enact an automatic registration system modelled after those prevailing in other democracies. Massive

shifts in the active electorate are always troublesome, even fatal, for incumbent politicians. President Carter sponsored an election-day registration bill in 1977, and explained why it was overwhelmingly defeated:

The key [source of resistance] is incumbency. Incumbent members of the Congress don't want to see additional unpredictable voters registered. . . . The more senior and more influential members of the Congress have very safe districts. To have a 25 or 30 percent increase of unpredictable new voters is something they don't relish. I would suggest to you that this is the single most important obstacle to increasing participation on election day.

Agency-based registration partially circumvents resistance because it does not depend on assembling legislative majorities. It can be implemented by executives, including the executives of voluntary agencies, and it is potentially far more efficient than voter registration campaigns which can never recruit enough volunteers to cope with the scale of the problem.

Over the longer term, agency-based registration could help create the political conditions for national voter registration reform along European lines. As registration levels rise, showing that the poor and minorities can no longer be kept out of the system, the political motive for opposing registration reform would be commensurately reduced, while the prospect of winning the allegiance of new voters might itself motivate entrepreneurial politicians to become advocates of reform. □

## Louisiana Politics

### Errol Laborde

Gambit Newspaper and  
WYES-TV, New Orleans

*Editor's Note: This article is presented in anticipation of APSA's annual meeting,*

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**Errol Laborde**

*which will take place August 29-September 1 at the Hilton in New Orleans, Louisiana.*

A group of reporters rushed Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards as he left the office of the New Orleans area U.S. Attorney. Edwards, who at the time was under investigation for a possible hospital kickback scheme, had visited the office to discuss the investigation. "Do you have anything to hide?" a reporter asked the governor. "Of course I do," the governor responded, "—but not about any of this."

Apparently the grand jury thought otherwise because it subsequently issued an indictment against both Edwards; his

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brother, and some business partners—an action which touched off another round of self-examination in Louisiana about the state's politics.

There are some in Louisiana who are quite cynical about political life in their state, and there are others who are merely entertained by it. Indeed the show-biz, if not the administrative, aspects of government in the Bayou state have historically won national critical acclaim.

### The Banana Republic

Any discussion on the topic usually begins with reference to journalist A. J. Liebling's study of Earl Long's 1956 gubernatorial campaign, published in *The New Yorker* and then as a book, in which the writer compared Louisiana to a banana republic. The state's political history is in fact filled with rogues and upheaval suitable, if not for a true banana republic, at least for a Woody Allen movie.

There was Earl Long's big brother, Huey, aka the "Kingfish," who in 1928 became the champion of the little people by making Louisiana the nation's first welfare state—a bit of benevolence provided at the expense of the oil companies. Since poor people far outnumber oil company executives, Long became a power in the state and a threat to those who opposed him—a group whose numbers diminished once the governor squelched an impeachment attempt by getting 14 state senators (one-third plus one) to sign a round-robin petition saying that under no condition would they vote to oust Long.

Huey's legend is such a part of Louisiana lore that it might be assumed that he clung to the governor's office in the style of Mayor Daley. In fact he served only part of one term, finishing out his days as a member of the U.S. Senate. But he ruled from Washington having placed his boyhood crony, O. K. Allen, in the governor's office. Oscar Allen was the classic political puppet to the extent that critics chided that the real reason for his forename was that when Long said he wanted something done, Allen responded, "O.K."

It was an assassin's bullet that finally stopped Huey Long but not before his uttering concern that if his followers ever used the powers he had amassed without him to keep them in line they would all wind up in jail. Long proved to be a prophet. His reign was brief, but it caused a deluge as the 1930s became known as the period of the "Louisiana Hayride"—a reference to the flamboyance of the state's politics made appropriate because it was a prosecutor's heyday. Richard Leche, the governor by the choice of the Long political organization, resigned in the heat of scandal. The president of LSU, handpicked by Huey, was pursued to Canada and brought back to Louisiana by investigators pursuing misappropriation of university funds. Louisiana's academic history includes a photograph of the LSU president standing in the field as one of the gang at Angola state penitentiary.

### Do-Everythingism

There was so much scandal that by 1940 voters decided that they had enough of post-Huey Longism, at least for four years. Thus began a period in Louisiana politics where election history could be described as pendulum swings between pro-Long and anti-Long, a pattern that continued through decades until as recently as the 1964 elections. Louisiana, a one-party southern state, was clearly bi-factional.

During that period the dominant character was Huey's little brother Earl—the lieutenant governor who took over after Leche's resignation and who was elected to the top state job on two separate occasions. Earl came to epitomize Longism—a brash brand of populism. He teased his opponents' brand of government as "do nothingism" and promised instead "do everythingism." Earl delivered on his promises to build roads, to provide free textbooks and school lunches as well as tuition-free university education. Louisiana was the only state to have a system of state-operated charity hospitals.

Delivering on his promises required power and power required loyalty—on demand. "Those who support me in the

first primary get jobs," Earl Long once teased, while "those who support me in the runoff get good government."

Long's last term, 1956-60, was his most troubling. Not only was he facing emotional problems to the extent that his sanity hearing became one of the state's biggest attractions, but he was caught in the vise of a problem he couldn't escape—civil rights. The Longs were colorful politicians but, by the standards of the day, they were also colorblind. When politicians in other Southern states were winning elections by race baiting, the Longs' base was the poor, many of whom were black. The legislators booed when Earl Long, who was politically savvy enough not to be characterized as an integrationist, could not get fully immersed in the segregationist hysteria. Long was a man torn by his principle and his politics; nevertheless, he and Huey forged together a populist coalition of blacks, at least those who were allowed to vote, and blue-collar whites even before Franklin Roosevelt would do the same in reshaping the national Democratic party.

### **Continuities with the Past: Edwin Edwards**

That coalition was similar to the one that elected Edwin Edwards governor in 1971 and 1975 and then again, after being required by a constitutional limitation to sit out four years, in 1983.

Modern Louisiana politics is quite different from the days of the Longs. As in most states, political tickets have given way to the media age; the difference is that some of the political advertising in Louisiana is among the most sophisticated, and expensive, political television seen anywhere. Parties are more of a factor now, but just barely so. Louisiana elected a Republican governor in 1979 but that had more to do with personality and the way the votes divided than with any political upheaval. In Huey's day the state was predominantly rural, now it is more suburban—a factor which enhances Republican-like sentiments, although they are frequently voiced by suburban Democrats, a few of which have recently bolted to the other party.

One of the most significant changes has been in the election law, a change championed by Edwards, by which the system of party primaries followed by a general election was changed to a single open primary (in which candidates of any or no affiliation run at the same time) followed by, if necessary, a run-off. The effect of the change has been to make party identity even less significant.

There are still, however, lots of poor people looking for a savior, as well as special interests looking for a winner, factors which help explain why Edwards' political profile resembles that of the Longs. Longism began in the piney hills of North Louisiana. Edwards, by contrast, calls the rice country in the state's Southwest corner home. The bilingual Edwards (he speaks Louisiana Acadian French fluently) is, by reputation if not birthright, Cajun—the Cajun Huey Long.

Like Huey, Edwards mixes well and knows how to play to an audience. Speaking to a very conservative, rural Baptist gathering in North Louisiana during his last campaign Edwards defended himself to his opponent's charges that as governor he had been too lenient in grant-

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ing paroles. "The greatest man who ever walked the earth," Edwards cried out, "died on the cross to forgive us for our sins." Why, then, the governor asked, should someone be faulted for forgiving malefactors?

Four years earlier Edwards was present at a rally to endorse a Democratic candidate for governor. New Orleans Mayor Dutch Morial jokingly referred to Edwards' penchant for gambling by suggesting that perhaps the two could get together and roll the dice. "I may not be the smartest person in the world," Edwards quipped to the crowd, "but I'm

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smart enough not to shoot craps with a black politician.”

Edwards is in fact smart. Smart enough to have mastered the political chess game necessary to deliver to the state during his first term a new constitution, a document now considered in some ways to be a model. Smart enough to have soothed racial tensions. Smart enough to have won the governorship, the top prize in the byzantine world of Louisiana politics, more often than anyone else. Smart enough to have rescued the troubled 1984 world's fair from a financial disaster. Smart enough, by his gifted oratory, to have talked the legislature into a tax break package that would allow the Saints football team to stay in New Orleans. And, throughout his career, Edwards has been smart enough to teeter on the edge of scandal without falling—the case that led to his indictment may have proven to be his one misstep.

### **Louisiana Politicians: National Impact**

Edwards is an example of the fact that those who survive in Louisiana politics may be jesters, but they are not fools. The Longs, for all their showmanship, had national impact. As a Senator, Huey Long parlayed his populist heritage into becoming one of the spokesmen for the nationwide, post-depression, share-the-wealth movement. When the Roosevelt administration shifted to the left and began its social programs, it was hearing the voices of economic preachers such as the Senator from Louisiana.

Huey's son, Russell, would go to the United States Senate and work his way to the chairmanship of the Senate Finance Committee. Before the Republican takeover in 1980 Long was considered one of the most powerful men in Washington as he shaped national financial policy.

Were it not for a plane crash in 1972 New Orleans Congressman T. Hale Boggs might have become Speaker of the U.S. House. At the time of his death he was House Majority Leader. Boggs' law partner, deLesseps Morrison, was elected to four terms as mayor of New Orleans before resigning to accept John

Kennedy's appointment as ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Another New Orleans mayor, Moon Landrieu, became president of the national conference of mayors serving at a time when New York City was facing its bankruptcy crisis. Landrieu became a defender of New York and a national spokesman for cities. He was Jimmy Carter's second Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Landrieu's successor, Dutch Morial, also won the mayors' conference presidency allowing him to become a national spokesman not only on cities, but, with the extra recognition from being the city's first black mayor, on the problems of minorities and the poor.

Landrieu and Morial may be truer models of modern Louisiana politicians than those of legend. There's not much funny about either, but both, like their more colorful brother practitioners, are hard-nosed politicians raised in Louisiana, what may be among the toughest of all political neighborhoods.

### **Powerful Politicians**

Why is Louisiana politics so hard fought?

Because the state has a tradition of making its politicians powerful. Even after the streamlining reforms of the new constitution, the Louisiana governor's office remains one of the most powerful in the nation, rich with appointments to public bodies, such as a series of levee boards or the state mineral board, which control both wealth and political fortune. Distributing that wealth has been key to the power. He who governs has had say-so over oil rights, and the taxation thereof. Louisiana is a naturally rich state in which politics has emerged as the arbiter for sharing the wealth.

Strong government has also favored another one of Louisiana's resources—its people. The state where the term “creole” (a word whose definition varies but which suggests mixed lineage) is most commonly used has both a history and a population that is heterogeneous. Having been governed by the Spanish and French prior to American takeover Louisiana developed multinationally. The



port of New Orleans kept the spigot opened as Africans, Latins, Irish, Italian, Germans and Cubans entered. They found a state already colored by at least two types of native French—the mixed-blood Creoles and the Acadians who came to Louisiana via Canada and France. Added to that was the influx of what the French called “Americains”—those who were part of the United States’ western migration. To the newly arrived, politics became a quick and achievable route to respectability. This French state was soon witnessing the rule of not only Irish politicians, but Italians and then blacks as the natural assimilation process ran its course.

### **Fragmentation**

Those who govern the state do so to an area that is quite fragmented even beyond the typical intramural squabbles of other states. There is in Louisiana, for instance, a very real north-south division. Part of that division is cultural, the north being more Baptist and Protestant in population, the south being more French-Catholic. Part is geographical. The north is hilly piney-woods with fields once used for cotton and now more frequently for soybeans; the south has more lowlands suitable for rice farming and for sugar cane crops.

Coupled with that is the fact that because of a pair of interstate highways, east-west travel in Louisiana is good; north-south movement, on the other hand, is miserable as winding two-lane roads are all that connect such towns as Alexandria and Shreveport. The eventual completion of a new north-south highway may improve that situation, but at least until then residents of Shreveport will continue to feel more kinship with folks in Dallas than with New Orleanians. The latter are a group who populate what is yet another division in the state, a division that in some ways is both the most important and the most isolated—the place of which Thomas Jefferson once wrote that any foreign possessor would be the United States’ natural enemy. The place where the Louisiana Purchase was completed and hence the national history

of most of the nation’s mid-section began—the city of New Orleans.

### **New Orleans**

You may hear of New Orleans that it is a dying city. You should know that that observation has been made for about 120 years now, ever since the emergence of railroads, which corresponded with the hardships of reconstruction, lessened somewhat the importance of a river port.

But if New Orleans is dying, it is like a piece of driftwood that despite signs of decay is also speckled with new life. There are many wildflowers in the new New Orleans—changes reflecting regenerated activity.

One such change is the adjustment to the emerging black majority. Blacks have a slight edge in voters and a larger edge in actual population. The symbol of that, of course, is New Orleans Mayor Dutch Morial, the city’s first black chief executive. But the shift was in effect before him during the eight years of the Moon Landrieu administration. Landrieu was the first mayor to have won his office by receiving more votes from blacks than from whites. His term was one of integrating government racially. Morial’s has been one of following through.

Black politics has developed to the point that it is beyond the voting bloc stage and well into the politics of fragmentation. During the last state election, for example, three incumbent black legislators were defeated by black opponents who were backed by Morial. The first black to be elected to an assessor’s office in New Orleans (there are seven assessors positions) did so with the backing of Morial and against the opposition of a powerful black political organization. Whites have still been able to win elections, most often in district contests where they are in the majority and for judgeships where black competition has been less intense. Still, the pattern for the immediate future in citywide elections seems to be one of several black candidates competing with perhaps one major white opponent for a run-off position with the final outcome depending on the nature of the turnout.

Within that political framework the white establishment has adapted as it did earlier in the century when white ethnics gained office on the strength of classic machine politics. As New Orleans faces its municipal elections next year, various high-powered whites are already being identified with major black contenders. As is common in many American cities, blacks are more likely to achieve the high public offices but the economic power remains white. Thus are the interests blended.

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*[Governor Edwin] Edwards is an example of the fact that those who survive in Louisiana politics may be jesters, but they are not fools.*

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Another change has been in the city's growth. The New Orleans skyline is now jagged with new office towers and hotels dwarfing the Superdome, the world's largest covered stadium and overshadowing the partially abandoned site of the 1984 world's fair.

There was a time when the new buildings as well as the dome and the fair were perceived as being signs of a boom, but the boom to date has been a bust. Many of the office towers were built for the oil service industry that was thriving in the late seventies but that began bottoming out in the eighties. The hotels were supposed to provide housing not only for the business people going to those towers but to tourists as well, neither of which have come in numbers large enough to fill the extra space. The riverfront development which was supposed to be triggered by the fair is slow in arriving although there is promise because of the worthiness of the historic old warehouses in the area and because of a festive shopping development to be built by the Rouse Company. But the fortune, if it is to come, is several years away, and most people are bracing for hard times in the immediate future.

Meanwhile the Superdome has made New Orleans the most frequent host city

for Super Bowls (perhaps the gem of tourism) but has yet to attract the baseball team needed to fill 80-plus dates per year and has lost its professional basketball team. Large concerts have stayed away too although the recent removal of some taxes on dome events (done as an enticement to keep the New Orleans Saints football team from leaving town) may make the building more attractive to promoters. Nevertheless, the dome's prosperity has yet to materialize fully. The boom suggested by the new skyline is misleading. New Orleanians are more inclined to look at it and still hope for the future.

A third change has been in economic priorities. New Orleans has long known that it suffers from not having a sufficient manufacturing base, a problem aggravated, at least in the minds of some civic crusaders, by the poor reputation of the city's public school system. The hope for economic development is eastern New Orleans, a huge stretch of scrubbed former bottom land and swamp bordering the inter-coastal harbor way. The city's sales force has been trying to sell the area to manufacturers. There have been a few success stories, particularly among electrical assembly plants, but the conveyor belts are hardly humming.

Perhaps the fault is not as much with the city as with the world economy. Manufacturing is increasingly a third-world business. The city is still flirting with manufacturing, but it is keeping more time these days with an old flame—tourism. Those who dismissed the travel industry as an economic answer on the grounds that its jobs were low paying are now hearing the chorus respond that at least there are jobs. With the Superdome and the Rivergate convention center already being judged too small for major trade shows, the city opened a new convention center last January, in a building that served as the Great Hall of the World's Fair. Last May voters approved a bond issue allowing the Center's management to purchase adjacent land for expansion. Meanwhile, the mayor and the council have tangled with the tourist commission for more representation on that body. The failure of the fair to draw the projected number of visitors taught

New Orleanians that the city could not rest solely on its jazz, food and Mardi Gras reputation to attract visitors.

As for education, the battle continues. The city's public school system serves one of the poorest per-capita cities, a city with one of the highest percentages of illiteracy. It also faces competition for

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students and support from a well-established parochial school system and several distinguished private high schools. Education is not an overlooked problem. Last summer Governor Edwards made it his top priority during the legislative session, but education cannot be improved quickly, and the stigma lasts even longer.

Just understanding the governmental structure requires some education in itself. New Orleans' government is a curious development from the historic conflict between machines and reformers. Much of the structure was forged in the 1890s when reformers, during a moment of control, divided responsibilities among many independent boards and commissions as a way of lessening City Hall's leverage once the machine was back in power. In 1953 the city was granted a home rule charter by the state and in the process redesigned its governmental structure from a commission council to a strong mayor/council form of government.

A diagram of New Orleans government would show a tiered system with five district councilmen, two councilmen at large and then a separate dotted line connecting the mayor's office. Hovering around the structure are the various boards, such as the Sewerage and Water Board, the Parkway and Park Commission, the Library Board and the pompously named Board of Liquidation, City Debt. There are separate commissions for each of the city's two largest parks, Audubon and City Park. It would take an "A" student

in city government to understand that City Park is actually more of a state park than it is the city's and that Audubon Park is more of the city's park than is City Park.

For the final exam a student of New Orleans government would need to know that the city of New Orleans and Orleans Parish (county) are one in the same which means that while some elected officials are municipal, others, such as the sheriff and coroner, are parish officials.

As a bonus question, a student could be required to explain why Orleans Parish has two sheriffs, two clerks of courts and two separate state district court systems. The answer: Because Orleans Parish is the only one in the state, and indeed one of the few in the country, allowed to separate the state civil and criminal judicial functions. Thus for the separate criminal and civil district courts, there are separate clerks and sheriffs offices serving them. Even with two sheriffs, however, the day-to-day police work is handled elsewhere. The criminal sheriff acts as the jailer, the civil sheriff as the records keeper, but policing is in the hands of the city and the New Orleans police department.

Governmental services are financed by a tax system nurtured in Huey Long's populism. There is a \$75,000 exemption on residential property tax which means that many home owners pay little or no tax on their property. The state income tax is also quite low. On the other hand, the hotel-motel tax in Orleans Parish competes with New York City for the highest in the country and the sales tax is at nine percent.

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*As is common in many American cities, blacks are more likely to achieve the high public offices but the economic power remains white.*

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Meanwhile, the state which has historically been able to keep taxes low

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because of its oil severance revenue is finding that that cow is running dry. There will be some tough decisions ahead for the politicians of New Orleans and Louisiana, politicians who were raised on the wisdom of folk characters such as Earl Long. The leaders of today may recall Long's astuteness when he asked a legislator how he stood politically. "Governor," the legislator responded, "when you're right I'm with you, when you're wrong I'm against you." To which Long retorted, "When I'm right I don't need your help."

Such is life in a state where politics, if not always government, is a passion. □

## Why Political Scientists Don't Study Black Politics, But Historians and Sociologists Do

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### Introduction

The recent articles in two successive issues of this journal raise important and



**Ernest J. Wilson**

disturbing questions about the study of politics in the U.S. and black American political behavior in particular (Woodard and Preston, 1985; Preston and Woodard, 1984). The authors of this two-part series analyze trends in the recruitment, retention, training and employment patterns of black political scientists in the United States. Their findings are grim. One knew the news was bad; one didn't know it was this bad. They found steady declines in the numbers of new graduate students and less commitment among major political science departments to seek out and support them.

Preston and Woodard offer some reasons for the disappointing performance of political science in training and employing Afro-Americans. They cite important institutional factors that influence the outcomes and recommend both institutional changes as well as new policies and commitments by departments and professional committees. All of these suggestions are laudable and will probably work to increase the number of black political science students and ultimately the number of blacks in the profession.

At the same time, these findings raise a separate but related set of issues that contrast political science with other disciplines. Even a casual reading of the social science journals beyond political science suggests that there are important substantive and methodological differences in the treatment of Afro-American issues across disciplinary lines. One has the impression, for example, that issues of black behavior in America are addressed either more frequently or with greater

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I wish to thank Walter Allen, Philip Converse, Matthew Holden, Aldon Morris, Michael Preston and Jack Walker for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this essay. I alone am responsible for any errors:

prominence in the journals of sociology and history.

Does the study of Afro-American subjects occupy a different place in our discipline from that of other traditions of inquiry, and if so, why? Why does political science seem to address questions of black political behavior with less assiduity than her sister disciplines address questions of black history or black group behavior? Might there be some relationship between the disappointing numbers of black political scientists, on the one hand, and the way the discipline asks its most basic questions, on the other?

These are, I argue, fundamental questions about the current enterprise of political science as a discipline that strives toward scholarly breadth and universality. The purpose of this essay is far more to stimulate discussion on a much neglected subject than it is to provide definitive answers. Yet this critique points not only to the limits of the professional *organization* of the discipline (which Woodard and Preston handled so well) but also the limits of some fundamental *theoretical orientations*, the core questions which define and orient the field. These orientations tell us what is considered legitimate, "fundable" and important for scientific investigation, and which methods are promoted as legitimate and appropriate to find answers to those questions. For not only is the number of black scholars and teachers limited, but equally if not more important, the degree to which the subject matter of black politics is studied or not studied also raises disturbing questions of the state of the discipline more generally which extend beyond the study of one particular group.

Political science, compared to the sister disciplines of sociology and history, has failed to generate sustained interest and scholarly breakthroughs in the study of black life. There is a disciplinary "mismatch" between the central substantive concerns and current methodological orientations of the discipline, and the most salient and interesting features of Afro-American political life. The methodological "grid" it places over politics obscures most that is important and in-

teresting in black political life. This explains in part why political sociology has been the dominant approach to the study of black politics.

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### **The Study of Afro-American Life in Political Science Compared to Other Sister Disciplines**

The past 20 years saw an unprecedented explosion of scholarly interest in Afro-American life as undergraduates, graduate students and scholars around the country took up the subject. The number of Ph.D.s on black life increased dramatically, and articles and books briefly became abundant.

The origins of this new-found scholarly attention lay in the streets of Birmingham, Detroit and Watts—where a massive upswing in black political mobilization occurred between the mid-1950s and the late 1960s. Since political science was nominally interested in such forms of political behavior, there were new empirical research on the subject of blacks and some new theoretical developments.

Prior to the mid-1960s, putting together a reading list on "Black Politics" was not easy and much of the material would not have been written by political scientists, but by sociologists, historians and others, many of them black. These would include sociological works like Du Bois' *Philadelphia Negro* (1899), *Black Metropolis* by St. Clair Drake (1945) and Oliver Cox's *Caste Race and Class* (1948). The few important works by political scientists would include Gosnell's early Chicago study (1935), J. Q. Wilson's 1960 analysis, V. O. Key's *Southern Politics* (1949) and perhaps

Bunche's pioneering but largely unpublished work on behalf of the Myrdal study (see Bunche, 1941, as an example).

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Today, there is certainly far more work on the subject in the professional journals, at professional meetings, and in new Ph.D. dissertations. There are now a number of studies of blacks in specific institutions such as the courts (Hamilton, 1973), in state and urban government (Aberbach and Walker, 1973), and in the political system as a whole (Morris, 1975; Holden, 1973; Walton, 1972). There are also new data on blacks in specific roles as administrators (Howard, Henderson and Hunt, 1977), as mayors, and so on.

Despite these recent improvements, we started from a very low base, and the amount of material on black politics is still disappointingly scarce to many black and white scholars.

Given the contemporary emphasis on voting studies in the study of American politics we would anticipate that more than in any other area political scientists would have written widely and in depth on black electoral participation. Yet the opposite is true. Where political science has been strongest—voter participation studies—its study of black Americans has been weakest. Of the millions of foundation research dollars devoted to voter attitudes and participation, only a small percentage has been allocated to study blacks specifically, and the use of the survey data that do exist is disappointing. Perhaps even more surprising, the number of black respondents polled in the major national surveys has been so small as to make any generalizations about contrasts between black and white politics quite dubious. It was only in 1981 that such a major study was funded, and it was a social psycholo-

gist and not a political scientist who successfully developed and directed the first large-scale academic survey specifically designed to capture black political behavior and beliefs.

Not only is empirical work scarce, but the study of black politics lacks the exciting intellectual dynamism of scholarly work on other subjects in political science. Other phenomena in American, comparative, or international politics are afforded far greater attention by those interested in theory building. The "cutting edge" efforts are not being applied to issues of black political participation or non-participation. Thus, in its own terms and compared with other sub-fields or empirical questions, political science has contributed few if any major theoretical breakthroughs to the study of black politics. Can one name a single work on black politics that has had any significant impact on the major discussions and dialogues of the discipline? Equally damning, in my view, is the invisibility of the black man or woman as subject or participant in the major theoretical debates that are to be found in our journals—issues of institutional incentives and constraints, political economy questions, judicial activism, or national security.

### **Other Disciplines Do Better**

It is at this point that the differences between political science and other disciplines leap to the fore. To see the disparity clearly one need only mention the titles of recent works in other fields that have sparked wide-ranging and exciting debates within their own fields and beyond them. *Time on the Cross* (Fogel and Engerman, 1974)—the effort by historians Fogel and Engerman to employ quantitative methods to the study of slavery, and by implication, to all situations where written records are sparse—launched a major discipline-wide debate on the use and misuse of such methods. At the other end of the methodological spectrum there is Eugene Genovese's *Roll Jordan Roll* (1974), with its more interpretive and marxian approach to the political economy of the U.S. South. In sociology, *The Declining Significance of Race* (Wilson, 1980) has advanced the

debate on the entire subject of structural change and evolving attitudinal and behavioral patterns in capitalist societies. Special issues of the major sociological journals were devoted to discussions of the arguments put forth by Wilson (who is chairman of the Sociology Department at Chicago), just as the history profession had special issues and indeed volumes of responses written by the leading historians in American, labor and southern history to the ideas advanced in *Time on the Cross*.

Equally compelling evidence suggests that the rising generation of sociologists and historians, associate professors and young full professors, is interested in Afro-American life and many are continuing in this critical vein. Historian Nell Irwin Painter's study (1977) of the complex interplay between leadership and followers in mass migration from the south or Aldon Morris' work (1984) on resource mobilization theory as an explicit challenge to alternative explanations of mass movements, are but two examples. And "even" in economics (I say "even" advisedly), the study of racial discrimination in labor markets has come to the fore as an important instance of market imperfections and hence an important intellectual challenge.

Interestingly, many of these contributions in other disciplines share several features. These include (1) a concern with seeing society from the bottom up rather than the top down; (2) the study of the search for personal and group autonomy under constrained conditions; (3) a focus on the mobilization of new groups which put forward their own legitimate leaders; and (4) the role of non-formal institutions. They also employ methods that permit them to collect data from non-traditional sources, using oral histories, slave narratives, demographic records, etc.

There is of course a complex and indirect but powerful relationship here between method and materials. To a certain extent they are necessarily complementary and mutually reinforcing. Those who begin with a substantive interest in Afro-American materials in specific, or the life of the poor, the disinherited or the voiceless more generally, must search for and

employ methods appropriate to study such groups on the bottom of the social pyramid. Conversely, a scholar who for whatever reason is inherently interested in such methods as oral histories may be drawn to the study of Afro-American life. But methodologies designed to study elites and decision makers may be ill-suited for the study of the poor and the powerless.

The contributions by scholars in other disciplines raise serious questions not only about the comparative quantity of work being done by political scientists, but also its quality. Here black scholars need to be called to task. Given the pluralist and often racist realities of ethnicity in America, even in the academy, blacks themselves need to exert more leadership in raising these issues within political science.

I am not arguing that all black political scientists should study only black politics. I am insisting that more black and white graduate students would be attracted to do work on the subject if the conceptual basis for much of our work were broadened in ways that I will suggest below.

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*Given the pluralist and often racist realities of ethnicity in America, even in the academy, blacks themselves need to exert more leadership in raising these issues within political science.*

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Very telling, as we contrast the disciplines, is the absence of a major monograph on the work of black political scientists as a group. There are already major monographs of the historiography of black historians (Thorpe, 1971) and on the contribution of black sociologists (Blackwell and Janowitz, 1974). There is not yet, so far as I am aware, even a single article on the collective work of black political scientists, a group which includes individuals as different and as talented as Ralph Bunche, on the one

hand, and Ronald Walters, Jesse Jackson's deputy campaign director for issues in 1984 and a prolific and respected writer on black affairs, on the other. The absence of such studies perhaps reflects the relative absence of historical self-consciousness within the discipline as a whole, which is one of the youngest social sciences.

### The Limits of Political Science

Why has the study of Afro-American politics borne such limited fruit compared to related work in the sister disciplines? *Are there perhaps special "problems" of political science that arise when studying black politics?* These limitations of our discipline can be expressed in the form of a syllogism:

- A) Political science typically studies elites and "decision makers," i.e., the users and uses of influence and power (who gets what, how and when), especially as expressed through formal channels (voting for candidates, legislative behavior, etc.);
- B) Blacks have historically been deprived of elite status and hence rarely are involved in authoritative decisions; they are more frequently the objects or victims of the use of power; politics, as such, often involves the creative design of adaptation to disenfranchisement and economic domination through reliance on non-formal channels like the black church;
- C) Ergo, political science doesn't study black politics.

This syllogism is perhaps slightly overstated, but it conveys the essence of my argument. The most striking and theoretically interesting features of black political behavior have been expressed through "non-formal" or often multi-purpose institutions like the church or voluntary associations like the NAACP or the United Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey. Further, the dominant political experience of blacks has been one of responding to manifold attempts at political *domination*, expressed through political and non-political chan-

nels. In the search for autonomy and participation in a racist society, informal networks, religion, or the internal dynamics of mass movements have all been extremely important. It may be that the political life of the dominated, as distinct from the dominant, is simply emphasized less in American politics than in other disciplines.

I want to stress here that I am not denying the possibility of studying Afro-Americans through this disciplinary grid. Many are starting to do so now, fighting against the habits that lead practitioners of this profession to omit blacks from their consideration. (See, for example, the new volume by Browning, Marshall, and Tabb [1984] and the work now appearing from James Jackson, *et al.*'s [1985] black election study.) But I am saying that the prevailing paradigms of political science are omitting blacks more than paradigms in other professions, and that this is explained by the mismatch between paradigm and empirical reality. This is as much a qualitative argument as a quantitative one. I base my position on the degree to which Afro-American materials are central or marginal to major intellectual debates in the disciplines. The evidence from sociology and history that I have presented above suggest that scholarship on Afro-Americans is more central; in political science, it is marginal.

The paradigmatic argument I am making does not depend for example on the number of articles published in one discipline's major journals compared to another's or the number of black-related dissertations. It is a qualitative argument and rests on the centrality of scholarship on black life to major disciplinary questions. Nevertheless, an analysis of all journal materials (articles, book reviews, research notes, etc.) published between 1977 and 1985 on or about Afro-Americans in three leading journals in each of the three disciplines that concern us here, is perhaps revealing. (The journals consulted are the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Politics*, and the *American Journal of Political Science*; the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *American Sociological Review*, and *Social Forces*; and the *American Historical Review*, the *Journal of American*



*History*, and the *Journal of Social History*.) In descending order, from the discipline with the most entries on black materials to that with the fewest we find history, sociology and political science. Political science also has the lowest percentage of black to white entries. In other words, political science devoted less attention to black topics in its main journals than did either sociology or history.

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***If nothing else, we need a greater respect for the diversity of questions that can be posed of our political life.***

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A similar and striking asymmetry occurs in dissertation topics. When we analyze a selected bibliography of doctoral dissertations and masters theses on black subjects between 1979 through 1984 we find far fewer entries for political science than for the two other fields; political science accounts for only 16 percent of the entries of the three (*Black Studies: A Catalogue of Selected Doctoral Dissertation Research*, 1985, pp. 18-21, 24-25, 30-32).

Clearly, a more detailed content analysis is needed beyond just counting journal entries and dissertation topics. Still, there is enough circumstantial evidence to support my argument. And the reason for this imbalance, I suggest, is found in the paradigmatic focus of the three disciplines.

There are certainly alternative explanations to the one I am suggesting—political scientists are more racist than historians or sociologists, or less theoretical, or the data in political science have not been available. I think my own hypothesis explains more of the cross-disciplinary variance. A part of the solution therefore is to broaden the paradigm, as Charles Lindblom (1982) argued in his APSA presidential address.

Still, in contrasting the three disciplines we should be careful not to claim too much for history and sociology. At best, perhaps, we can applaud their continuing catholicism. What they have done is to

permit a greater pluralism of subject and method as far as minorities are concerned. Visible and professionally prominent work on Afro-American materials is still a relatively new phenomenon, dating from the 1960s. Substantial work on blacks was available, but before that time it was often marginal to the core concerns of the disciplines. Then, counter-movements to the main currents occurred within sociology and history, as scholars, often younger scholars, pressed to carve out wider intellectual spaces. Social or cultural history, for example, was counterposed to the definition of history as the lives and accomplishments of "great men" (i.e., white men). The latter approach often relied on traditional written records like diaries, correspondence and autobiographies; the former used new methods, sometimes drawn from anthropology, to employ old materials that may have been available for years but which were rarely used as historical records, such as the interviews of the Work Projects Administration. The study of Afro-America was pushed closer to the main disciplinary concerns.\*

Several final possible reasons for this condition deserve to be mentioned. First, the apparent decline since the early 1970s of interest in urban politics handicaps the study of black politics. Second, the pressure to do large-scale voter studies may have worked to the disadvantage of those interested in black politics. Some scholars interested in black politics reported to me that they have found it very difficult to get funded to do separate studies of blacks; and whites who were funded and collected some black data, for whatever reasons did not make this particular sub-group a primary interest.

\*It may be too that history and sociology are more universal in what they claim as their field of study, since the latter bases its legitimacy on the study of all society; the former makes the same claim for longitudinal analysis—all that has happened is its legitimate domain. By contrast, perhaps, political science is restricted to a single area of social or historical activity, "the political," which may admit to many definitions, some inclusive and others exclusive.

An unfortunate *consequence* is to make it tougher for young black or white scholars to make their mark in the profession by studying black American political behavior. Smart graduate students are steered away from using black materials either explicitly by graduate advisers, or implicitly by the structure of incentives in the system—teaching positions, research slots, collaboration with senior colleagues, or tenure decisions. Can we cite two major, senior figures in the discipline who work consistently with Afro-American materials (for example, of the stature of Yale historian C. Vann Woodward)? Yet these materials are in many ways more theoretically challenging than strictly main-stream materials, and they are frequently employed by celebrated scholars in other disciplines.

Not unexpectedly, there are fewer and fewer blacks or whites available today to fill the academic positions that are now open to teach black politics. This leads to a variety of unsatisfactory solutions—leaving positions unfilled, using part-time lecturers while conducting interminable searches, or hiring candidates with some interest in the subject but research experience or expertise centered in other areas. This continues the vicious circle of poor research questions, uninteresting answers, few publications, and declining enrollments.

I am not arguing that as a consequence we will necessarily find fewer new black Ph.D.s in one discipline or another. Yet, according to National Research Council (1983, p. 28) figures, it is the case that in 1983 the number of blacks who received their doctorates in political science was lower than for either history or sociology.

Perhaps there is a lesson here. Perhaps addressing the problem of studying Afro-American political behavior will help to open up the discipline to a wider definition of the "political." Perhaps there will be greater attention and legitimacy to the study of those on the bottom of society, to those who have power used against them, to the links between the exercise of economic and political power. If nothing else, we need a greater respect for the diversity of questions that can be posed of our political life. These are not

new issues, of course. They have been widely debated for years. But while extensive debates over method and content have enriched and widened other disciplines, political science remains wedded to a more narrow, cramped and elitist vision of itself and of society that staunchly denies in practice if not in rhetoric the diversity, complexity and the manifold forms of resistance to the self-interested exercise of elite power in America. The debate needs to be re-opened and sharpened. □

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## Reflections of a Past Editor

**Dina A. Zinnes**

Managing Editor

*American Political Science Review*

The operation of a journal is, for some, a great mystery. This seems to be particularly true for those recently anointed

into the profession and contemplating the need to publish. The rationale for the current essay came from a meeting of the APSA Publications Committee at which the question of training new professionals in the whys and wherefores of publishing research was discussed. It was suggested at that time that I attempt to outline how a journal and editor function so as to provide insights possibly useful to those wanting to publish articles in the *APSR*. That meeting took place more than a year ago. The irony is that now that the journal has begun to move to its new home at the University of Iowa and its new editor, Pat Patterson, I have the time to write such a piece. The problem is that editorial styles differ. What I have to say should therefore only be seen as the general reflections of an almost-past editor.

I will divide these reflections into three broad categories, corresponding to the stages through which a manuscript proceeds: (1) the manuscript's departure from its author, (2) its experiences while in the editorial office, and (3) its reception upon return to the author.

Having given birth, after considerable pain and much labor, to this wonderful creation, the author faces the question of how to care for the new fledgling. Some refuse to let the manuscript leave home, believing that it will develop best through home-administered tender loving care, revision after revision. Others, however, realize that home care is useful for only so long and that after the early period both manuscript and author benefit from sending it abroad to experience the wisdom of others. The problem is where. This is probably the most difficult question that an author must face, the time when authors must/should face reality. Not all manuscripts are equal. Some are considerably more important, broad ranging, sophisticated, developed than others. No matter how much one loves one's progeny, one must realize that not all manuscripts are appropriate for the

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Dina A. Zinnes is completing her fourth year as managing editor of the *American Political Science Review*.



Dina Zinnes

*APSR*. It is far better to evaluate the scope and limitations of an article and send it to a journal that matches its characteristics—better for the author because it does not consume precious processing time sitting at the *APSR* only to be rejected and better for the *APSR* because it does not use up the valuable resources (e.g., reviewers, postage, and clerical staff) necessary for the processing.

A few authors have what I call the "dice" theory of submission. Everything they write goes first to the *APSR*. This is a dubious approach, at best, based on the fallacious assumption that acceptance and rejection are random processes based not on the quality or content of a piece but on the "luck of the draw." Even if one truly believes that everything one writes is of the same high quality, it is useful to spread these important ideas around to other journals.

How should the manuscript be dispatched? Style and length instructions are given at the beginning of every issue of the *APSR*. The APSA has developed a new style manual that will become the standard for the *APSR* and will be mailed upon request to all authors. While it greatly helps processing, I have not been a stickler about style when a manuscript

is first submitted, with a few exceptions. The exceptions concern issues that would detract from the readability of the manuscript. In particular I have not processed manuscripts that are single spaced and/or printed on both sides of the page. When an article is printed on both sides of a page it is impossible to clip references that guard the anonymity of the authors without destroying readability. Although the *Review* has a fairly strong policy about length—50 pages including everything—I have been willing to process articles that slightly exceed this limitation. My instructions to reviewers then are of the form: "If you think this article is potentially publishable, please indicate where it might be cut since it is too long to be published in its current form." My rule of thumb has been to put manuscripts through the review process as long as the style and length are not too far from the norm. If the article is accepted, these problems can be solved.

What type of letter of introduction is needed? Typically, "here it is, I hope you like it," will do just fine. There are, however, instances when something more extensive can be useful. Here the author should consider the background of the editor. Editors are people with area specialties. Over time and with experience these are broadened, but even after a number of years an editor will never be an expert in all areas. If the author is working in an area far from the background and interests of the editor and if it is an area fraught with ideological splits and/or highly technical components, then it cannot hurt to alert the editor to these potential problems. I personally have found it very useful to have an author point to major schools of thought in a given area, place his or her article in one, another, or between these splits, and then provide me with a list of reviewers competent to give the manuscript a fair hearing.

Editors, however, have a healthy distrust of reviewers suggested by authors. Thus, if this strategy is adopted, the author must work especially hard to demonstrate that the individuals listed will make objective assessments. This can be done by indicating the relationship of each reviewer to the author and choosing in-

dividuals who have had little contact with the research being reviewed. It should go without saying that you never choose individuals connected with your graduate training, collaborators, or colleagues at your present institution. Supplying the editor with more than just a few names also helps to dispel suspicion as it indicates a willingness to have the manuscript examined by a wide set of people.

And so how is the manuscript greeted when it arrives in the editorial office? Specific procedures differ from editorial office to editorial office but certain broad characteristics tend to be common to all. The manuscript is logged in to some type of system, an acknowledgment card or letter is sent to the author, the manuscript is checked for anonymity and clipped, if necessary, to conceal the author's identity. The manuscript, together with information about the background of the author (current institution, graduate institution, etc.), is then ready for the editor's perusal and assignment to reviewers. When a manuscript file was so completed and given to me, I typically went through the following steps. First, I checked the author's letter to see if special issues were raised. I then went through the manuscript to determine (1) whether it was appropriate for the *Review*, (2) the relevant substantive area(s), and (3) the relevant technical areas.

Articles, such as philosophical polemics, statements regarding proposed foreign policy objectives for country X, etc. are clearly inappropriate for the *Review*. These types of manuscripts, however, represent a very small fraction of the articles submitted. More difficult are those that appear to be scholarly but are in fact personal philosophical statements, or detailed case analyses of very narrowly drawn issues. Editorial practice in these cases can differ. I have been liberal and permitted a full-scale review, though in clearly borderline cases I wrote the author to suggest that while willing to process the manuscript, it might do better elsewhere.

In looking for appropriate reviewers I tried to cover three fronts. Obviously it is important to have at least one reviewer competent and knowledgeable in the

specific subject matter of the manuscript. It also goes without saying that when there are technical aspects to the article there must be at least one reader able to assess these aspects. Sometimes these competencies are found in the same reviewer. While these two factors are obvious, there is a third that is not quite so obvious. When an article appeared very limited in scope I was interested in the reaction of individuals in allied subfields. Some authors felt that this was unfair; they felt their work should only be evaluated by individuals well versed in their specialization. But while the *Review* should publish the most advanced and best research in political science, it must also be attuned to the breadth of its readership. If a specialist in the subfield of a given manuscript says that the study is solid but not exceptional and a more general reader says that the article is extremely narrow and uninteresting, these two opinions together suggest that the article would be better for a more specialized journal. If the specialist says that the article is exceptional and provides good evidence to this effect, then the generalist's reaction carries considerably less weight.

The number of reviewers is another point for editorial discretion. I always initially assigned three reviewers to attempt to get as much information as possible. Authors have not always seen three reviewers because if reviewers cancel or are impossibly late and two consistent reviews have been received, I did not delay the process further to obtain an additional review. There is always a trade off between minimizing turn around time and obtaining as much information as possible to arrive at a reasonable and fair assessment of a manuscript.

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*No matter how much one  
loves one's progeny, one  
must realize that not all  
manuscripts are appropriate  
for the APSR.*

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When sufficient reviews are received, the manuscript arrives on the editor's desk and the moment of truth—the publish/

no-publish decision—is at hand. There are three broad categories of decision. First there are the clear “no’s.” This represents about 70 percent of the submitted manuscripts. Then there are the more or less clear “yes” decisions. The “more or less” is added because almost

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*While the Review should publish the most advanced and best research in political science, it must also be attuned to the breadth of its readership.*

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all manuscripts need some revision before they are ready for publication. The presumption in this second category, however, is that the revisions are relatively minor so that additional external review will not be needed. This category represents about 10 percent of the submitted articles. The remaining articles fall in the “revise-resubmit” category. These are the most troublesome articles to deal with and in my experience the ones that take the greatest amount of time. In the easier cases the reviewers are in agreement that the study has considerable promise but needs a lot of reworking so that further external review will be needed. The far more difficult cases are the split reviewer evaluation decisions. Here the editor must read the manuscript and reviewer comments carefully and ultimately choose sides. This is where knowledge and understanding of a sub-field play a determining role in attempting to sort through the conflicting reviewer reactions. While highly conservative, inviting revisions only when I felt that there was more than a 75 percent probability that the article would be published, I have also tried to base decisions on what reviewers said rather than on the number of yes or no votes.

I have operated under three broad decision criteria. My biggest question about any submitted article was whether it made a strong theoretical contribution to the literature it represents. But this is easier said than operationalized. What is a “major theoretical contribution”? It is

probably easier to answer this question in the negative by indicating what does not qualify: literature reviews, the sketching of broad frameworks, statements evaluating current affairs, statistical analyses of simple hypotheses, or the description of a new statistical technique or mathematical approach. A major theoretical contribution is a well developed, documented, and new argument. But how does one know one when one meets one? My only answer is that reviewers seem able to make this judgment on a case by case analysis, even if a set of criteria cannot be explicitly given.

My decision, however, did not rest solely on this rather difficult theoretical criterion. I was also concerned that the *Review* represent the new things going on in the field, even if these were not assessed as major theoretical developments. Thus a second criterion was: is this a clever, intriguing, new approach or interpretation that promises to change our way of looking at the phenomenon under consideration? If so, then its existence should be brought to the attention of the political science community.

My third criterion was to span as much of the field as possible. With only about 40-45 slots a year for publication this can be done only minimally. In addition, an editor is a captive of the articles submitted; you cannot publish an article that was not submitted. Consequently, when I received articles in areas that had not seen many pages of the *Review*, I was particularly attentive to that study’s potential for publication.

Once the decision was made, the letter, together with the reviewer reports, was sent to the author. Those referees who expressed interest received the other referee reports and/or my letter to the author. This is another point of difference in editorial policy across journals and editors. It is costly and time consuming to send reviewers the other reports. Thus one must weigh this cost against the possible value that this will have for reviewers. Providing reviewers with the editor’s letter to the author also has its difficulties. Editors may wish to say things to the author that might not be appreciated by all the reviewers. Making

the letter available to the reviewers constrains both what can be said to an author and how it is said. My concern for training new reviewers, however, led me to feel that the benefits of making all parts of the review process as open as possible outweighed the costs incurred.

The manuscript is now back in the hands of the author. If revisions are needed, the next step is probably clear. In requesting revisions I asked authors to resubmit the article with a detailed statement outlining each of the problems noted by the reviewers and how the problems were (or why they were not) dealt with in the revision. Even when editors do not request such a letter, it is probably a useful procedure to follow. It demonstrates the extent to which the author has taken seriously the points raised by the reviewers and why certain decisions were made.

It is probably far less clear what should be done when the article is rejected. Let me make a few suggestions. First, put the manuscript, reviewer reports, and rejection letter in a drawer for a week. Having been both an editor and an author, I know well the initial anger and know also that it is not very productive. One must try to see one's progeny as objectively as possible. Perhaps the fault does not lie with the manuscript and perhaps the reviewers are indeed imbeciles unable to assess its true worth. But perhaps the manuscript is not quite what it was initially believed to be, or was not presented in a way in which its true worth could be assessed. Or maybe it is some complicated mix of all of the above. This usually can only be assessed following a reasonable mourning period.

When the drawer is reopened it is important that it be done with the proper attitude. The goal should be to learn as much as possible from the reviewer reactions. Even if the reviewers' analyses are completely wrong, the very fact that such misunderstandings could occur should provide the author with important information. It is useful to list the points made by the reviewers, itemizing these critiques along the margin with the reviewers as columns. Check which reviewers make which comments. This provides not only an overall assessment of the

number and variety of criticisms, but also the degree of consistency across reviewers. Then it might be useful to content analyze the more significant comments that are made. Thinking back over the thousands of reviewer comments I've seen in the last four years it is possible to identify four general comment categories.

1. The study is O.K. but not a major contribution. Conclusion: Send elsewhere.
2. The broader significance of the study is unclear. Its relationship to relevant literature is not shown. The implications of the analyses are not developed. Conclusion: Rewrite.
3. I don't understand. How were the analyses done? Why were certain textual materials ignored? Why was statistical test xxx not performed? Conclusion: Rethink, possibly rewrite.
4. Flawed. The conclusions don't follow from the statistical analyses because. . . . There is a complete misreading of the textual materials on which the argument is based. A static statistical design was employed to analyze and draw conclusions about a dynamic process. The N is too small to use a given statistical test meaningfully. Conclusion: Redo.

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*Inadequate explanations of what procedures were followed could well lead a reviewer to the conclusion that the study is basically flawed when in fact all that is needed is a clearer presentation of rationale and procedures.*

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The above is only meant to be suggestive. A particular reviewer comment may not neatly fall into any one of the above categories, or it may be ambiguous as to whether it falls in one category or another. Inadequate explanations of what procedures were followed could well lead a reviewer to the conclusion that the study is basically flawed when in fact all that is needed is a clearer presentation of rationale and procedures.

The purpose in making these distinctions is that they suggest different lines of attack. If two out of three reviewers respond with a category one statement, then revisions may well not be necessary and the article should be sent to another journal. If two out of three reviewers respond with category two or three, then before sending it anywhere something needs to be done to the presentation. If two out of three respond with category four it might be most useful to go back to the drawing board.

Two questions have frequently been raised by authors: (1) can a rejected manuscript—one that was not invited back—be revised and resubmitted? and (2) can an author challenge the reviewers? The answer to these questions will depend in large part on editorial policies which differ from journal to journal and editor to editor. There are, however, some rules of thumb that can be noted. First, an uninvited manuscript should never be resubmitted unless it has undergone fairly substantial revisions. Second, if the comments are of category one or category four types, then no amount of revision will make the study float, and it should not be resubmitted to the same journal. When the comments are of types two or three, I was willing to reprocess the article, provided extensive and not just cosmetic changes had been made.

In my experience, an author should challenge reviewers only under very special conditions. Such challenges are largely unproductive for both author and editor and seldom lead to the reversal of a decision. Too often authors translate comments of categories two and three as indicative of the reviewer's lack of expertise. This may be the case, but in 99 out of 100 cases it is not. I have been intrigued by the challenges that some authors have leveled at some of the most sophisticated and major contributors in the profession. In general, there would appear to be a basis for a challenge only if (1) the comments are largely of category four type and (2) there are clear factual bases for rebutting the statements made. When this is the case, then the rebuttal must be well developed and clearly presented and documented. In these rare cases it may well be useful to challenge the reviewers

as it can help the editor better understand a problem and the capabilities of various reviewers.

Perhaps the most important point to be made is that while reviewers can certainly be wrong, as can editors, the burden of the proof ultimately lies with the author. It is the author's job to communicate the ideas, not the reader's job to read between the lines to try to understand what the author may be saying. □

## Tips for an Academic Job Talk

**Robert Axelrod**

University of Michigan

### Before the Talk

1. Ask about the format of the talk so that you will know how much time you will have.
2. If possible, schedule the talk early in the visit. This will make the individual meetings more productive.
3. Practice your talk, even if it is in front of just a few friends. This will help you be realistic about the timing, get the phrasing down, and learn what parts are unclear.
4. Try to get a half-hour to yourself just before the talk to review your notes.

### During the Talk

5. Start by giving the title.
6. Next, ask people to hold their questions until the end (except for brief questions of clarification). Otherwise you are likely to get interrupted and never finish the talk. If you are interrupted, and you can't give a very short answer in a single phrase, ask the person to save that question until the end.
7. Be sure to explain near the beginning why a nonspecialist might be interested in your work.



8. Be realistic about the time it will take to give your talk. Be ruthless with yourself in planning what you will be able to say, and what you'll have to leave out. If you are running short of time during the talk, it is better to cut a pre-planned optional section in the middle than to be prevented from giving the conclusion.

9. Near the end, be sure to explain why your substantive conclusions are of importance beyond the immediate topic of the work.

10. A good talk, like a good musical, has a theme that people can whistle to themselves on the way out.

11. For most speakers, it is better to use a detailed outline than a script. If you do read your talk, be sure that you do not read too fast, that you don't use a monotone, and that you maintain eye contact.

12. Use a blackboard to help focus attention and to have a common reference point with the audience. Use handouts if the material is too detailed to put on the blackboard. Be sure the handouts are not too complex and are well labeled. Have plenty of copies of the handouts with the pages stapled together.

### **After the Talk**

13. The hardest task is to appreciate what a questioner is getting at. Ask for clarification if you are not sure, for example, by restating the question in your own words and asking if that is what was meant.



**Robert Axelrod**

14. It is not a crime to pause before you reply. It might even make you look thoughtful.

15. It is not a crime to take notes on the remarks from the audience, especially on an interesting point that you hadn't thought of. It might even make you look like you care.

16. It is not a crime to say "I don't know" or "my data aren't decisive about that but I'll be glad to speculate."

17. If a few people are dominating the questioning (which often happens), say "I'd like to call on the person in the back of the room now who hasn't had a chance to ask a question yet." □

# Association News

## Report of the Executive Director, 1984-85

**Thomas E. Mann**

The vital signs of the Association remain strong. We continue to enjoy surpluses in our operating accounts without any increases in dues or fees to members. (See Table 1.) The market value of our Trust and Development Fund has grown to \$1.4 million, while our endowed program

funds have now surpassed \$250,000. Membership in the Association continues to edge up after a decade-long slide. (See Table 2.) Registration at the annual meeting has been high, and our most recent meeting in Washington, D.C. drew the largest attendance in 15 years. With the addition of the Presidency Research Group, the number of Organized Sections in the Association has grown to nine, and their membership and level of activity continues to increase. (See Table 3.)

**TABLE 1**  
**Budget Summary, 1979-1985**

Year	Income	Expenditures	Surplus
1979-80	\$ 930,157	\$ 929,857	\$ 300
1980-81	1,007,675	977,328	30,347
1981-82	1,117,201	1,043,255	74,446
1982-83	1,202,078	1,094,415	107,663
1983-84	1,323,074	1,247,529	75,545
1984-85*	1,400,000	1,350,000	50,000

\*Projected.

**TABLE 2**  
**APSA Members, 1974-85**

Year*	Regular	Associate	Student	Retired	Life	Family	Total Individual	Institutional
1974	7,793		4,006	217	101	137	12,254	3,504
1975	7,335		3,912	206	100	149	11,702	3,648
1976	7,428		3,603	245	96	134	11,506	3,588
1977	7,228		3,076	270	95	142	10,811	3,466
1978	7,094		2,655	301	97	154	10,301	3,338
1979	6,845		2,335	310	91	148	9,729	3,339
1980	6,592		2,159	344	91	135	9,321	3,337
1981	6,423		1,901	349	92	129	8,894	3,283
1982	5,838		1,984	388	97	134	8,441	3,156
1983	5,764		2,068	382	104	130	8,448	3,018
1984	5,891		2,511	378	111	151	9,042	3,059
1985	5,879	106	2,595	411	116	166	9,273	2,996

\*January of each year.

**TABLE 3**  
**Organized Section Members, June 1985**

Organized Section	Number of Members
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	281
Law, Courts and Judicial Process	501
Legislative Studies	369
Policy Studies	553
Political Organizations and Parties	387
Public Administration	561
*Conflict Processes	120
*Representation and Electoral Systems	140
*Presidency Research	—

\*New.

The major publications of the Association are also in good shape. We are in the midst of a successful transition of editorial offices of the *American Political Science Review* from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign to the University of Iowa and Washington University. Managing editor Dina Zinnes and book review editor Steven Seitz have turned over their primary responsibilities to Samuel Patterson and Robert Salisbury, although the Illinois office will remain open to complete work on the September and December 1985 issues. Catherine Rudder continues to develop *PS* as a journal of political ideas and news of the profession. The budgets for both the *APSR* and *PS* have been increased to accommodate larger issues. Sheilah Mann remains editor of the third quarterly publication provided to Association members, *NEWS for Teachers of Political Science*, and oversees the publication of a Project '87 quarterly magazine, *this Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle*, which is available to APSA members at a reduced rate.

The health of the Association is also seen through the scope and quality of its substantive programs. Here I believe the signs are equally good. Our Congressional Fellowship Program, now in its 32nd year, continues to give political scientists, journalists and other professionals from the United States and abroad a unique opportunity to increase their understanding of Congress and the American political system. We are on the verge of endowing one and possibly two

fellowships, which will help us in our efforts to obtain a more secure funding base for the program. Project '87, our joint undertaking with the American Historical Association, recently organized a conference to mark the bicentennial of the Mount Vernon Conference, published *Lessons on the Constitution*, a supplement to high school courses in American history, government and civics, and ran a third series of faculty seminars on the United States Constitution. This spring CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE, a 26-part television series jointly produced by WETA and the Association, received certificates of merit from the Ohio State Awards and the American Bar Association. A new small grants program was launched, with 10 awards made from among 79 applicants. The Association's publication list continued to grow this past year, with additions that include the 1985 *Membership Directory*, a new edition of *Careers and the Study of Political Science*, and a series of instructional units on comparative politics, produced as part of National Public Radio's Global Understanding Project.

The Association also took a more active role in the area of international political science. A grant was received from the National Science Foundation that allowed the Association to make travel awards to 50 scholars participating in the 1985 World Congress of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) in Paris. Plans are well underway to have us host the 1988 IPSA World Congress in Washington, D.C. Ad hoc committees on

political science in China and in the Soviet Union developed plans for discussions on the state of the discipline between American and Chinese scholars and between American and Soviet scholars. An APSA delegation recently returned from China with agreement for a series of collaborative projects with the Chinese Association of Political Science. A proposal has been made to the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) for a general colloquium series between U.S. and Soviet political scientists. Finally, the Council has established a Committee on International Political Science, charged with developing relationships between American political science and political science in other nations.

One area of particular concern to the Association and to President Richard Fenno is the very serious problem of the recruitment and retention of minority graduate students in political science and the promotion and tenure of minority faculty. Blacks still comprise only three percent of all political science faculty, and the sharp decline in the number of blacks entering Ph.D. programs over the last decade means that prospects for increasing that percentage are bleak. How can we increase the number and promote the success of minorities in the political science profession? That question has been the subject of discussions organized by the Association at the University of Chicago and at regional association meetings with department chairs and other interested members. A number of activities are being planned, including a conference on black politics and a summer institute for black undergraduates. We hope to have a number of concrete projects underway next year.

This is not an easy time to recruit graduate students, with the well-publicized uncertainties of the academic job market and the availability of other, more economically attractive alternatives. Enrollments in political science Ph.D. programs are now a third of what they were in the late 1960s, and the number of Ph.D.s awarded each year, already down from a high of 885 in 1976 to 542 in 1983, will almost certainly drop even more. These changes in enrollments are a natural

adjustment of supply to demand, but they threaten to reduce the overall quality and diversity of the newest cohorts of political scientists. Our challenge is to devise ways of encouraging the more talented undergraduates to pursue graduate study in political science without further imbalancing supply and demand.

Our success in this effort will be tied partly to overall conditions in higher education and partly to the particular status of political science. There is nothing we can do to alter the number of 18-year-olds or the percentage of high school graduates who decide to enter college. But there are things we can do to heighten the attractiveness of political science as an undergraduate and graduate course of study. The Educational Testing Service has decided to develop an advanced placement test in political science for high school students, and we will do whatever we can to support this effort. The bicentennial of the United States Constitution gives us an opportunity to show high school teachers and the general public that political science can make an important contribution to citizenship education. We are also producing undergraduate teaching materials that might help attract political science majors and ultimately graduate students from among the ablest undergraduates.

It is also important to do whatever we can to bolster the standing of political science in the Washington community and to enhance the public reputation of our discipline. Our efforts through COSSA to advance the interests of the social sciences and our recent report on "Political Science and the Humanities" are particularly important in this regard. So too are the projects which use television to convey insights from our scholarship to a larger audience.

Perhaps the most useful thing we can do to make political science a more attractive profession is to capitalize on our extraordinary diversity. We need Chinese and Latin American specialists to identify with political science as much as students of American politics. Political scientists managing programs in the public sector and those doing political risk analysis for private corporations ought to

have as great an incentive to stay active in the profession as faculty members. And women, blacks and Hispanics should be drawn to graduate work by the prominent examples of women, blacks and Hispanics who have enjoyed successful and rewarding careers in political science. □

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## **McNamara, Schlesinger, Scowcroft, Destler To Speak at Annual Meeting**

Two former Secretaries of Defense, Robert McNamara and James Schlesinger, will speak at the Saturday evening plenary session on arms control at the annual meeting, August 29-September 1, at the New Orleans Hilton. In addition, former presidential assistant for national security, Brent Scowcroft, and I. M. Destler of the Institute for International Economics will participate in the session.

On Thursday evening there will be a presentation of awards and the presidential address given by Richard F. Fenno, Jr. of the University of Rochester. His topic will be "Observation, Context, and Sequence in the Study of Politics."

Fred Greenstein of Princeton University will lead Friday evening's plenary session on Reform of the American Political System. Participants include two former members of Congress, Richard Bolling (D-MO) and Barber Conable, Jr. (R-NY), as well as Lloyd N. Cutler, a leading advocate of constitutional reform and former White House aide in the Carter administration.

Following the Saturday program, there will be a jazz concert with noted jazz expert Richard Allen as master of ceremonies and featuring French jazz musician Jacques Gauthier and clarinetist Michael White. Tickets may be ordered at \$10 each through APSA's national office. Seating is limited to 500. □

## **APSR Moves to Iowa City**

The editorial office of *APSR* has moved to the Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242, under the editorship of Samuel C. Patterson. All new manuscripts should be sent directly to Iowa. □

## **Council Approves New Section on Presidency Research; Gaus Lectureship Set**

The Council approved a position from the Presidency Research Group to become an Organized Section of the Association at its meeting on April 12. The Presidency Research Group is in its sixth year of existence and has over 200 members, according to its president George C. Edwards III of Texas A&M University.

The Council also established a John Gaus Lectureship to begin with the 1986 annual meeting. APSA's president will appoint a selection committee, in a manner consistent with other Association award committees, charged with selecting a scholar who best embodies the joint tradition of political science and public administration. An honorarium of \$1,500 will be attached to the lectureship.

In other action, the Council established a Committee on International Political Science which will absorb the responsibilities of the ad hoc committees on China and the Soviet Union, oversee the hosting of the 1988 World Congress of the International Political Science Association in Washington, and develop relationships between American political science and political science in other nations.

*Editor's Note: Complete minutes of the Council meeting are printed in the PS Appendix of this issue.* □

## **Political Scientists, Reporters Named Congressional Fellows**

The APSA has announced the winners in the national competition for the 1985-86 Congressional Fellowship Program. Fellows come to Washington in November for a one-month orientation session followed by nine months of full-time work as legislative aides in congressional offices.

The new Congressional Fellows are:

### **Political Science Fellows**

Q. Whitfield Ayres, Assistant Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina



William F. Connelly, Jr., Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Clemson University

Edward Thompson III, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Louisville

Joan Thompson, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Luther College

#### **Journalism Fellows**

Celia F. Cohen, Staff Reporter, *News-Journal*, Wilmington, Delaware

Philip J. Garcia, Staff Writer, *The San Diego Union*, San Diego, California

Sponsored by the Association since 1953, the purpose of the Congressional Fellowship Program is to give outstanding political scientists, journalists, medical faculty and federal agency executives an opportunity to acquire a rich understanding of the national legislative process.

The 1,118 alumni of the program include university presidents, deans and professors; newspaper and magazine publishers, editors and reporters; high ranking executives in the federal bureaucracy; and congressmen and congressional staff aides.

Other participants in the 1985-86 program will include:

#### **Carl Albert Fellow**

Joseph A. Theissen, Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma

#### **Ford Foundation Fellow**

Yi Zhang, Section of American Government and Politics, Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China

#### **West German Fellows**

Klaus D. Frankenberger, Research Associate, Center for North-American Studies and Research, Frankfurt University

Jurgen Wilzewski, Ph.D. Candidate, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University, Frankfurt/Main

#### **French Fellow**

Catherine Joyeux Babelon, Administrator of Services, National Assembly of France

#### **Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows**

John F. Eisold, Assistant Professor of Medicine, Commander, Medical Corps, U.S. Navy, F. Edward Herbert School of Medicine, Uniformed Services University

Charles M. Helms, Associate Professor, Division of Infectious Diseases, Department of Internal Medicine, College of Medicine, University of Iowa

Jerome A. Paulson, Assistant Professor of Pediatrics, Department of Pediatrics, Rainbow Babies and Childrens Hospital, Case Western Reserve University Hospitals

Richard E. Rieselbach, Associate Dean for the Milwaukee Clinical Campus, University of Wisconsin Medical School

Kenneth W. Rowe, Jr., Vice Dean for Clinical and House Staff Affairs, University of Cincinnati Medical Center

Thomas G. Rundall, Associate Professor of Public Health, Department of Social and Administrative Health Sciences, School of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley

#### **Federal Fellows**

C. Kenneth Allard, Major, United States Military Academy, Department of the Army



George C. Edwards III of Texas A&M University is president of the Presidency Research Group, now an Organized Section of APSA.



**Celia F. Cohen**



**Edward Thompson III**



**Philip J. Garcia**

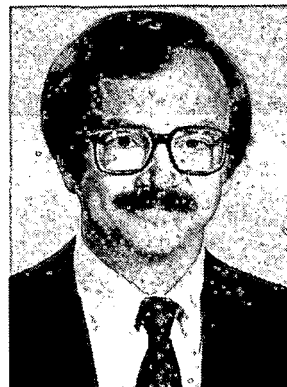
**1985-86  
Congressional  
Fellows**



**Q. Whitfield Ayres**



**Joan Thompson**



**William F. Connelly, Jr.**

Lawrence Brenner, Administrative Judge, Atomic Safety & Licensing Board, Nuclear Regulatory Commission

James Burrige, Policy Staff Officer, National Security Agency

Gordon L. Claucherty, Division Director, Farm & Child Labor Program, Department of Labor

Richard A. DuChateau, Program Analyst, Defense Intelligence Agency

Keith E. Evans, Biological Scientist, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture

Paul F. Goldberg, Senior Policy Analyst, Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Jean LeMasurier, Program Analyst, Health Care Financing Administration, Department of Health & Human Services

Cornelia H. Moore, Administrative Officer, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor

Ronald L. Nunnery, Deputy Director, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture

James P. Rausch, Senior Water Resources Planner, Army Corps of Engineers

Kenyon C. Rosenberg, Associate Director, Bibliographic & Document Services, Department of Commerce

Andrew Rudyk, Supervisory Labor Relations Specialist, Department of Health & Human Services

Peter C. Toland, Director, Disability Program Branch, Department of Health & Human Services

Martin C. Yerg, Jr., Physical Scientist, National Climate Program Office, Department of Commerce

#### **Foreign Affairs Fellows**

Sheila A. Austrian, Country Affairs Officer, U.S. Information Agency

Robyn Bishop, Consular Officer, Department of State

Thomas E. Eckert, Military Analyst, Central Intelligence Agency

Gary R. Edquist, International Radio Broadcaster, Voice of America, U.S. Information Agency

Thomas V. Flores, Lt. Colonel, Staff Officer, Department of the Army

Thomas N. Harvey, Major, Planning/Programming Analyst, Department of the Army

Robert M. Hathaway, Historian, Central Intelligence Agency

John Holzman, Economics Officer, Department of State

Judy E. Mandel, Foreign Service Officer, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State

Keith P. McCormick, Officer-in-Charge, East German Affairs, Department of State

Joseph Wilson, Deputy Chief of Mission, American Embassy in Bujumbura, Burundi, Department of State

#### **Asia Foundation Fellows**

Arlene C. Dada, Batasang Pambansa Secretariat, Committee Affairs Bureau, Republic of the Philippines

Hertomo Reksodiputro, Second Secretary/Head of Section Ecological Environment, Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia

Mohammad Waseem, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan

#### **American Anthropological Association Fellows**

Judith Justice, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Institute for Health Policy Studies, School of Medicine, University of California, San Francisco

Christine E. Krueger, Latin American Development Consultant □

### **APSA Research Grantees Announced**

The APSA Research Support Committee announced the 1985 Research Grantees on May 1. This is the first group of recipients of these funds from the Research Grant Program, established by the Council in 1984. The Council has authorized up to \$10,000 annually for the program. To be eligible for a grant, applicants must be APSA members and must either be a faculty member from a non-Ph.D. granting college or university or be a political scientist not affiliated with an academic institution. Funds are used for research that addresses a significant problem in political science.

The Selection Committee, composed of G. Robert Boynton, University of Iowa, Chair; Kenneth Shepsle, Washington University, St. Louis; and Allan Kornberg, Duke University, reviewed 79 applica-

## Association News

tions and awarded 10 grants for 1985. The grantees are:

Mary L. Bellhouse, Providence College. "The Moveable Orchard: Power and Visual Art in Eighteenth-Century France." \$1,400.

James L. Guth, Furman University. "The Politics of the Southern Baptist Convention." \$600.

Kenneth M. Holland, University of Vermont. "The Role of U.S. and European Courts in Antitrust Enforcement: An Application of Convergence Theory." \$600.

Louise H. Huddleston, unaffiliated, and Bill Huddleston, University of North Alabama. "An Experimental Test of Perceptions Regarding the Credibility of Judicial Decisions: The Cult of the Robe." \$360.

Dennis R. Judd, University of Missouri-St. Louis. "Minority Leadership and Municipal Policy." \$1,400.

Gregory Kasza, Whitman College. "Military-Bureaucratic Administered Mass Organizations: The Case of Interwar Japan." \$1,400.

John M. McAdams, Marquette University. "Lifestyle and Politics." \$975.

George T. Menake, Montclair State College. "On Accurate Dating of the Authorship of John Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*." \$1,280.

Arnold B. Urken, Stevens Institute of Technology. "The Jefferson-Condorcet Connection: A Missing Link in Social Choice Theory?" \$585.

Allan S. Zuckerman, Brown University. "The Politics of Ethnic Conflict: Political Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in the Political Development of Europe." \$1,400. □

## Career Guide for Undergraduates Updated

Since its first publication in 1981, over 200,000 copies of *Careers and the Study of Political Science: A Guide for Undergraduates* have been distributed. The booklet gives students current and realistic information on types of careers, the availability of jobs, and the academic training and skills associated with particular jobs.

The fourth edition, published in June 1985, includes a new section on international organizations. The cost for a single copy of *Careers* is \$2, and bulk

order rates are available. To order, send check to Publications, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. □

## Congress Series Honored

CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE, a telecourse that provides 26 half-hour television programs on the United States Congress, was produced by WETA and APSA. The Annenberg/CPB Project supported the production. The television programs were first broadcast nationally in fall, 1984.

APSA is pleased to make two announcements about CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE. First, CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE has received awards, both for the entire series, and for specific programs. Second, Films, Inc., the distributor of the Annenberg/CPB programs, has lowered the prices for the individual programs and for the series.

## Awards

- An *Ohio State Achievement of Merit Award* for the entire series. The Ohio State Awards "For excellence in educational, informational and public affairs broadcasting," are the oldest competition in broadcasting.

The citation that accompanied the award to CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE commends the series as: "Conceived to illuminate 'government in action' and to increase understanding of how government works, 'CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE' certainly achieves those ends. Obviously a well researched script and a host of authoritative consultants combined with professional narration and quality production techniques culminates into an intellectually stimulating symposium, encouraging further discussions and readings. A timeless program series worthy of repeated exposures."

- An award from the National Educational Film Festival (NEFF) for the programs entitled, "The Two Houses of Congress" and "A Day in the House,"

shown as episodes no. 2 and no. 13 in the series. Award winning programs are listed in a catalog distributed by the NEFF to 2,000 of the largest educational media purchasers in the United States.

- A certificate of merit from the American Bar Association's Gavel Awards Competition for the program, "Congress and the Courts," shown as episode no. 22 in the series. The citation for the program that accompanies the award reads: "In recognition of a noteworthy contribution to public understanding of the American systems of law and justice."
- A Valley Forge Honor Certificate for Excellence in Electronic Communications for the entire series from the Freedom Foundation. The competition honors "... schools, organizations and individuals whose efforts strengthen an understanding of freedom and the fundamentals of a free society."

### Prices

The Annenberg/CPB Project and Films, Inc., the distributor of the programs, have announced a new, reduced price schedule as follows:

#### CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE

Individual program	1/2"	\$ 129
Individual program	3/4"	198
Series—single mt.	1/2"	3,020
Series—double mt.	1/2"	2,262
Series—quad mt.	1/2"	1,924
Series—single mt.	3/4"	4,635
Series—double mt.	3/4"	3,614

### Information

As an entire course, CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE includes the public television series, a study guide by Samuel Kernell and Diane Kernell that features broadcast notes and exercises, and a choice among three comprehensive textbooks—*Congress and Its Members* by Roger H. Davidson and Walter J. Oleszek; *The United States Congress: People, Place, and Policy* by Charles O. Jones; and *Congress: Process and Policy* by Randall B. Ripley.

CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE may be used in a variety of ways:

- as a complete college credit course, most especially for distant learners or for adult or continuing education students.
- as supplementary material for courses in political science and American government.
- as an important addition to the video reference collections of public libraries.
- as a significant educational tool for community and special interest groups.
- as a resource for gifted and advanced placement programs.

**Preview Opportunities.** Pre-recorded videocassettes and print preview packets are available. For further information about previews or the purchase or rental of pre-recorded videocassettes, off-air taping licenses and television course licenses, please contact: The Annenberg/CPB Collection, 1213 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, IL 60091. 1-800-LEARNER (532-7637); in Illinois (312) 256-3200.

CONGRESS: WE THE PEOPLE is closed captioned for the hearing impaired by the National Captioning Institute. □

### Project '87 Seeks Bicentennial News

Project '87, the joint effort of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association for the Bicentennial of the Constitution, publishes a quarterly magazine, *this Constitution*. The magazine includes a section devoted to programs being planned for the Bicentennial of the Constitution, and faculty members who are planning programs on their campuses are encouraged to send in descriptions of their programs. Those who do so are eligible, upon request, for a free subscription to *this Constitution*.

## Association News

Other faculty members who are members of the APSA may subscribe to *this Constitution* for \$8 per year (a discount of 20 percent). You may use the subscription form in this issue. ☐

### Travel Grants to 1985 IPSA World Congress in Paris Announced

With funds from the National Science Foundation, the Association awarded travel grants to 50 scholars attending the XIII IPSA World Congress in Paris, July 15-20, 1985.

The Selection Committee, composed of Samuel C. Patterson, University of Iowa, chair; Linda P. Brady, Department of Defense; and Catherine M. Kelleher, University of Maryland, had the difficult task of choosing 50 grantees from among 158 qualified applicants.

The NSF travel grant recipients are:

Joel D. Aberbach, Public Policy Studies, University of Michigan

David E. Apter, Yale University

Robert Bianchi, University of Pennsylvania

Herman L. Boschken, San Jose State University

Steven J. Brams, New York University

Richard A. Brody, Stanford University

Gary C. Bryner, Brigham Young University

John Campbell, University of Michigan

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## Organization of Power To Be Theme of 1986 Annual Meeting

**Matthew Holden, Jr.**  
 University of Virginia

The function of the annual meeting is, among other things, to allow colleagues to put on display, for collegial advice, criticism, and instruction, the varied forms of research and writing that, in our highly individualistic discipline, we take seriously. The 1986 meeting will serve that function fully. APSA programs can never be turned into Procrustean beds. But colleagues are particularly encouraged to consider how their work may be related seriously to the 1986 program theme, "The Organization of Power," predicated on the view that there is a fundamental coherence in the political phenomenon and a potential intellectual coherence in the analysis of the political phenomenon.

"Politics" as a fundamental human activity, to adapt language from Walton Hamilton, "is not [simply] the televised soapbox or the [search] for votes, but [in the] Aristotelian tradition . . . the usages and traditions, the arrangements and policies, by which [the human species] is governed, and through which [human beings]—usurping the function of the gods—attempt to shape destiny." In a quite different intellectual tradition, Masao Maruyama expresses politics as "the organization of control by man over

Matthew Holden, Jr., Henry L. and Grace M. Doherty Professor at the University of Virginia, is program chair for the 1986 annual meeting which will be held at the Washington Hilton in Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1986.

man." If human beings seek to shape destiny, they must seek to control the collectivities in which they operate, lest divergent actions vitiate that which they seek.

Therefore, the theme of the *organization* of power not only refers to formal structures (see Loomis and Ingraham below on the power of organization in that sense), *but to an active process*. Human striving to achieve, stabilize and exercise power implies the counter-efforts of other human beings to undermine, evade, overthrow or insulate themselves from existing or potential arrangements of power. (This drives us to consider, among other things, the micro-political level—the individual—and the connection to the formal structure, including values about authority [cf. Eckstein below] and the acquisition and holding of political beliefs [some of which are referred to in the Sigel note below].)

The program design is, in form, essentially parallel to that which has been used for several years. Section 6 (Eckstein, below) provides for new attention to power and authority in non-governmental entities, here designated "social organizations" or "private governments." Section 18 (Politics and Economics) gives a more express intellectual recognition of what John Maurice Clark once called "the interpenetration of politics and economics." Section 19 (see Hamilton, below) provides a vehicle for special attention to the welfare state.

The section chairs have, and will exercise, wide latitude to interpret the specific relevance of the program theme to their sections and to decide when to adopt a different approach altogether. We will all try our best to be fair and to be seen as such. But we do not promise to be inert. The program chair may also exercise the discretion, in consultation with section chairs, to create a very small number of panels or workshops on matters of major interest that cannot easily be accommodated within a single section. The program chair would be particularly interested in proposals regarding:

(a) reconsideration of the relevance of political studies occurring in anthropology, sociology, and history—which

appear to have less place on our agendas now than they did 20 years ago;

(b) studies in literature and politics, if conceived on a broad integrative basis, with a deep foundation in literature and in politics;

(c) studies in the "popular cultures," rather than in the "high cultures," as expressions of ideas of authority, rebellion, etc. and their consequences for political systems;

(d) relevance of archaeological and other evidence about ancient societies, notably Greece and Rome, for the reconstruction of our knowledge of their politics, and of the relevance of their politics to contemporary ideas of empirical theory;

(e) conceptualization, and notably empirical examination, of the fundamental resources of control in society, e.g., force, money, information;

(f) the application of concepts and theories from modern political science to major historical experience or to problems that arise mainly in other disciplines, e.g., (1) the decision to initiate the Columbian expeditions as a forum for testing ideas about political decision-making and policy innovation; (2) the political element in the making of rules about property that are fundamental to "the market"; or (3) the imaginary treatment that would have been entailed if cost-benefit analysis had been applied to the problem of whether to adopt the Kansas-Nebraska Act;

(g) consideration of the relationship between changes in analytical technique and the capacity to answer a question, as manifest in particular fields of political analysis over the course of modern political science;

(h) methodological work referring to the problems of *discovering and identifying* research questions worthy of the time and intellectual attention of grown men and women, in contrast to the already-recognized-as-important issues of *verification*, and other problems in the methodology of "soft" research; and

(i) the anticipation or forecasting, on the basis of carefully ordered thought and data, of major scientific or technological



developments, e.g., human gene therapy, space colonization, etc.

If there are such panels or workshops, they will be very few and must be screened more severely than if they were proposed for the regular sections. Proposals will be the more welcome if their makers are able (a) to provide preliminary drafts, of fairly short length, based upon work in progress, rather than work that they intend to initiate; (b) to show clearly whether the problem is a *new* problem in political science or whether there is a line of implicit or explicit theory bearing on it; (c) to show whether the problem requires data or merely the most careful thought possible; (d) to show, if data are required, whether the data needed are qualitative or quantitative and that the best effort has been expended; and (e) to show that the problem, as stated, deserves to be regarded as significant from the viewpoint that the maker of the proposal will sustain. Such preliminary drafts should be in a state capable of completion before July of 1986 and should include prior formulations of the problem in political science as a discipline, command of the relevant literatures, sources of data, etc.

*The Program Chair particularly invites suggestions as to the impact, if any, of the defense-oriented environment since 1945 upon the domestic politics of the United States, and/or other countries, particularly as it may suggest any re-examination of the Lasswellian concept of the "garrison state."*

### **Policies and Deadlines**

Paper proposals and offers to appear as discussants or panel chairpersons should be submitted as early as possible. The deadline for receipt of submissions is December 1, 1985. Proposals for whole panels are welcome, but persons with suggestions for panels should get their requests in early.

Please write directly to the appropriate section chairperson listed below. Anyone who applies to more than one section chairperson should indicate that fact to the relevant chairpersons. More general inquiries or suggestions may be addressed to:

- Matthew Holden, Jr., Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, 232 Cabell Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22905; (804) 924-3422.
- Norinne Hessman, Convention Coordinator, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 483-2512.

Prospective participants should be aware of two APSA Council policies which will be enforced by the Association: (1) acceptance of a proposal by the Program Committee obligates you to preregister (with appropriate fee) prior to June 1, 1986. If you fail to preregister, you will not be listed in the final program; (2) you may serve on no more than two panels of the official program. However, you may serve as a paper author on only one panel of the official program. This rule applies only to participation on the panels organized by the Program Committee and does not affect participation on panels organized by "unaffiliated groups."

You may offer to participate in panels in several sections. However, if you receive invitations for more than one paper presentation, you may only accept one of them. You may not appear on more than two official panels, irrespective of the nature of the participation. If you do apply to several sections, please inform each section chairperson that this is a multiple application. Also, in that case, please notify the other section chairpersons as soon as you have accepted an invitation for participation in another section.

### **Section 1. Positive Political Theory.**

Russell M. Hardin, Committee on Public Policy, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637.

Positive Political Theory uses formal models to explain political outcomes and to analyze normative constraints on political action. The models are most commonly set theoretic, game theoretic, or microeconomic equilibrium models that are generally based on the assumption of narrow rationality, or self interest. Much of the work in the field has had surprising, often negative implications for our understanding of politics. Major in-

sights in the field include the difficulties of aggregating individual into collective choices and of motivating individuals to collective action. Such results have remade both our positive and our normative views of political activity.

Panels in the Positive Political Theory Section will be diverse in their substantive and theoretical focuses. While the final structure of panels will depend on the best submitted papers, I expect to arrange panels on recent experimental work, critical assessments of the theoretical foundations of the field, the effects of dynamic or over-time considerations on the models, and applications of the models to normative theory. I also expect to see panels on the formal analysis of institutions, groups, elections, and preference formation.

**Section 2. Empirical Theory and Research Methods.** Steven J. Rosenstone, Department of Political Science, Yale University, 3532 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520.

Panels in this section will be concerned with the development and use of innovative methodological techniques to address substantive political problems. I am particularly interested in the following topics: (1) models and methods of survey measurement (including question wording and order, measurement error, non-response, scale effects, instrument effects, and survey design); (2) ecological inference and the analysis of historical data; (3) the analysis of data sets built from pooling cross-sectional survey data gathered at different moments in time; (4) problems that arise in practice when employing simultaneous equations methods; (5) simulation and artificial intelligence; and (6) new software. I will welcome paper proposals and suggestions for panels in any of these and related areas. I will be most receptive to papers that will be reporting innovative methodological work rather than applying existing techniques.

**Section 3. Political Thought and Philosophy: Historical Approaches.** Alan Gilbert, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208.

The 1986 program theme, "The Organization of Power," will be used to provide for a broad representation of current work in political theory. The selection of papers will not, by any means, be governed by that theme alone. The present design is to emphasize three main sorts of panels, whether cast within that theme or within other conceptions deemed significant to political theorists, that would include reinterpretations of or controversies about how to interpret major past and contemporary theorists.

(1) The first sort of proposals would be for panels and papers involving philosophical arguments, recapitulating or modifying those of leading theorists, that have relevance for debates about the nature of democracy, political participation and individuality. (For instance, papers along these lines might provide insight into the challenges to the subjection of women and their impact on conceptions of the self and political deliberation.)

(2) I would be interested in proposals which clarify the classes of liberals and Marxians. Such proposals might, for example, reassess arguments about the effects of war and revolution on regime structure and human well-being or appraise modern claims about basic historical change, moral advance and decay.

(3) I would also look for panels suggesting new or resuscitated ways in which modern arguments and debates might be seen in comparison to those of the ancients.

Lively, pointed discussion is more likely if panels remain small and papers focus on the same or closely linked issues. I prefer panels composed of two papers and one discussant or roundtables among scholars who have previously written on a subject to larger, more loosely defined panels. (I also want to provide opportunity for newer voices in the discipline, possibly including advanced graduate students.) Such arrangements will, I hope, encourage audience participation.

**Section 4. Analytical and Critical Theory.** Scarlett G. Graham, Institute for Public Policy Studies, Vanderbilt Univer-

sity, 1208 18th Avenue-South, Nashville, TN 37212.

The organization of power has for centuries provided the principal framework for sorting and classifying political regimes. Modern explorations of the origins of power have linked society and government into still other frameworks of analysis, going beyond the notion of formal power to that of effective power. Power relationships important for political analysis have been found in property, class structure, and even language and the structure of communication. Recent concern with the crisis of authority raises serious questions as to how adequately the relationship between formal and effective power, between regimes and the societies they govern, is understood. Critical theorists have raised these same questions in rather different terms for an even longer time.

Panels and papers that help to clarify and sharpen discourse on power as a concept, an analytical device, or a tool of social criticism will be especially appropriate to the overall theme of the program. The many indirect problems of substance and method that result from a focus on power are equally appropriate topics. The general program theme should be viewed as an opportunity for analytical and critical theorists presenting their work to share a common point of departure, not as an unduly restrictive limitation on the diversity of concerns to be considered or approaches to be employed.

**Section 5. The Practice of Political Science.** Jewel L. Prestage, Dean, School of Public Policy and Urban Affairs, Southern University, Southern Branch Post Office, Baton Rouge, LA 70813.

The panels in this section will be directed toward issues, problems, concerns and patterns in the growth and development of the profession and the discipline as well as the contemporary state of the profession and the discipline. In addition, work focusing on the future of the profession is being solicited. The aim is to include the broadest possible range of scholarly endeavors which address the general area of "the practice of political

science" within the context of the program theme, "The Organization of Power."

Among other things, proposals will be considered for:

(1) Examination of the social structure of political science as a discipline, and the evidence as to whether the structure of the discipline inhibits either opportunities for some members of the profession more than others or the examination of some social status questions more than others. Clearly, this involves a set of questions now under some discussion, both as to the status of women and as to the status of several ethnic minorities, among them Afro-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans.

(2) The various means in which education in political science is absorbed in professional activity in government or the private sector, outside the academic system, and the extent to which habits of mind or bodies of knowledge and skills acquired in the graduate world of political science serve well or ill. The section chair will particularly be interested in proposals and comments from colleagues who, having undertaken careers in the private sector, nonetheless, retain an active intellectual connection with the discipline.

(3) Active political participation as a learning experience that yields a systematic or substantial re-interpretation of political science and politics, e.g., when political scientists have been deeply engaged in activities and responsibilities outside the political science setting, what have they deemed themselves to learn? Political scientists are recurrently involved in activities as various as street-level community organizing, political campaign management, campaigning for and being elected to a variety of offices from local school board to the Senate, etc. What has their experienced-based learning (a variety of participant-observation, so to speak) had to do with the reformulation of ideas in scholarship?

(4) Are there "continuing education" models for use in the study of politics, by political scientists, and in the mastery of pedagogy? Is there a staleness problem inherent in our work, as there may be in many other lines of work, and what are

constructive means, free of self-flagellation, that we may use to help overcome the staleness problem?

(5) What are the significant changes taking place in the demography, economics, politics, and administration of higher education that significantly affect (a) our capacity for effective teaching, (b) our capacity for research and publication of findings, and (c) our occupational prospects?

(6) If an adult education course were designed for elective politicians and journalists, reflecting contemporary political science, what should it contain? If an adult education course were designed for political scientists, reflecting what contemporary journalists and elective politicians know, what should it contain?

These are provisional questions subject to refinement. The section chair will welcome proposals for papers and volunteers to act as commentators or panel chairs. The section chair will also welcome additional proposals, beyond the range of the items mentioned above, provided they are submitted on a timely basis.

**Section 6. Power, Authority, and Private Governments.** Harry Eckstein, School of Social Sciences, University of California-Irvine, Irvine, CA 92717.

Panels in this section will be concerned with the nature, determinants, and consequences of governance in social organizations and institutions, such as families, schools and universities, workplaces, trade unions, and political parties.

Examples of pertinent issues are: (1) whether such organizations and institutions can, through their internal authority relations, form participatory attitudes and behavior; (2) whether the internal structures and processes of political parties (or other organizations) can provide effective training in political leadership; (3) whether problems of maintaining order and discipline in formative organizations (e.g., schools) tend to prevent effective attainment of their goals (education). Many other issues are appropriate, as are papers on whether the governance of "private" organizations in fact has significant consequences for

political life; and on general organization theory. Also appropriate are papers that mainly describe the governance of "private" organizations.

The papers may be case studies, comparative research, largely speculative essays, or critical analyses of existing literature on governance in the institutions and organizations listed above.

**Section 7. Comparative Politics: Public Policies and Policy Making.** Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis, MO 63130.

Papers given in these panels might compare policies across national political boundaries, or across policy fields, or both. Papers comparing policy or policy implementation in subnational units will be welcome if they also meet one of the above criteria. Papers which emphasize the temporal dimension as a distinct variable are also solicited if they overlap with the basic criteria. The panels will of course reflect the diverse methodologies which are employed, but I would favor their having a primary geo-political and policy area focus, i.e., a panel on U.S.-West European economic policy comparisons, one on comparing environment policies in developing countries, etc.

A focus on conceptual problems encountered in the identification, classification and analysis of policies across national institutions and policy fields might be an effective way to explore how the organization of power creates both problems and opportunities for research in this field. Are decisions in similar policy fields handled differently in more "corporatist" or "pluralist" systems, in those with stronger or weaker bureaucracies? How is policy conceptualization developing in other countries and languages, does this lead to somewhat different priorities as to selection of research topics? Is one observer's policy another's non-policy, and how do they explain their reasons?

Some varieties of policy comparisons which might be especially welcome because we have seen rather few of them are: (1) policy comparisons between American states and smaller developed countries; (2) comparisons of

taxation, transport and agriculture policies; (3) analyses and critiques of the comparative policy implementation literature; (4) international agencies and their influence on convergence or divergence in national policies; (5) organized professions and public policies; (6) the impact of social program cutbacks; (7) attempts to measure degrees of policy impact, success or failure.

**Section 8. Comparative Politics: Publics, Leaders, and Institutions.** Alberta Sbragia, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; (412) 624-3725.

This section is well suited to a wide-ranging exploration of the organization of power in diverse societies. Proposals for papers or panels that relate the structure and behavior of mass publics, diverse types of public and quasi-public elites, and a wide variety of institutions—and especially the linkages between them—to the organization of power at both the national and subnational level will be given priority.

Proposals which integrate two or three of the section's themes are particularly desirable, such as studies of elite-mass linkages, the structuring of conventional and unconventional participation, interactions between mass publics and elites, institutional responses, links between institutions and elite composition or transformation, and studies of elite recruitment and institutional stability. Also welcome are proposals concerned with linkages between national and subnational elites and institutions. Both historical and contemporary cases are acceptable.

I prefer proposals which provide explicit comparisons between nations or across levels and time periods. If they do not fall in that category, they should deal with issues of broad theoretical concern. While papers focusing exclusively on the United States are inappropriate, papers which include the United States in a comparative study are suitable. Finally, proposals for a panel that would synthesize and evaluate the status of what we know about the links between publics, leaders, and institutions would be extremely welcome.

**Section 9. Comparative Politics: Process of Development and Change in Contemporary Societies.** Edmund J. Keller, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106.

The panels in this section will focus on the organization, location, and execution of political power in contemporary societies. While participants are encouraged to be comparative in their analyses, rigorously analytic case studies are also appropriate. Panels are not restricted to any particular area of the world or any specific type of regime. Presenters are strongly encouraged to engage in cross-national and cross-regional comparisons, but this is not obligatory.

Political economists, who have recently rediscovered the importance of the "State" in politics and public policy in both post-industrial and Third World countries, have raised some interesting questions about the nature of power in contemporary societies; about the relative power of different groups or classes in certain situations; and about the consequences which grow out of the uses and abuses of political power. I am sure there are many other questions relating to this theme which shed light on the general issue of "Development and Change in Contemporary Societies."

Volunteers for chairing panels or acting as discussants, as well as for presenting papers, are welcome.

**Section 10. Public Opinion and Political Psychology.** Roberta S. Sigel, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903.

Priority will be given to panels and papers that relate topics of public opinion and/or political psychology to the 1986 APSA theme, "The Organization of Power." Panels on public opinion consequently should strive to explore questions which relate perceptions of power, authority and conceptions of legitimacy to the structure and expression of public opinion while panels on political psychology might stress the origins of such attitudes as well as their overt manifestations. Emphasis on change—either secular or individual—in the mass public's

orientations are particularly welcome. So are papers reporting on new or "resurrected" methodologies for investigating the topics.

Among potential topics could be: Public Opinions (including mass media, agenda setting, schema and structures of public opinions, manipulation of it, including propaganda); Political Socialization (especially changes over the life course, gender-related attitudes, etc.); and Political Psychology (including the development of attitudes, such as trust, prejudice, alienation, etc. and their relation to personality).

Panel topics will be selected on the basis of importance to research in the area, especially those which point to new directions in substance and/or methodology. Panel organizers should bend every effort to select papers that lend coherence to each panel.

**Section 11. Political Parties and Elections.** William Crotty, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201.

The theme of the 1986 APSA annual meeting is the organization of power. I am particularly interested in theoretical and conceptual approaches to the organization of political and social power as it relates to intermediary institutions of political representation and mobilization. I would be interested in, in addition to longitudinal, cross-national or cross-sectional comparative works; empirical data-based studies; and innovative research approaches. I would like to see studies relating to organization of power for the politically less well-off and; secondly, as it relates to areas that are just beginning to receive extended academic conceptual and empirical development. Among these I would include: PACs and political finance and its impact; organization of minority; women and gay political groups and the distribution of political rewards; organization and political change; the redefinition of political coalitions; the mass media and its import on political organization and political expression; the institutionalization of power in mass and legislative parties and the redefinition of their roles; and the value of party and

campaign management as they affect the organization of power and the distribution of influence at all levels. All serious academic proposals for papers, roundtables and panels which fall within these bounds will be given consideration. In general, I would like to see papers that reconceptualize approaches to the more traditional areas of concern; that help develop or reach out to new areas; and/or that add something of substance to our cumulative understanding. There should be a sense of intellectual excitement to our efforts.

**Section 12. Interests, Groups, and Social Movements.** Burdett Loomis, Department of Political Science, 504 Blake Hall, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045.

"The Organization of Power" is a theme that cuts close to the quick in the study of political interests and social movements. First, in a Bentleysque world, interest group activities constituted all we needed to know about how power was organized. To an extent, the pluralistic implications of these ideas continue to hold sway in the study of American politics.

From a second, more contemporary perspective, we see the organization of increasing numbers of interests, ranging from political action committees to neighborhood groups to corporate "public affairs" divisions. In addition, loosely-structured, but often potent, social movements frequently emerge as powerful forces.

Paper proposals and panel topics will be welcomed across the breadth of scholarship on interests, groups, and social movements. The program, theme suggests two general categories as possible guides in framing these submissions. First, I would encourage research and writing that examine the *impact of organized power*. Studies of PACs, activist movements, corporate actions, or foreign lobbying are only a few examples of the kinds of work that might be done. The scope of such research could vary from the smallest governmental units to the broadest comparative frameworks.

Second, I would prevail upon scholars to

make proposals that emphasize the *power of organization* (or the lack thereof). Given the richness of incentive theories and social mobilization perspectives, we could profit from a series of papers, panels, and roundtables that discuss this central element in harnessing the political strength of societal forces.

Although most papers and topics would fall into one of these broad categories, I welcome as wide a range of submissions as possible. In particular, suggestions for roundtables or other panel formats would be appreciated.

**Section 13. Public Law and Judicial Politics.** Harold J. Spaeth, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

The theme of the 1986 program, the organization of power, suggests that panels and papers that deal with subjects such as the following would be especially appropriate. (1) Formal and informal relationships among judges on a given court, within a judicial system, or between judges and other participants in the judicial process (attorneys, clerks, administrative agencies and officials, police, prosecutors, jurors, etc.). (2) Formal and informal relationships between courts or administrative tribunals. (3) Analyses of the impact of judicial activity on litigants, other courts, administrative agencies, or affected publics. (4) Court management studies. (5) Judicial administration: structure, personnel, processing cases, proposals for reform. (6) Various aspects of administrative law. These subjects stress endogenous and/or exogenous linkages between or among courts, judges, participants in the judicial process on the one hand and the environment in which they function on the other.

A roundtable or two which focuses on an aspect of judicial management or administration about which there is much discussion and debate may prove to be attractive: e.g., the litigation explosion: can courts cope? Are the justices really overworked? Any suggestions in this regard will be appreciated.

I recognize that the foregoing matters encompass a relatively limited portion of the subfield—a portion, moreover, in

which most judicial scholars do little, if any research. Although preference will be accorded proposals compatible with the theme of the 1986 program, I shall adopt a catholic approach and will therefore welcome papers and proposals on all other topics as well.

**Section 14. Legislative Process and Politics.** Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, University Park, Houston, TX 77004.

Certainly the organization of power has been a significant focus of research, if not a major one, in the study of legislative process and politics. This is especially true in the study of the internal workings of legislative institutions—committees, leadership, and party organizations and in the study of Congress.

Less systematic attention has been given to the organization of power between legislative institutions and other competitors for policy influence, e.g., executives, courts, bureaucracies. Similarly, less systematic attention has been paid to the variety of ways in which state legislatures organize power. Accordingly, I would encourage papers and panels which address these aspects of the problem.

This does not mean that I intend to neglect areas in which a substantial research base addressing the 1986 theme already exists. Such a substantial base exists with regard to legislative elections, decision making, committees, leadership, representation, and reform. In these aspects, it seems strategic to urge that proposals on these topics stress historical analysis of the organization of power, rather than being limited to examining the topic within a narrow time frame.

**Section 15. Political Executives.** Stephen J. Wayne, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, DC 20052.

Consistent with the theme, the organization of power, I would like to encourage the section on political executives to focus on consensus—building and conflict—minimization by and within the

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executive. Specifically, I invite proposals on three major groups of questions.

1. How do political executives build external support to achieve their principal objectives? How do they structure their own advisory systems and internal decision-making and action-forcing processes to formulate, coordinate, articulate, and implement public policy? How do they use their public visibility, their symbolic and ceremonial functions, and their media-related activities to enhance their political stature and satisfy the psychological dimensions of their office?

2. What is the impact of different forms and modes of organizing power? How does the organization of power affect its exercise? Has institutional tinkering, public and congressional liaison, political rhetoric, and/or symbolic actions enhanced the executive's ability to achieve objectives? Have such actions merely satisfied and extended performance expectations? Has the organization of power in previous administrations influenced transition planning start-up structures and strategies, and the cycling of policy goals in the current administration?

3. What prescriptions for organizing power do those who have held office offer? If practitioners had to do it all over again, what changes would they make and why? Why, for instance, do ex-presidents seem recently to have supported the idea of a six-year, non-renewable term, to the nearly-unanimous opposition of political scientists? Discussions with past and present executive officials might shed light on this question as well.

Proposals for papers, panels, roundtables, and workshops on these and related topics are welcome. Please let me know if you wish to write a panel, chair and organize a panel, or be a discussant. Graduate students and recent Ph.D.s in particular are encouraged to participate. I would also welcome comparativists and students of public administration to help us broaden our understanding of how political executives organize and exercise power.

**Section 16. Organizations and Administration.** Patricia W. Ingraham, The

Maxwell School, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13210.

This section will discuss not only the meeting's major theme, "The Organization of Power," but also its corollary, the power of organization. Thus, the primary focus of this section will be on those organizational processes that relate to the creation, acquisition, and use of public bureaucratic power. In that context many topics and types of analyses will be appropriate, but proposals will be most welcome in three areas: (1) patterns of bureaucratic influence and power in public policy processes and outcomes; (2) bureaucratic power within the context of democratic theory; and (3) the relationships between the organization and use of bureaucratic power and the definition and pursuit of the public interest.

Proposals reflecting important empirical research are encouraged; agency and/or policy specific case studies will also be useful provided they are presented in a framework that permits wider discussion and application.

To allow for coherent presentations, as well as audience discussion at the annual meeting, panel organizers should limit the number of papers proposed for each panel to three. The use of multiple discussants will be discouraged.

**Section 17. Federalism and Subnational Politics.** Thad L. Beyle, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

This section will focus the conference theme, "The Organization of Power," on questions relating to federalism and subnational politics. Panels will be selected that explore a variety of analyses and viewpoints on how power is or is not organized in the states and their substate units and what this can mean for the changing roles of the levels of government and politics in our federal system.

Possible subjects for panels and papers can range from the constitutional (separation of powers and home rule); to the institutional (governors vs. legislators and mayors vs. councils); to the political (culture, interest groups, PACs and par-



ties); to processes (redistricting, budgeting and planning); to policies (taxation, regulation, education). Also of interest are possible panels on the role of political money, the media, and intergovernmental relations and organizations.

Suggestions for panel topics as well as roundtables or workshops should be justified in terms of their theoretical importance, relationship to ongoing research in the field, and the overall conference theme, "The Organization of Power." Paper volunteers should include a clear statement of the topic they will be investigating, preliminary hypotheses tested, units of analysis, and the theoretical and methodological approaches. Discussant volunteers should include a description of their research interests and qualifications.

#### **Section 18. Politics and Economics.**

Stephen Elkin, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; (301) 454-6734.

The study of political economy is built on the premise that economy and polity are powerfully interconnected. The proper understanding and evaluation of political life cannot proceed without similar study of economic life. (Correlatively, there are at least some who maintain that the proper understanding and evaluation of economic life cannot be achieved without a deeper understanding of political life.) Political economy then takes as its underlying purpose the study of whole regimes, how they work and how they may be made to work better. In its contemplation of reform, political economy joins hands with political philosophy.

In keeping with the preceding remarks and with the program theme of "The Organization of Power," I am particularly anxious to receive proposals for panels and papers that have both empirical and normative elements. Proposals which consider present and past interconnections between polity and economy are welcome, but especially encouraged are those that combine such empirical analyses with how the interconnections between economy and polity ought to be organized. In this vein, proposals that consider the manner in which a market

society impedes or enhances popular control of authority will be particularly welcome. I also want to encourage proposals by those interested in the political economy of the good society. More specific topics might include: the political role of the business corporation in democratic political orders; the political business cycle and its consequences of popular control of authority; the relation between economic and political democracy; the interconnections between popular control of authority and a country's competitive position in the international balance of trade; and the long-term prospects of the mixed regime of market capitalism and popular control.

**Section 19. The Future of the Social (Welfare) State.** Charles V. Hamilton, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

The panels in this section will be concerned with the will and the power of states and societies in providing social protection benefits for their constituents. In the process of examining the causes and consequences of "welfare-state" developments in different societies, attention will be given to current and projected trends and to the implications for public policy. Most industrial nations are struggling to meet the needs of their people while facing increasing limitations on their resources. Neither budget-cutting nor program tinkering satisfactorily addresses the long-term problems confronting the United States and other "welfare states." People across the political spectrum believe we need to reexamine the basic premises of current social programs and then fashion an equitable and manageable system of social protection for future generations.

Consideration of these issues would call for panels addressing (1) underlying values of democracy in relation to the question: who should be helped? (2) issues of programmatic substance and administrative structures in responding to: what sort of assistance—delivered by whom—ought to be provided; as well as (3) economic concerns in terms of how to pay for the social protection benefits. Clearly, the role of the private sector has to be considered.

Within these three broad categories, panels are encouraged to address the topic in a variety of ways: historically, comparatively, demographically, but, hopefully, always focusing on long-term future policy options. In addition, papers that deal with the impact of international economic developments on domestic social policy are welcome.

**Section 20. Public Policy Analysis.** Don E. Kash, Science and Public Policy Program, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019.

The panels in this section will be selected with an eye to representing the most innovative work in the policy analysis area. In particular, I invite proposals which focus on the policy process, theoretical considerations, and specific substantive areas of policy.

I would like to encourage panel participation by academics, researchers from policy research organizations, and political scientists who are actively involved in the making and implementation of policy. With regard to the substantively oriented panels, I would find it particularly attractive to have panels which focus on current and future policy issues. In this connection, I would like to encourage papers which carry the substantive analyses to the point where particular policy recommendations are made. Please include as a part of your proposal a brief narrative statement of the goals of the panel and how the panel relates to work going on within the policy analysis field.

**Section 21. International Relations: National Security and Conflict Analysis.** Catherine M. Kelleher, National Security Concentration, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; Janice Gross Stein, University of Toronto.

Panels in this section will emphasize the significance of the ways in which power has been organized, applied, and constrained in the postwar search for security. Of particular interest will be papers examining the dynamics of conventional and nuclear deterrence; the relationship of military, economic, and diplomatic power to specific conflict outcomes; the

predominant patterns in resource allocation in hot peace and cold conflict; and the role of perceptual and process variables in the effective organization/restraint of power. Proposals may cross system levels or time, and should deal with questions of enduring theoretical or policy interest. To ensure critical interchange, panels will be kept small, and panelists encouraged to adhere strictly to the schedule for submission of finished papers prior to the Washington meeting.

**Section 22. International Relations: Global Political Economy.** Jeffrey A. Hart, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405.

Recent work on global political economy has focused on three areas: (1) describing international challenges to state-society relations within the nation-state, (2) comparing and explaining differences in foreign economic policies across nation-states, and (3) describing and explaining changes in international economic regimes. In all three areas, the explanatory significance of the organization and distribution of power in the international system has been raised as a central theoretical question. A thorough reexamination of the role of power in global political economy should be a major theme of this year's meeting.

One very important question, stated most directly in a recent article in *International Organization* by Bruce Russett, is the accuracy of the oft-asserted proposition that U.S. political and economic hegemony began to erode in the early 1970s (and continues to do so).

Another key question is the impact of increased competition in world markets on national defense/security policies and *vice versa*. To what extent has competition increased because of declining hegemony? Are there other possible explanations for increased competition? Several scholars have pointed out the tendency of the United States and a few other countries to react to increased competition by raising defense spending, especially in areas likely to benefit specific industries (and especially high technology industries). Will the U.S. be able to reassert its military and economic

hegemony by these means? There is also a growing literature on the use of defense spending to increase overall investment and growth. A critical survey of the growing literature on "military Keynesianism" might be another theme for this year's meeting.

In the area of foreign economic policy, one crucial question has always been that of protectionism. Will there continue to be reductions in trade barriers through multilateral trade diplomacy, or does the current trend toward increased use of nontariff barriers presage a return to a less open world economy? The focus of international economic diplomacy increasingly has been on domestic measures not considered to be under the purview of multilateral agreements: e.g., tax incentives, preferential credit arrangements public procurement policies, R and D subsidies, antitrust/competition regulation, and corporatistic bargaining arrangements. The United States claims that its major trade partners engage in "targeting" and "industrial policies" prejudicial to U.S. firms. The other industrialized countries accuse the United States of engaging in unilateralism and extraterritoriality in recent trade disputes. Since 1986 is likely to be the year in which new multilateral trade talks are begun, it would be appropriate to have at least one panel devoted to a review of the international economic policies of the major trading countries, the newly industrializing, and the other developing countries. The relation of the global trade regime to the pursuit of New International Economic Order goals should also be examined.

Finally, many scholars and practitioners seem to believe that the international financial system is in a potential state of crisis due to the debt repayment problems of several large debtors (both in the form of developing countries like Brazil and Mexico, but also in the form of large but unprofitable enterprises). Bank crises and failures can undermine confidence in the world financial system. What are the origins of this situation and what are the prospects of change?

In the interest of making panels more interesting, I would like to see a few proposals for roundtables (discussions with-

out papers) and for panels in which there is a decidedly dialectical flavor (papers and counterpapers, or critical discussions of a single scholarly work).

**Section 23. International Relations: Interdependence, Organization and Power in the International Year of Peace.** Lawrence S. Finkelstein, Political Science Department, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115.

The section will depart from the fact that 1986 has been designated "the international year of peace" to explore the contributions of emergent scholarship to understanding the roles of international institutions in ordering relations among states in varied conditions of autonomy and interdependence.

Forty years experience with international institutions since World War II has resulted in the contemporary paradox that the relations of states with and in international organizations have never been more turbulent while scholarly interest in these phenomena seems resurgent. In the domain of scholarship there prevails a pluralism which may appear healthy to some and chaotic to others. Explanations are sought in approaches which, however labelled, emphasize hierarchical power and leadership, power as authoritative allocation of values, interest aggregation, communication and "learning" processes. Focus wavers between substantive consequences and procedural behaviors. The intellectual structure and the empirical equipment for evaluation remain underdeveloped.

The section, therefore, will seek to elicit comparative evaluations of the roles of international institutions in the organization of power to effect desired outcomes. Scope is thus allowed for comparisons of: the analytical rationales, contributions and limitations for competing scholars or approaches; global and less than global institutional responses to international problems; empirically supported evaluations of organization achievements in dealing with different functions, or the same functions in different ways; organizations and procedures; influence of and upon actors. Permutations on the theme are invited.

**Section 24. International Politics: Distributions of International Power.** A. F. K. Organski, Center for Political Studies, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

To answer the most important questions in the field of international politics one must know at least two pieces of information: actors' intentions and actors' capabilities. Panels in this section of the international relations program will present research concerned with these two areas.

We are interested in new ideas, and estimating procedures that will help illumine the way actors' intentions are translated into foreign policy decisions that are made. We are particularly interested in attempts to model this process.

Our second focus will be on the study of the capabilities of national systems. Panels will focus on issues arising from the distributions of nuclear and non-nuclear power that undergird the operation of systems in both Communist and non-Communist international orders. The panels will seek to present up-to-date conceptions of estimating these distribution changes that should be expected, and the effects of changes in the working of the international order.

In regard to the non-nuclear component of national capabilities, research on changes in the capabilities of the members of the system will be of particular interest. Such changes may be due to:

1. Shifts in the capacity of political systems to mobilize resources. There would be interest in research that deals with changes in the capacity of political systems to mobilize resources.
2. The increase in the capacities of a country increased through resource

transfers from another country. This section will present research that addresses the issue of the role of aid in international affairs. How effective are economic or military or other transfers in improving the recipient's capabilities? Again, what effects does the transfer of resources have on the preferences of the recipients? How can one model the effects of the transfer of resources?

3. Changes in alignments and alliances due to members' "switches." How does that process come about? How do countries "change their minds"? What best ways are there to model the process?

On the nuclear side we are interested in exploring distributions of nuclear power and the effects that expected changes in the distribution will have on the stability and operation of the systems they help support. Panels in this portion of the program should address such questions as: the patterns of nuclear proliferation, the effects of the Strategic Defense Initiative of the U.S. government on the operation of the nuclear order, etc. In the case of the latter, it is hoped to present new work not only on the evaluations of the operation of that program on the position of the superpowers, but, also, and very important, on what will be the effects of "mutual assured defense" if successfully established, on the present structure of international power (e.g., how will NATO be affected? How will U.S.-Chinese relations be affected, etc.). In the fray over the program this very important question has been largely overlooked.

The suggestions above are only illustrative and are not meant to exclude other ideas and research on the structure of international power, changes in that structure and the effect of changes on the stability and operation of the system. □

# News of the Profession

## Reports

### **COSSA: Four Years of Achievement**

**Howard Silver**  
COSSA

In July of 1981, the Consortium of Social Science Associations' (COSSA) Washington office had been established for two months, and a major battle loomed over an amendment proposed by Representative Larry Winn (R-KS) to reduce the appropriation for the National Science Foundation (NSF) by \$70 million. At COSSA's direction political and other social scientists were being urged to call their representatives, and COSSA's newly registered lobbyists were making direct personal appeals on Capitol Hill. This effort allowed the new organization to claim a significant role in the defeat of the Winn Amendment. Later that year it convinced NSF Director John Slaughter to restore \$11 million for social and behavioral science research to the NSF budget. In a few short months, the new organization made Congress, the *New York Times* and the *London Times* take notice that henceforth social science would have an effective voice arguing its cause concerning research funding. COSSA had mobilized a previously uninvolved academic community, vulnerable to attack and without demonstrated political strength, to concern itself with issues of research funding and support.

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Howard Silver holds a Ph.D. in political science from Ohio State University and, as associate director for government relations of COSSA, conducts its legislative lobbying efforts.

Earlier in 1981 when President Reagan announced his plans to cut the social and behavioral science budgets at NSF by 75 percent, a group of executive officers of the social and behavioral science associations, including the APSA, decided that informal meetings among themselves to discuss governance questions (something that had been occurring since the mid-1970s), were no longer adequate to deal with the clear direct assault upon research support for their disciplines. Thus, they hired Roberta Balstad Miller from the Social Science Research Council's Washington office to direct a social science response to the challenge of the Reagan administration's assault. The group expected the lobbying effort to be short-term.

However, not only did the response succeed in reducing the budget cuts, but also, more importantly, it mobilized the social science community to recognize the need for a presence in Washington, similar to other academic discipline-based lobbying groups like the engineers, biologists, chemists, *et al.* The ten disciplinary associations—anthropology, economics, geography, history, linguistics, political science, psychology, sociology, statistics, and the law schools—were soon joined by other associations and universities who were willing to affiliate and contribute to an organization that would lobby for social and behavioral science research. By the middle of 1982 COSSA incorporated and became an established part of the academic lobbying scene in Washington.

In the ensuing years, under the direction of Miller and now David Jenness, who replaced Miller in September 1984, COSSA has continued to lobby for bigger research budgets and, in this era of budget deficits, to avoid cuts, for social and behavioral science programs at the

National Science Foundation. Its major goal has been to restore that funding to pre-Reagan figures. In terms of current dollars that battle has succeeded. The current hurdle is to restore those budgets in terms of constant dollars, and then move on to real growth. Today, the authorization and appropriation committees overseeing NSF recognize COSSA as the organization that speaks for research funding in the social sciences. It has testified on the NSF budget for the past four years. In addition, derogatory remarks about "silly research" in the social sciences during congressional debates on NSF funding have diminished considerably due to COSSA's educational efforts.

The National Science Foundation has recognized COSSA as a legitimate force and ally in its budget battles with Congress. However, it also recognizes that in the rank ordering of programs within NSF, COSSA will fight for the social and behavioral science research programs. In November 1984, Erich Bloch, the newly appointed director of NSF, addressed COSSA's annual meeting and has been quite willing to discuss with COSSA subsequent problems that have arisen since then. The FY 1986 budget that emerged from the Foundation was quite generous to the social sciences, asking for a 19 percent increase in research funds.

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*Today, the authorization and appropriation committees overseeing NSF recognize COSSA as the organization that speaks for research funding in the social sciences.*

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As COSSA established itself, its focus expanded. NSF continues to be the major focus since the foundation supports research across the ten major disciplines, and in many cases like political science, provides the bulk of all federal support. However, in the past few years COSSA has, in essence, moved beyond NSF and beyond budgets.

COSSA has joined with other groups to restore funding for other research agency budgets that were endangered by administration budget cuts such as: the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), the National Institute of Education (NIE), the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and the National Archives and Records Service (NARS). It now monitors almost all the agencies where federal funds are allocated to support externally generated research projects in the social and behavioral sciences. COSSA's concern is not just with budgets, but also with the way research is managed by these agencies.

The techniques that COSSA uses are no different from those of most academic lobbying groups. Not blessed (cursed?) with a political action committee (PAC), COSSA must use the results of our research and teaching efforts to promote the cause of social science on the Hill and in the agencies. From the beginning a major activity has been a series of congressional seminars that brings those results to the decision-makers. In addition, the publication of a biweekly newsletter, the *COSSA Washington Update*, sent to over 1,000 subscribers in the social science community, the press, federal agencies and congressional offices, functions as a communications forum for the issues that concern COSSA's constituency. Stories in the *Update* have been cited by larger communications media, such as the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, particularly the budget analysis issue done every February, which analyzes the president's proposed budget for social and behavioral science research in all the agencies.

Testimony before committees is another time-honored lobbying technique. COSSA uses social science researchers as witnesses to provide Congress with practitioners to speak for the cause. Political scientists Philip E. Converse, Herbert Jacob, Elinor Ostrom and Paul Peterson have all served as witnesses for COSSA.

Constant day-to-day contact with key congressional and agency staff people is another method used by COSSA. The COSSA Executive Committee and lobby-

ing staff have met with the directors of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), the National Institute of Aging (NIA), the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD), the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the National Institute of Education (NIE), and the President's Science Adviser and his deputy.

In the four short years of COSSA's existence, there have been success stories in many areas of social science research funding and management. Today, selling the value of research in the "soft sciences" to skeptical decision-makers is more difficult than in the years when positive responses to requests for increases in education funding were more likely. Although the climate has certainly changed, the battles are still being fought. The following examples, arranged by policy area, describe issues, in addition to NSF funding, where COSSA was actively involved, where we succeeded and where we sometimes simply heightened awareness of the needs of social and behavioral science research and researchers.

### **Criminal Justice**

A major success story concerned the reauthorization of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), a two-year struggle that ended during the hectic last week of the 98th Congress in October 1984. COSSA's goal was to protect the independence and integrity of these two research agencies within the Justice Department from the administration's plan to return to the days of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) when research and statistics got mixed up with short-run policy initiatives. With the help of key people in Congress, notably Representative William Hughes (D-NJ) and Senator Joseph Biden (D-DE), and a mobilized criminal justice research community that included political scientists, sociologists, and law school deans, who testified, wrote letters, and made phone calls, the Congress maintained the structure and grant-making power of the directors of NIJ and BJS.

Another COSSA initiative succeeded in convincing Congress to require the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) to employ competition and peer review in the awarding of research grants and contracts. Reacting angrily to OJJDP's awarding of certain non-competitive grants, Congress adopted provisions advocated by COSSA during the reauthorization process in 1984. In May 1985 OJJDP published the proposed regulations implementing these competition and peer review processes. COSSA commented on these regulations suggesting improvements to make them better comply with the law and certain standard peer review practices.

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*The National Science Foundation has recognized COSSA as a legitimate force and ally in its budget battles with Congress.*

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A congressional seminar in August 1984 on "Career Criminals and Criminal Careers," enhanced the lobbying efforts on these two issues.

### **Health Policy**

COSSA has made major efforts to improve the climate for the social and behavioral sciences at the National Institutes of Health (NIH). An investigative piece in the *Update* revealing the paucity of social and behavioral scientists on the NIH advisory councils became an effective lobbying tool for urging Congress to add people from these disciplines to the councils in the NIH reauthorization bill in 1984. Because the president vetoed this bill, that battle continues.

A COSSA congressional seminar on "Health and Human Behavior" in May 1982 focused attention on an important area of research in which social and behavioral scientists should have an increasing role. A number of reports by scientific agencies had advocated that more attention be paid to the linkages between

disease prevention and human behavior traits. The Congress has responded by inserting language into reports accompanying appropriations bills urging NIH to carry out a health and behavior research initiative. COSSA has continued to prod NIH to make that initiative more visible and significant and presented congressional testimony on this issue this year.

COSSA has lobbied hard on behalf of increased funding for research and training at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH). In 1982 COSSA's efforts led the House Appropriations Committee to insert report language into its bill that stressed the importance of NIMH projects coming from all disciplines and that encouraged the Institute to support social research in the field of mental health.

Research at the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) has been an important issue for COSSA. Since many of our affiliate organizations are concerned with child welfare, COSSA has sponsored two congressional seminars in this area: "Our Nation's Children: The Invisible Constituency," and "Youth and Unemployment."

### **Welfare Policy**

In 1983 COSSA challenged research management practices at the Office of Human Development Services (OHDS) in the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Working with the House Subcommittee on Human Resources and friends in the press, COSSA helped expose the agency director's neglect of the peer review process. A General Accounting Office investigation castigated Administrator Dorcas Hardy for her actions.

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*In 1983 COSSA succeeded in reversing a decision by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to delete descriptions of five social science occupations, including "Political Scientist," from the Occupational Outlook Handbook.*

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COSSA has testified concerning budget reductions and attempts to abolish the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (ASPE). This office conducts the long-range policy analyses for HHS. The Grace Commission has recommended disbursing ASPE's mission to the operating agencies within HHS, a policy COSSA opposes because it will lead to short-term, politics-driven research.

### **Labor Policy**

COSSA has testified and fought, albeit unsuccessfully so far, for the continued existence of a significant research office at the Department of Labor. Under the Donovan regime, the office was downgraded and most of the research focused on the implementation of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Although COSSA played an important role in securing adoption of the research and evaluation portion of JTPA in 1982 that would "utilize the methods, techniques, and knowledge of the behavioral and social sciences, . . ." it believes there are other needs for the research agenda at DOL.

In 1984 COSSA played a vital role in the continuation of the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience (NLS) which the administration threatened with extinction. The NLS has been a gold mine of data for social science analysis collected from cohort surveys during the past 20 years. COSSA's lobbying efforts in this case provided important guidance to the directors and users of the surveys.

In 1983 COSSA succeeded in reversing a decision by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to delete descriptions of five social science occupations, including "Political Scientist," from the *Occupational Outlook Handbook*. This book is an important reference used by guidance counselors and removal of these social science occupations could lead to adverse enrollment impact in courses.

A number of congressional seminars have been held in this area. In 1983 "Unemployment and Stress" was discussed. In 1982 "Work and Retirement in the Middle and Later Years" and



"Black Youth Unemployment" were discussed by social science researchers.

### **Education Policy**

COSSA has lobbied for increased funding for programs in international education, graduate education, education research, and the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). The administration has attempted to eliminate funding for international education and area studies programs during the past three years. Working with other higher education groups, COSSA has succeeded in convincing the Congress to restore funding for these programs. In graduate education, COSSA joined a broad coalition to support funding of the National Graduate Fellowship program, which would provide fellowships for political science graduate students, among others. The program was authorized in 1980, but not funded until 1984. Unfortunately, the administration has yet to establish procedures for awarding the fellowships. COSSA also has concerned itself with the funding and peer review practices at the National Institute of Education (NIE). This year it testified on the possible restructuring of the NIE and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

In 1984 COSSA joined a coalition of groups protesting the interpretation of the Student Rights in Research Experimental Activities and Testing (Hatch) amendment by the Department of Education. COSSA was concerned that the rules created difficult situations for teachers and researchers.

### **International Science Policy**

Although the social science programs at the United Nations Education, Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO), were neither large nor well managed, the withdrawal of the United States led COSSA to monitor the alternative arrangements to UNESCO promised by the administration. In 1985 COSSA submitted testimony to the House Foreign Affairs Committee requesting that U.S. funds previously allocated to social science research at UNESCO be committed

to social science research at NSF or other science agencies.

The Consortium maintains contacts with similar social science organizations in Canada, France, England, China and the International Social Science Council.

### **Information and Statistical Policy**

Working closely with the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics (COPAFS), COSSA has monitored and commented on information gathering and dissemination policies of the Office of Management and Budget and other statistical agencies of the government. A congressional seminar on the "Economic Crisis and the Federal Statistical System" took place in 1982. COSSA joined with other groups to oppose the President's National Security Decision Directive 84 that would have restricted research and the free flow of information.

### **Other Areas**

A congressional seminar conducted by political scientist Raymond Wolfinger considered "Why Americans Don't Vote?" Subsequent to the seminar, Wolfinger's ideas for increasing voter registration were placed into legislation

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*Wolfinger's ideas for increasing voter registration were placed into legislation introduced in the House this year.*

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introduced in the House this year. The Consortium monitored and supported legislation creating the U.S. Institute of Peace and an independent National Archives and Records Administration. COSSA has been one of the few groups to be interested in research in the Department of Housing and Urban Development and has testified in favor of increased appropriations for that office. Congress is always asking social scientists how their research contributes to productivity in the United States. In 1982 COSSA tried to answer that question in a seminar entitled "Innovation and Productivity."

## The Future

COSSA's plans for the future include the preparation and publication of a *Research Guide for Social Scientists* that will compile the sources of research support available from the federal government. The *Guide*, supported by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, should be available in Spring 1986.

In addition, COSSA is monitoring and cooperating with the major study of U.S. science policy conducted by the House Science and Technology Committee during the 99th Congress in 1985-86. Meetings with the committee staff, help in arranging for hearing witnesses, and three congressional seminars directed to the committee's agenda, should provide information on the role of the social and behavioral sciences in U.S. science.

COSSA plans to take new initiatives in reaching out to the non-academic, private social science research sector. Exploratory meetings with some of these people have led to exchanges as to possible areas of cooperation.

This year COSSA plans to examine social science research activities at the Department of Defense. Preliminary discussions indicate that this will not be a simple task. Closer monitoring of the National Endowment for the Humanities is also on the agenda.

As always, COSSA will continue to play its role as a lobbying organization providing decision-makers the justifications for increased support for the social sciences. The Consortium will monitor and react to changes in the funding environment and be ever-vigilant to protect the peer review process and to prevent politicization of research funding. It appreciates the support and guidance received from political scientists, the APSA and its staff, particularly Executive Director Thomas E. Mann, who served as the first chairman of COSSA's executive committee. As the future unfolds COSSA hopes it can continue to count on your support.

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## Research Opportunities Projected for Behavioral and Social Sciences

The Committee on Basic Research in the Behavioral and Social Sciences was established in 1980 to evaluate and improve the vitality of research in the behavioral and social sciences. The committee is housed in the Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education of the National Research Council.

The committee's first two projects concentrated on the present dimensions and past record of the behavioral and social sciences. An initial report, *Behavioral and Social Science Research: A National Resource* (1982), developed criteria and cases to assess the present value, significance, and social utility of basic research in these subjects. A second report, now being completed, derives from a November 1983 symposium commemorating the landmark report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (1933). This retrospective symposium was entitled, "Knowledge in Social and Behavioral Science: Some Discoveries and Trends Over Fifty Years."

The committee is now engaged in a prospective study, a ten-year outlook on research opportunities in the behavioral and social sciences, in cooperation with the Social Science Research Council and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. The ten-year outlook is designed to study scientific frontiers, leading research questions, and new resources needed over the next decade, roughly 1986-1995, for rapid progress on fundamental problems in the behavioral and social sciences.

On the basis of responses from the scientific community and its own judgment, the committee has formed 30 topical working groups to consider in detail current and prospective research opportunities. Each group is comprised of five to ten members chosen from outside the committee. For the most part, these groups are organized to reflect research problem areas rather than disciplinary or sub-disciplinary boundaries.

Each group will draft a working paper, which is to define priorities for new or ex-

panded support of program initiatives, multi-user facilities, institutes, fellowships, or other "infrastructure" that may serve many lines of research. Each working paper is intended to give nonspecialists a clear picture of the research objectives, practices, problems, and needs in the subject area. The working papers are not intended for separate publication, but for committee use in preparing its ten-year outlook report.

Following the receipt of working papers in mid-1985, the committee will begin drafting its report, which will assess leading research questions and resources needed to pursue them, and make priority recommendations for new scientific investments over the next ten years that represent, in the judgment of the committee, substantial promise of scientific and ultimately practical return. The report will, to the extent possible, reflect a consensus of leaders and members of the behavioral and social science research communities.

The following working groups are chaired by political scientists:

**Collective Choice Institutions.** William H. Riker, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester.

Studies of collective choice cover the properties of voting and agenda-setting in allocative institutions, game theory, institutional design, social choice theory, and properties of bureaucratic and centralized decision mechanisms.

**Formal and Legal Processes.** Robert Kagan, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

This subject includes local and international comparative studies on the proliferation of legal institutions, the due process revolution, the bureaucratization of public and private life, and forms of dispute resolution.

**Crime and Violence.** Alfred Blumstein, School of Urban and Public Affairs, Carnegie-Mellon University.

Studies of crime and violence involve theories and empirical evidence on penal

deterrence, sanction systems, criminal justice operations; and the sociological, demographic, and economic correlates and dimensions of crime, deviant behavior, and family violence.

**Religion and Political Change.** Daniel Levine, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan.

Current research on modernization and secularization emphasizes the influence of religious activism on political processes, including such cases as Islam in the Middle East and Catholicism in Latin America.

**International Crisis Management and Security Studies.** Robert Jervis, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University.

Research in this area covers the behavioral and conceptual dimensions of international arms competition, risks of war, theories and tests of deterrence, repeated-play games, and asymmetric information.

**Social Knowledge Producing Institutions.** Theda R. Skocpol, Department of Sociology and Department of Political Science, University of Chicago.

This area of study addresses the relevance, application, and control of social and behavioral knowledge; the modern history of the social and behavioral sciences; and the relations of social and behavioral research institutions to the state.

**Large-Scale Data Bases.** Warren E. Miller, Department of Political Science, Arizona State University.

Problems in data-base construction and utilization include the availability of data aggregates at various levels of analysis, development and use of longitudinal data bases, relations between data files, and centralized information about research data. □

## Announcements

### Writers Sought for Monographs on Diplomacy

Since its founding in 1977, the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University has established itself as a publisher of monographs and case histories relating to the processes of diplomacy.

The present plan of the Institute is to produce at least four publications each year. It is seeking now to schedule research and writing for the Institute's financial year beginning July 1, 1985, and invites scholars and practitioners of international affairs and diplomacy to participate in its program of publications.

Under a grant from the Pew Freedom Trust, the Institute would be able to assist with expenses and pay a modest honorarium for work performed.

The Institute's monographs are normally manuscripts of approximately 200 double-spaced typewritten pages. They are published by the Institute and have an audience that includes diplomats, businessmen, libraries, professors, students, and representatives of the media.

Under an arrangement being pioneered this year, the Institute is prepared to work with Ph.D. candidates who may find in a subject of Institute interest the basis for a thesis.

The following are some of the subjects of interest to the Institute for which writers are currently being sought:

- Conduct of Public Diplomacy
- The Law of the Sea Negotiations
- The Protecting Power
- Agriculture and Diplomacy
- Diplomacy in Africa
- Diplomacy in Latin America
- Health and Diplomacy
- The Cords Project
- Economic Tools and Diplomatic Objectives
- Intelligence and Diplomacy
- Changing Patterns of International Protocol

Other topics under consideration include

labor and diplomacy; women in diplomacy, and diplomacy on asylum and defection cases.

In each of the subjects above, or others with a similar focus on process, the writer may choose to take one incident as a case history to illustrate the broader subject or to develop through interviews and documents patterns common to several incidents.

Those scholars and writers who may be interested in pursuing these opportunities should address a brief summary of the subject they may wish to undertake to the Honorable David D. Newsom, Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057. □

### Publius Invites Manuscripts

*Publius: The Journal of Federalism* invites manuscript submissions for a special issue to be published in 1987 on *Bicomunal Societies and Politics: Bicephalous Federalism and/or Consociationalism*.

The issue will examine cases of countries in which political processes are primarily shaped by conflict or cooperation (perhaps consociational, federal, or confederal) between two major cultural, linguistic, ethnic, or newcomer/old-timer dyads. Of course, in all such situations, there are other minor groups besides the two dominant ones. Since bicomunalism may encourage a rigidity of outlook as well as greater permanence of identity (a zero-sum narrow alley without adequate elbowroom?), one general question seems to impose itself: Do these conditions arise because there are only two communities or because of history, foreign involvement (promised, active, anticipated), developmental discrimination and ensuing socioeconomic disparities, cultural self-confidence or insecurity, disparity in political skill and clout, or still other factors. In this context some insights from game theory would be welcome.

Proposals for articles (three copies) should be sent by December 15, 1985, to Ivo D. Duchacek; Box 634, Kent, CT 06757, and one copy to Robert Abrams,

Department of Political Science, Brooklyn College, Bedford Avenue and Avenue H, Brooklyn, NY 11210. □

### **Manuscripts on Nationalism Welcomed**

The *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* was established 12 years ago as a multidisciplinary journal to serve the international scholarly community interested in theoretical and regional aspects of nationalism, ethnicity, and related topics. The principal languages of publication are French and English, although work in German and Spanish is also welcome. The *Review* welcomes the submission of manuscripts on all aspects of nationalism. Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor, CRSN/RCEN, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, P.E.I., Canada C1A 4P3. The editor is also interested in hearing from potential book reviewers and participants in the annual bibliographic work.

Subscriptions to the journal are \$9 for one year, \$14 for two years; student rate, \$5 one year. Subscription orders should be mailed to: Business Manager, CRSN/RCEN, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada C1A 4P3. □

### **Papers Requested on Constitution**

The *Journal of Political Science* welcomes paper suggestions from scholars interested in every aspect of American government and politics for its upcoming special edition commemorating the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. The theme of this special issue will be "Does the Constitution Govern?" Specifically, potential contributors are asked to consider the role played by the Constitution in governing American laws, institutions, and individuals in power; whether the Constitution helps to shape American political culture or is instead a product of that culture; and whether, in the end, the suggestion that the Constitution governs merely means that

those who govern the Constitution—most obviously the justices of the Supreme Court—are the real governors. □

Submissions are especially encouraged from scholars who will examine the relationship between the Constitution and the various institutions and phenomena that make up American politics. How does understanding the Constitution help us to understand political parties, interest groups and pluralism, Congress, American voting behavior, American political culture, the presidency, the legal system, or any other aspect of American government?

Anyone interested in proposing a paper for this special bicentennial edition of the *Journal of Political Science* should send a brief (two-page maximum) outline of how he or she will approach the question, "Does the Constitution Govern?" in an essay of 2,500 to 5,000 words to William F. Connelly, Jr. and William Lasser, Department of Political Science, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 29631. Phone: (803) 656-3246 or 656-3235. The *Journal of Political Science* is the official journal of the South Carolina Political Science Association. □

### **European Studies Seeks Manuscripts**

The *European Studies Journal* is an international, interdisciplinary, refereed journal devoted to the research interests of Europeanists in North America. The journal is published twice annually, in the spring and fall. All aspects of European social, political, and cultural life—past and present—are suitable for inclusion in published articles. Manuscripts and book reviews are solicited in all disciplines of the fine arts, humanities, social sciences, law, education, and business. Comparative studies of European and North American issues are also welcome.

Manuscripts should be written in English and should conform to the MLA Style Sheet. Article length should be 10 to 20 double-spaced typewritten pages (2,500-5,000), including endnotes, quotes, and tables.

To submit a manuscript, include the following items: the original and three copies of the article, a self-addressed postcard for acknowledgement of receipt; a stamped self-addressed envelope for return of the article or galleys. Mail to: Karl Odwarka, *European Studies Journal*, Department of Modern Languages, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA 50614-0504. Submit book reviews to: Peter Suzuki, Urban Studies Department, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182-0276. □

### **Book Award Competition Announced Honoring Dauer**

The University of Florida Department of Political Science in cooperation with the University of Florida Press announces a publication prize honoring Manning J. Dauer.

Now distinguished professor emeritus, Manning Dauer was chairman of the University of Florida Department of Political Science from 1950 to 1975. He continues as managing editor of the *Journal of Politics*. He has held high office in the American Political Science Association, the Southern Political Science Association, and the Florida Political Science Association. Gifts in his honor to the University of Florida Department of Political Science have created a fund that makes possible the creation of the Manning J. Dauer Prize.

Planned as an annual competition and award, the Manning J. Dauer Prize will go each year to the author of an outstanding book-length manuscript in any field of politics or public affairs. The award will include expedited publication by the University of Florida Press and a cash award of \$1,000 upon publication of the book. The winning author will present a public lecture at the University of Florida.

Authors may learn more of the details of the competition by writing to The Chairman, Manning J. Dauer Prize Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. Manuscripts received for review after November 1, 1985, will be eligible for

the 1987 award. Authors should not submit manuscripts without first submitting a prospectus to the prize committee and requesting further information on the details of the competition. □

### **Political Humor Is Sought**

If you have a joke, pun, riddle, funny story (published by you or someone else or unpublished) which is funny or deals with international, U.S., state, regional or local political humor, please send it to Steffen Schmidt, Professor, Department of Political Science, Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011. Indicate, where possible, the original source. If it is your own (or is public domain), please indicate if you may be cited as the source in any reference. □

### **Senator Baker to Work With Dirksen Center**

Howard H. Baker, Jr., former Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate and currently associated with the Texas and Washington, D.C., law firm of Vinson and Elkins, has agreed to serve as senior adviser to the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, located in Pekin, Illinois. In his new position, Baker will help guide the educational institution established by his father-in-law, the late Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen.

The non-partisan, not-for-profit Dirksen Congressional Center promotes the understanding of Congress and congressional leadership through many educational programs.

The Everett McKinley Dirksen Award recognizes and encourages excellence in the reporting of Congress with a \$5,000 annual prize. The Congressional Research Grants Program, which has provided awards totaling nearly \$75,000, funds scholarly research about Congress, its members, and its policies. The American Government Lecture Series, co-sponsored with Bradley University, features prominent public figures. Howard H. Baker, Jr., delivered the first lecture in

1983. Other speakers have included House Majority Leader Jim Wright and broadcast executive Sander Vanocur.

The Center produces curriculum materials about Congress and government for schools, provides funds for students to visit Washington, D.C., sponsors a scholarship for college and university students, and hosts conferences on topics relating to Congress.

The Dirksen Congressional Center also houses the Everett McKinley Dirksen Papers, which are available to researchers. The Center's permanent exhibit, "Congress: The Voice of the People," depicts congressional operations for more than 10,000 people who visit it annually. □

### **International Education Center Opens**

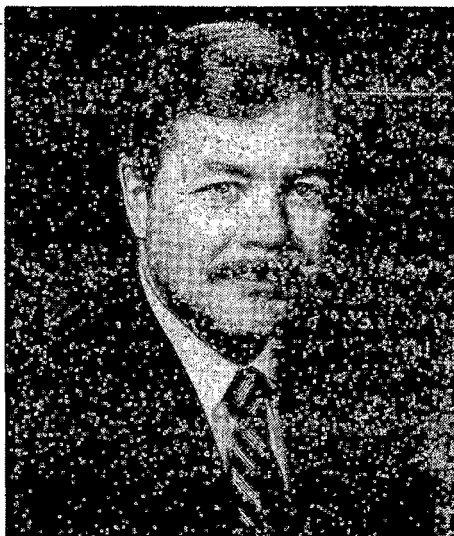
The Institute of International Education has opened an International Education Information Center. The new center will provide information about higher educational exchange to students, educators, and adult learners in the New York metropolitan area. It offers resources on overseas education for U.S. nationals who wish to study abroad.

The Center address is: International Education Information Center, Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Phone: (212) 883-8470.

### **Teachers and Politicians To Study Two-Party Political System**

Leading politicians and specially chosen teachers will explore the meaning of self-government and benefits of a two-party system at Taft Seminars for Teachers to be held in 24 states during June, July, and August.

The Taft Seminars, principal program of The Taft Institute for Two-Party Government, are organized to expand understanding and to improve teaching of con-



Gary Thompson of Abilene Christian University is leading one of the 25 seminars of the Taft Institute for Two-Party Government this summer.

stitutional principles and two-party processes of American government.

Twenty-five colleges and universities are announced as sponsors, and 31 political scientists named as directors of the 1985 Taft Seminars.

Close to 1,000 politicians will be invited to participate. Included will be U.S. Senators and Representatives, Republican and Democratic party chairmen from national, state, and precinct levels, governors, mayors, state legislators, and members of city councils.

The 25 sponsoring institutions will select 800 schoolteachers to be designated 1985 Taft Scholars.

Teachers from all 50 states are eligible to apply. Those chosen will have an opportunity to spend two or three weeks, six to eight hours a day, talking with elected officials, Republican and Democratic party leaders, and many other political experts.

The following institutions and political scientists have been named to conduct the 1985 Taft Seminars:

University of Alaska-Fairbanks, Gerald A. McBeath

University of Arizona, Conrad Joyner

California State University, Sacramento, John C. Syer and Elizabeth F. Moulds

University of Northern Colorado, Richard A. Perchlik

University of Hartford, Walter G. Markham

University of Georgia, Mary A. Hepburn

Boise State University, Willard M. Overgaard and Lamont S. Lyons

Loyola University of Chicago, James L. Wiser and Alan R. Gitelson

Sangamon State University, Jack Van Der Slik and David H. Everson

Southern University-Baton Rouge, Jewel L. Prestage and Gloria J. Braxton

University of Southern Maine, Irving D. Fisher  
Mississippi State University, Morris W. H. Collins, Jr.

University of Missouri-Columbia, Richard R. Dohm

University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Willis D. Moreland

Fairleigh Dickinson University, Thomas A. Mills

The University of New Mexico, Paul L. Hain

City University of New York-Hunter College, Robert S. Hirschfield

University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Schley R. Lyons

University of Toledo, John Gillespie

Oklahoma City University, Larry A. Eberhardt and Joseph H. Sahmaunt

University of Oregon, James R. Klonoski

Rhode Island College, Victor L. Profughi

Abilene Christian University, Gary Thompson

University of Virginia, Jerry R. Moore

University of Wyoming, Robert C. Points

The Taft Institute, a memorial to the late Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft, does not operate from an endowment fund. Annual contributions are needed from individuals, corporations, and foundations. The national offices of The Taft Institute for Two-Party Government are at 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10017. Phone: (212) 682-1530. □

## **Foreign Policy Symposium Held for College Students**

The Washington Center announces the 1985 Foreign Policy Symposium to be held August 18-28 for college students interested in issues and careers in foreign affairs.

The symposium will involve a mix of formats including lectures with question and answer periods, small group discussions, and site visits to embassies and agencies. Featured speakers include General Alexander Haig, former Secretary of State; Gerald Smith, SALT II negotiator; John Wallach, Foreign Editor for Hearst Newspapers; and Robert Hunter, Director of European Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Scheduled site visits include the Israeli embassy, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of State.

Front page international issues such as arms control, U.S./Soviet relations, Central America, South African apartheid, the media and foreign affairs, and Third World development will be analyzed and debated by national and international policy-makers.

For more information write or call Neal Callander, The Washington Center, 1101 14th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20005; (202) 289-8680. □

## **Memorial Fellowship Fund Established Honoring Jasper B. Shannon**

The Department of Political Science at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln announces the establishment of a Jasper Shannon Fellowship Fund to be administered through the University of Nebraska Foundation.

The fund memorializes the late Jasper B. Shannon (1903-1984), the distinguished political scientist who served as a professor at the University of Nebraska from 1956-1971. Previous to that, Professor Shannon taught at the University of Kentucky and Transylvania University (Lexington, Kentucky).



Contributions to the memorial fund may be sent to Susan Welch, Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska-Lincoln 68588-0328. Checks should be made out to the University of Nebraska Foundation, Jasper B. Shannon Fund. If you are interested in making a pledge to be fulfilled at a future date or if you have questions concerning the fund, please write to Susan Welch. □

### **New Officers Announced by New England Association**

The New England Political Science Association held its annual meeting at the Education Center in Durham, New Hampshire, during April 19-20, 1985. The officers of the association are as follows: President: Clyde D. McKee, Jr.; President-Elect: G. Calvin MacKenzie, Colby College; Secretary-Treasurer: Gerald J. Grady, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Executive Council: Barbara Craig, Wesleyan University; William Doyle, Johnson State College; Robert S. Gilmour, University of Connecticut; Deborah Miner, Simmons College; Erika E. Pilver, Westfield State College; and Herbert R. Winter, Rhode Island College.

The 1986 Annual Conference of the Association will be held April 4-5 at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. □

### **Midwest Elects New Officers**

New officers were selected at the 1985 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association—President-Elect: Ada Finifter, Michigan State University; Vice-President: Michael Preston, University of Illinois, Urbana; Council: James Alt, Washington University, St. Louis; R. Robert Huckfeldt, University of Indiana, Bloomington; Anoush Khoshkish, Moorhead State University; Martin Rochester, University of Missouri, St. Louis; and Elaine Sharpe, University of Kansas. □



James Eisenstein of Pennsylvania State University has received the best paper award, given by the Pennsylvania State University.

### **Pennsylvania Association Reports on 1985 Meeting**

James Eisenstein of the Pennsylvania State University was given the best paper award for papers delivered at the 1984 meeting of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association. His paper, "Patterns of Campaign Finance in Pennsylvania's 1982 Legislative Elections," was recognized at the 1985 Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Association held April 19-20 at Juniata College in Huntingdon.

The featured speaker at the dinner meeting was Paul Kreisburg, Director of Studies of the Council of Foreign Relations. It was announced at the business meeting that the Association plans to publish a refereed journal featuring, albeit not exclusively, articles on Pennsylvania politics and public policy.

There were two panels on political philosophy. One dealt with Plato, Hobbes, and the Public Interest; the other with Traditionalism and Libertarianism with papers on Babbitt, Von Mises, Hayek, Rawls, and Humanism and Naturalism. In Comparative Politics there were papers on the 1984 Indian Elections, on Yugoslavia, Costa Rica, The Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and Intellectual Life and Reform in Poland.

Panels on American Government featured papers on Justice O'Connor, Prerogative and the Presidency and Presidential Performance. There was also a panel on American Foreign Policy and one on Public Policy with papers on the 1984 Pennsylvania Elections and the War on Poverty in Appalachia. A panel on Gender, Power and Socialization included papers on Lady Ann Bacon, Sex Roles and Ethnicity and the 1984 Vice-Presidential Debates.

There were roundtable sessions on the 99th Congress, on the Central American Refugees and on the goals of the Pennsylvania Research Roundtable. There was also a session on Teaching Political Science with papers on Computers in the Introductory Course and on Women in American Politics.



Judith Stiehm has been elected president-elect of the Western Political Science Association.

Two new members were elected to the Executive Council at the Business Meeting: Tom Baldino of Juniata College and Lloyd Woodruff of Penn State University, Capitol Campus.

A complete list of the titles of papers presented and participants at the 1985 meeting are available on request from M. A. Kulbicki, Department of Political Science, York College of Pennsylvania, York, PA 17403.

The next meeting will be held April 4-5, 1986, at Penn State University, Capital Campus. □

### **Western Association Elects New Officers**

Judith Stiehm, University of Southern California, was elected Vice President (President-elect) and Program Chair of the Western Political Science Association for 1985-86 at the annual meeting at Las Vegas, Nevada, on March 28-30, 1985.

David J. Olson, University of Washington, who served as Vice President and Program Chair during the past year, became President of the Association at the conclusion of the Las Vegas meeting. A. J. Wann, University of Utah, will continue as Secretary-Treasurer for 1985-86. At the Las Vegas meeting, he announced his intention to retire from that position following the 1986 convention at Eugene, Oregon. Anyone who might be interested in being considered by the Executive Council for selection as Secretary-Treasurer should contact as soon as possible David Olson, Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195. Phone: (206) 543-2780.

The following were elected to the Executive Council for three-year terms: Judith Gruber, University of California, Berkeley; Rudolph de la Garza, University of Texas, Austin; and Stuart Scheingold, University of Washington. They replace the following members whose terms expired in 1985: Kendall L. Baker, Bowling Green State University; Woodrow Jones, San Diego State University; and Anne L. Schneider, Oklahoma State University.

Gary L. Jones, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, was Local Arrangements Chair for the highly successful 1985 Las Vegas meeting which was the largest in the history of the Association, with 81 panels organized into 14 sections attended by a total of well over 500 persons. □

### **"Rewiring Your World" TV Series Is Available on Video Tape**

The public affairs television series "Rewiring Your World" is now available for purchase on video cassette. The four shows were sponsored by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and aired throughout the nation on commercial, cable, and public television.

Moderated by noted TV personality Martin Agronsky and hosted by CWA President Glenn Watts, a panel of experts explores various emerging issues as we enter the Information Age.

Show #1, "Rewiring Your World Overview," examines the *implications of the telecommunications revolution on society*—how it affects the way we work, live, play, and communicate. Show #1 is an overview of the issues covered by the series, and includes insightful discussion of the gap between hardware advances and software applications.

Show #2, "Winners and Losers in the Information Age," explores *how work will change in an automated, technological world*, and *who wins or loses in the process*, focusing particularly on women, minorities, and the Third World.

Show #3, "Impact of Technology on the Political Process," reviews the *enormous changes wrought on our electoral process by new communications technology*. Expert panelists discuss the effects of early polling projections on electoral outcomes, how two-way TV communications will shape political debate, and how greater access to information will affect voter opinion.

Show #4, "Future Work," explores the *implications of the Information Age on work*, examining the need for strategic

planning by business, labor, government, and education. It examines particularly the demand for training and retraining raised by changing technology.

CWA is making the "Rewiring Your World" series available at cost, \$100 per show and \$325 for all four, to cover video tape, duplication, and shipping. Be sure to specify tape format: ¾-inch, VHS, or Beta. Purchase orders and inquiries should be sent to: "Rewiring Your World," c/o Nordlinger Associates, 1120 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. □

### **1984 Presidential Campaign TV Political Commercials Are Available**

A 45-minute video tape of 1984 presidential primary and general election campaign commercials is available. This tape is an excellent teaching tool in communication, journalism, advertising, marketing, and political science classes. This 1984 campaign tape is available for \$200.

The following additional 45-minute tapes are also available: (1) a 1952 to 1980 selection of shorter campaign ads for \$150; (2) a 1960 to 1980 selection of longer campaign ads for \$150; and (3) a selection of ads from the 1980 primary and general election campaigns for \$100. The individual or department ordering one or several tapes provides blank ¾-inch or ½-inch VHS cassette tapes. Order from L. Patrick Devlin, Department of Speech Communication, University of Rhode Island, Kingston, RI 02881-0812, or phone (401) 792-2552. □

### **Software Manual Published**

SPSS, Inc. has announced the latest manual in its series of statistical software documentation, *The SPSS-X Advanced Statistics Guide*. The manual is an in-depth study resource for the multivariate data analysis techniques now included in the SPSS-X Information Analysis System. It includes tutorials and exercises at

the end of each chapter to illuminate the statistical concepts with examples. The book is priced at \$19.95.

To order a copy, write: SPSS, Inc., 444 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60611. Phone: (312) 329-2400. ☐

### **Bibliography Annotates 1984 British Publications**

The 1985 edition of the British Politics Group *Annotated Bibliography* is now available. Covered by the Bibliography are publications appearing in Britain during 1984 dealing with British government and politics, both contemporary and historical. A brief annotation is provided for each of the nearly 150 entries along with the name of the publisher, the length of the book, and the price.

Copies are \$3.50 and may be ordered from British Politics Group, Executive Secretary, Department of Political Science, 503 Ross Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011. Orders are filled promptly and delivered by first class mail. ☐

### **Report Summarizes Public Sector Discussion**

*A Competitive and Equitable Public Sector* is a report of a discussion held in St. Paul, Minnesota, November 1984. This 70-page report summarizes the effort by a national group of 35 persons to think through some new approaches to the key issues affecting the public sector today: the proper definition of "the public sector," the use and misuse of "privatization," and the need for a strategy for developing public systems that are equitable as to the services provided yet com-

petitive as to the way those services are produced and vice versa.

The meeting examined eight public service areas in Minnesota in which efforts have been under way to apply these concepts: health care, transportation, child care, the public schools, the financing of higher education, workers compensation, long-term care for the elderly, and basic housekeeping services for public facilities.

The report costs \$7 and can be ordered from External Relations, Humphrey Institute, 909 Social Sciences, 267 19th Avenue S., Minneapolis, MN 55455. ☐

### **Brochure Published on MPA Degree**

The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) has just published a 12-page brochure on the MPA degree. This brochure, intended for both students and employers, outlines the educational foundation of the degree and looks at some of the areas of academic specialization. The brochure examines some of the career options available to a person with the MPA degree.

The brochure, written under the auspices of NASPAA's Committee on Internships and Placement, is particularly well suited for undergraduate students who are in the process of making career and educational decisions.

Single copies of the brochure are available from NASPAA free of charge. Additional copies of the brochure may be purchased for \$1.

NASPAA is located at 1120 G Street, N.W., Suite 520, Washington, DC 20005. Phone: (202) 628-8965. ☐

## People in Political Science

### Activities

**William M. Batkay**, associate professor and chair of the political science department at Montclair State College, had his book, *Authoritarian Politics in a Transitional State* (East European Monographs, 1982), nominated for the Outstanding Book Award of the American Association for the Study of Hungarian History.

**Louis F. Brakeman** has chosen to end his 12-year tenure as Denison University's first provost and was the main speaker at the University's 144th commencement exercises.

**Gregory A. Caldeira**, professor of political science, The University of Iowa, has been named a Faculty Scholar for 1984-87 to pursue a project on the evolution of the Supreme Court. The award provides three semesters of leave over a period of three years.

**Dennis R. Judd**, University of Missouri-St. Louis, has been appointed editor of *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, with editorial offices in the Center for Metropolitan Studies at UMSL.

**Bradley S. Klein**, currently visiting assistant professor of government, St. Lawrence University, has been awarded a summer fellowship by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) to research "Peace Studies and Alternative Defense Debates in the Federal Republic of Germany." He will conduct research at the "Forschungsinstitut für Friedenspolitik" in Starnberg and with the SPD in Bonn.

**Lawrence D. Longley**, associate professor of government, Lawrence University, has returned to Appleton, Wisconsin, campus after a year in England as Director of the London Center of Lawrence

University. He will be on sabbatical leave during the fall term while continuing research on bicameral congressional politics and on electoral reform politics in Great Britain and the United States.

**Emmet V. Mittlebeeler**, University Professor Emeritus, The American University, has been appointed professor of public administration, Troy State University, and is now lecturing for Troy State in Izmir, Turkey.

**David Singer**, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in his inauguration as president of the International Studies Association for 1985-86, spoke on "The Responsibilities of Competence: World Affairs Specialists in the Global Village." In June, he presented a paper in Oslo at the Norwegian Nobel Prize Institute, and in July participated in various panels of the International Political Science Association Congress in Paris.

**Raymond Tanter**, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, returned to research and teaching in September 1984, after serving as Senior Staff Member on the National Security Council 1981-82, and as Personal Representative of the Secretary of Defense on U.S. delegations to arms control talks in Madrid, Helsinki, Stockholm, and Geneva during 1983-84.

**Zoltan Tar**, New School for Social Research, opened a six-week seminar entitled "Georg Lukacs and His Work" at Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Mexico in January. He also lectured at the Goethe Institute, Paris, in March on "Lukacs and Existentialism." In April he lectured at the Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, and at the "Georg Lukacs: International Symposium" in New York City.



Kenneth Prewitt has been named the vice president for program at the Rockefeller Foundation.



Leon H. Ginsberg is chancellor of the West Virginia Board of Regents.

## Administrative Appointments

**William M. Batkay**, chairperson, Department of Political Science, Montclair State College.

**Milton Lee Boykin**, Department of Political Science, The Citadel: The Military College of South Carolina.

**Mark R. Daniels**, director, M.P.A. program, Kansas State University.

**Patrick L. Eagan**, chairperson, Department of Political Science, John Carroll University.

**Leon H. Ginsberg**, chancellor of the West Virginia Board of Regents.

**Steven M. Goldstein**, chair, department of government, Smith College.

**Glen Gordon**, dean, Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; formerly, chair, Department of Political Science.

**Robert S. Hirschfield** has been appointed university dean for communications by the City University of New York Board of Trustees. He will administer and develop the university's cable television Channel A.

**John S. Jackson III**, professor of political science at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, has been named Dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

**E. Terrence Jones**, Dean of Arts and Sciences, University of Missouri, St. Louis.

**John P. Katosh**, Executive Director of Research and Analysis, Election Data Services, Inc., a Washington, D.C.-based political consulting firm.

**Lewis C. Mainzer**, chair, Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

**Patrick J. McGeever**, chair, department of political science, Indiana University, Indianapolis.

**Peter McGrath**, president, University of Missouri, St. Louis; formerly president, University of Minnesota.

**Kenneth Prewitt**, president of the Social Science Research Council, New York City, has been named the vice president for program at the Rockefeller Foundation. He has also been elected to the

Washington University (St. Louis) board of trustees.

## New Appointments

**Stephanie L. Bellar**, assistant professor of political science, Texas Tech University; formerly of the University of Kentucky.

**Sheila Carapico**, assistant professor, department of political science, University of Richmond.

**Richard Champagne**, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

**King W. Chow**, assistant professor of political science, Texas Tech University; formerly visiting assistant professor.

**Michael Clough**, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison; formerly Naval Postgraduate School.

**Mark R. Daniels**, associate professor of political science, Kansas State University; formerly assistant professor of political science, University of Connecticut.

**James A. Der Derian**, assistant professor of political science, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

**Donald Downs**, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison; formerly University of Notre Dame.

**Antony G. N. Flew**, Distinguished Research Fellow in the Social Philosophy and Policy Center, Bowling Green State University. He will be in residence at Bowling Green during the spring semester of the year in 1986, 1987, and 1988.

**Otto Keck**, fellow, International Institute for Environment and Society, Science Center Berlin.

**Bradley S. Klein**, assistant professor of international relations, Potsdam State/St. Lawrence University.

**Alexander P. Lamis**, associate professor, University of North Florida; formerly of the University of Mississippi.

**Barbara A. Luck**, assistant professor, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

**Kenneth J. Meier**, associate professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison; formerly University of Oklahoma.

**E. Yvonne Moss**, assistant professor, political science, Southeastern Massachusetts University; formerly of Tougaloo College.

**Robert A. Pastor**, professor of political science at Emory University; formerly faculty research associate, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland.

**Sue Tolleson Rinehart**, assistant professor of political science, Texas Tech University; formerly of the University of South Carolina.

**Gerry T. Riposa**, assistant professor of political science, Texas Tech University; formerly of the University of California, Riverside.

**Diane Rubenstein**, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison; formerly University of Cincinnati.

**Kim Lane Scheppele**, assistant professor of political science and sociology at the University of Michigan.

**James D. Slack**, associate professor of political science and MPA Director, Texas Tech University; formerly of East Texas State University.

**Zachary A. Smith**, assistant professor, Department of Political Science, Ohio University; formerly at University of Hawaii, Hilo.

**Randall Strahan**, assistant professor of political science, Emory University.

**Margaret Jane Wyszomirski**, director of the graduate program in public policy, Georgetown University; formerly assistant professor of political science at Rutgers University.

**Nicholas Xenos**, assistant professor of political science, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

## Promotions

**William M. Batkay**, associate professor, Department of Political Science, Montclair State College.

**Eugene Brown**, associate professor, Lebanon Valley College.

**Emmett H. Buell, Jr.**, professor, Department of Political Science, Denison University.

## People in Political Science

**Gregory A. Caldeira**, professor, The University of Iowa.

**Juan del Aguila**, associate professor, with tenure, Emory University.

**Julie Erfani**, assistant professor, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana.

**Michael Fleet**, associate professor, with tenure, Department of Political Science, Marquette University.

**Mark Gibney**, assistant professor, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana.

**Milda K. Hedblom**, professor, Augsburg College.

**John Hibbing**, associate professor, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

**Michael Israel**, professor, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Kean College of New Jersey, Union.

**Herbert Kritzer**, professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

**Keith J. Mueller**, associate professor, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

**Barbara S. Romzek**, associate professor of public administration, Division of Government, University of Kansas.

**Larry M. Schwab**, professor of political science, John Carroll University.



John A. Ferejohn, Stanford University, has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

**William R. Shaffer**, professor, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana.

**J. Frederick Springer**, associate professor, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

**Michael S. Stohl**, professor, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana.

**Christopher Wolfe**, associate professor, with tenure, Department of Political Science, Marquette University.

## Visiting and Temporary Appointments

**Shaukat Ali**, professor of political science at Southeastern Massachusetts University, has been appointed a visiting research fellow at the Pakistan Administrative Staff College for 1985-86.

**James B. Christoph**, Indiana University, was a visiting scholar at the London School of Economics during the 1984-85 year.

**Steven A. Shull**, professor of political science at the University of New Orleans, has been named a Fulbright Senior Scholar at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He will teach and advise graduate students and consult on graduate curriculum development during the fall 1985 semester.

**George C. Edwards III**, Texas A&M University, will serve as visiting professor of social science at the United States Military Academy at West Point for the 1985-86 academic year.

## Award Recipients

### American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Four political scientists were among 85 leading scholars, scientists, public figures, and artists recently elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Academy, a national honorary society with a membership of approximately 2,300, conducts programs of study and publication on issues of na-



tional and international importance. The political scientists elected in 1985 are:

**Robert M. Axelrod**, professor of political science and research scientist of the Institute of Public Policy Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

**John Arthur Ferejohn**, professor of political science, Stanford University.

**Mancur Lloyd Olson**, professor of economics, University of Maryland, College Park.

**Charles Raymond Plott**, professor of economics and political science, California Institute of Technology.

In addition, **Robert Charles Oliver Matthews**, professor of political economy, Cambridge University, was elected as a foreign honorary member.



### **American Antiquarian Society**

**Elaine Kristine Swift**, Ph.D. candidate at Harvard University, has been awarded a Kate B. and Hall James Peterson Fellowship by the American Antiquarian Society. Her research will focus on "The Rise of the U.S. Senate, 1789-1836."

### **Dirksen Center**

**Helen Dewar**, chief congressional correspondent for *The Washington Post*, has won the Everett McKinley Dirksen Award for distinguished reporting of Congress in 1984. Dewar is the fifth reporter to receive the \$5,000 prize.

### **Fulbright-Hays Awards**

**Samuel S. Kim**, professor of political science at Monmouth College and a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute, has received a Fulbright-Hays Senior Lectureship Award to teach graduate courses in international relations and international law at the Foreign Affairs Institute, Beijing, China, in the 1985-86 academic year (the first year of the Fulbright Senior Scholar Program in International Relations with China) and to do research on post-Mao China's theory and practice of international law.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has elected Mancur Lloyd Olson of the University of Maryland to the society.

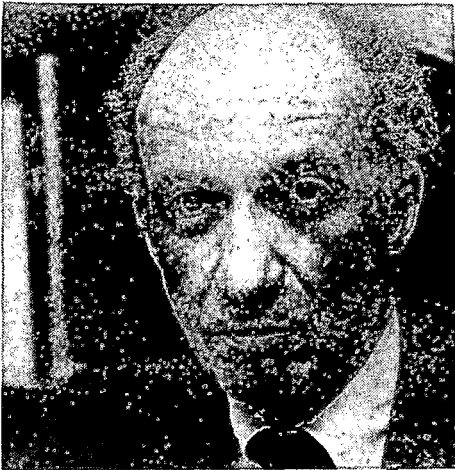
**Frederic Pearson**, professor of political science at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, has received a Fulbright-Hays grant to teach at the University of Lancaster and to do research on arms transfers in the United Kingdom during the 1985-86 academic year.

### **German Marshall Fund**

Following the 11th annual fellowship competition, the German Marshall Fund of the United States has made awards to 12 scholars for research on significant contemporary economic, political, and social developments involving the United States and Europe.

The following political scientists are among the 1985 German Marshall Fund Research Fellows:

**Joseph M. Grieco**, Department of Political Science, Duke University. Grieco will study the capacity of four advanced democracies—Britain, Belgium, France, and the U.S.—to achieve cooperation in the face of economic problems of varying severity. He will focus on national economic policy in these countries during the Great Depression and the past decade.



Richard A. Falk of Princeton University has been selected as a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow for 1985.

**Michael S. Lewis-Beck**, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa. Lewis-Beck, using recent national public opinion surveys, will systematically explore how individual and collective economic circumstances influence the voter on both sides of the Atlantic. This research will form the basis of a book, *Economics and the Elections: The Major Western Democracies*.

**Charles E. Lindblom**, Institution for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University. Lindblom will examine the ways in which industrialized countries are well or badly served by social science and research. Among issues to be investigated are the interaction between power and analysis in public policymaking and the factors influencing the choice of research projects by social investigators.

**Angela E. Stent**, Russian Area Studies Program, Georgetown University. Stent will discuss Soviet, American, and West European expectations and evaluations of detente by comparing their respective attitudes toward East-West relations in Europe in the past 15 years. She will highlight the implications of diverging transatlantic views for the future of U.S.-West European relations.

**Robert Kent Weaver**, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution. Weaver will analyze policy changes

made in the U.S., Canada, England, and Sweden in recent years after slower economic growth and high budget deficits forced policymakers to reassess the post-war system of mandatory government support of the elderly, the disabled, and dependent children. He will investigate why program cutbacks have differed across nations and categories of recipients.

## Guggenheim Fellowships

The following political scientists are among the 1985 fellows selected by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Their proposed studies are stated after their names and institutions.

**Robert H. Bates**, professor of political science, California Institute of Technology: Cash cropping and politics in Kenya.

**Richard A. Falk**, Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice and professor of politics and international affairs, Princeton University: The promise and performance of international law.

**Hugh Heclo**, professor of government, Harvard University: The constitution of the welfare state.

**Charles E. Lindblom**, Sterling Professor of Economics and Political Science, Yale University: Social science in problem solving.

**Nelson W. Polsby**, professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley: The modernization of the United States Senate, 1940-1980.

**Deborah A. Stone**, associate professor of political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Political boundaries and professional logics.

## Hoover Scholars

The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Inc., has announced that 15 individuals have been named Hoover Scholars for 1985 and recipients of substantial research awards under its Hoover Presidential Fellowship and Grant Program.

Political scientists receiving grants in aid—University, Princeton University; political science.

**J. Garry Clifford**, associate professor of political science, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

**James K. Melville**, professor of political science, Brigham Young University, Provo.

**Clyde P. Weed**, doctoral candidate in political science, Columbia University.

Information on the fellowship and grant program may be obtained by writing the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, P.O. Box 696, West Branch, IA 52358.

### **National Humanities Center**

**Waller Randy Newell**, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, was selected by the National Humanities Center as a 1985-86 fellow. His research project is "The Political and Social Thought of Martin Heidegger." Fellowships are awarded to scholars for a year in residence at the Center, during which they pursue research and writing on individual projects and also have the opportunity to exchange ideas in seminars, lectures, and conferences.

### **National Science Foundation**

Sixty fellowships have been awarded by the National Science Foundation to minority students of outstanding ability for graduate studies in the sciences, mathematics, and engineering. Each fellowship provides a stipend of \$11,000 per year for full-time graduate study. The following social and political scientists are among the group. Also listed are their undergraduate institutions, graduate institutions, and field of study.

**Paula M. Q. Hall**, Howard University, University of Southern California; social science.

**Celia M. Hanna**, Princeton University, Stanford University; international relations.

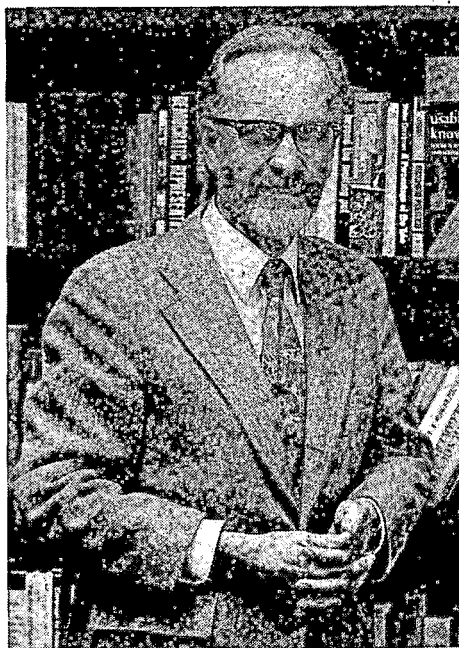
**Stephen D. Stribling**, New Mexico State

### **Pennsylvania Political Science Association**

**James Eisenstein** of the Pennsylvania State University was given the best paper award for papers delivered at the 1984 meeting of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association. His paper is entitled "Patterns of Campaign Finance in Pennsylvania's 1982 Legislative Elections."

### **Alexander von Humboldt Foundation**

**Joyce M. Mushaben**, assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, has received an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation research fellowship to spend the 1985-86 academic year in residence at the Univer-



Charles E. Lindblom of Yale University is a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow for 1985. He has also been awarded a German Marshall Fund Fellowship to study the use of social science research in industrialized countries.



David Pion-Berlin of Ohio State University has received an award given by the Western Political Science Association for the best doctoral dissertation.



The Western Political Science Association's Pi Sigma Alpha prize has been awarded to Barbara Sinclair of the University of California, Riverside.

sity of Stuttgart to study changing German attitudes toward the national question and changing perceptions of the Atlantic Alliance among the successor generation.

## Western Political Science Association

At the 1985 Western Political Science Association (WPSA) meeting in Las Vegas, the following awards were conferred:

**Dissertation Award:** For the best doctoral dissertation completed at a university within the regional groupings of the WPSA between July 1 and June 30 of the previous academic year. Awarded to **David Pion-Berlin**, Ohio State University. His dissertation, "Ideas as Predictors: A Comparative Study of Coercion in Peru and Argentina," was completed at the School of International Studies, University of Denver, under the direction of John McCamant.\*

**Pi Sigma Alpha Award:** For the best paper presented at the last WPSA annual meeting. Awarded to **Barbara Sinclair**, University of California, Riverside, for "The House, Ronald Reagan and the Brittle Mandate."

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\*On behalf of other members of the selection committee—Beverly Cook, University of Wisconsin, Chair, and Robert H. Blank, University of Idaho—John Wahlke of the University of Arizona presented the citation, which reads in part: "What impressed the Committee about this work was its demonstration of genuine intellectual power, in the breadth and depth of its grasp of a complex and tricky problem and in its skillful reduction of theoretical abstractions to political and historical actualities in Peru and Argentina. The work exhibits and applies the best of traditional comparative politics; sophisticated concern for a major theoretical problem of political science significance since Aristotle (namely, the role and character of political coercion in human society); versatility and skill in methodology, beginning with impressive historical case-study accounts of coercion under varying political regimes in Peru and Argentina and going on to subject these data to systematic and rigorous analysis, using mainly content analysis and factor analysis."

**WPSA Women and Politics Award:** For an outstanding paper on women and politics. Awarded to a paper co-authored by **Gerald S. Gryski**, Auburn University, **Eleanor C. Main**, Emory University, and **William J. Dixon**, Emory University.

**WPSA Best Paper Award on Chicano Politics:** For an outstanding paper by a Chicano scholar on Chicano politics and its relative aspects. Awarded to **Benjamin Maquez**, University of Kansas.

The winners of each of these awards receive a prize of \$100 except the Pi Sigma Alpha Award, which is for \$200.

### **Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation**

Charlotte W. Newcombe Fellowships have been awarded to 48 graduate students in the program's fifth annual competition. Newcombe Fellowships provide financial support for a full year of uninterrupted research and writing for students whose doctoral dissertations concern some aspect of ethical or religious values.

The following students of government and political science were chosen as fellows. Their institutions and dissertation titles are also given.

**Joseph M. Schwartz**, Harvard University. The Permanence of the Political: A Democratic Critique of the Radical Thrust to Transcend Politics.

**Katherine A. Teghtsoonian**, Stanford University. Government Response to Nationalist Movements: A Comparative Analysis of the Cases of Quebec, Scotland, and Wales.

### **Other Awards and Honors**

**Henry L. Bretton** will be Distinguished Professor Emeritus, State University of New York, College at Brockport, beginning September 1, 1985.

**Harvey Klehr** has been named Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of Politics at Emory University.

**Peter C. Ordeshook**, professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin, was appointed to the Frank C. Erwin, Jr., Centennial Chair in State Government.

**Austin Ranney**, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, has been awarded an honorary doctorate in social science by Yale University.

## **In Memoriam**

### **Stephen M. David**

Stephen M. David of the Department of Political Science at Fordham University died of cancer on April 9 at the age of 50. David had joined the Fordham faculty in 1965, after having received his doctorate from Columbia University. He was a Columbia undergraduate and also received an LLB from Harvard.

David was a native New Yorker whose primary area of interest was always urban politics. He was co-editor of *Urban Politics and Public Policy: The City in Crisis* with Paul E. Peterson and of *Race and Politics in New York City: Five Studies in Policy Making* with Jewell Bellush. He was the author of more than 20 articles, book reviews, and book chapters. At the time of his death, David was working on a book-length manuscript on the political economy of the city with Paul Kantor of Fordham. The joint project had already produced articles in *The British Journal of Political Science* and *Polity*, with other publications forthcoming.

Steve David served as chairman of Fordham's Political Science Department from 1975 to 1981 and in that time literally transformed the department. Two-thirds of the current department of 18 were hired/tenured during his time as chairman. Steve was able to attract a diverse group of young scholars to Fordham, broadening considerably the range of fields and subfields represented on the faculty. He oversaw development of two successful masters-level programs in

public affairs and in international political economy and development.

Steve's success in expanding the department was due in large part to his own considerable political skills. There was never a sole criterion for obtaining tenure at Fordham: Steve was able to recognize strengths of very different kinds of young scholars, package the whole in a way that produced a strong and well-rounded department, and sell the package to an administration that had been carefully prepared to accept it.

Steve David was the intellectual as well as political center of the department. He was engaged in a perpetual debate/discussion with colleagues about the state of the discipline; he had an intense interest in politics as well as in political science and a love for spirited argument. He was one of the department's most popular teachers at both undergraduate and graduate levels, and he was the most frequently sought as dissertation advisor.

We will remember Steve for his brightness, his inventiveness in intellectual play, his sense of humor, and his considerable kindness. He lived a full, active, successful life. That it should end so prematurely is a source of considerable sorrow, and we will long feel his loss.

David G. Lawrence  
Fordham University

## **Frank Grace**

Just two days before Frank Grace succumbed to a prolonged illness, January 20, 1985, an established San Francisco lawyer who studied years ago with Frank dropped by his vacant office to renew a cherished association with a professor remembered and admired. During his 35 years of teaching, research, and service in the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan, Frank Grace was truly respected by undergraduates and graduates alike. As a teacher he frequently delved into his own knowledge and experience for pertinent narrative and advice. He was almost always able to recall some incident or event that illuminated the particular and complicated academic pursuits of colleagues or

students. His knowledge, experience, personality, and didactic skills were molded into a teacher who could successfully lecture to hundreds of students as he could counsel one-on-one.

Born in 1918, in Baxter, a town of Tennessee's eastern highlands, Frank came easily by both his thoughtful conservatism and his Democratic party affiliation. Nor did these patterns change when he graduated with honors from Vanderbilt University in 1939 and, a year later, obtained the master's degree from Louisiana State University, where his fellow graduate student and officemate was Hubert H. Humphrey.

Frank worked in Louisiana's state government as a statistician—of all things for a classical theorist—until he became an ensign in 1942 and served for four years in the United States Navy. His combat experience included action in landing operations in the Mediterranean and at Omaha Beach in Normandy.

After his release from service, Frank accepted fellowship support and graduate status at the University of Illinois, where he completed his doctorate under the direction of Francis G. Wilson. In 1953 his dissertation, *The Concept of Property in Modern Christian Thought*, was published and acclaimed. It would be followed by research in West Germany, papers at political science conferences, and further publication in periodicals.

Instructor Grace joined the Michigan Department of Political Science in 1948, where he rose steadily through the ranks and became a full professor in 1962. After repeated health difficulties he retired in 1982 as a professor emeritus. During his years of active teaching and research he initiated courses in American political thought and refined the presentation of his popular courses in theory. He was the department's director of graduate studies for five and one-half years, an associate chairman and, of course, an outstanding and heavily burdened teacher.

In 1980 Frank was honored by the University of Michigan with the Amoco Teaching Award. Undergraduate and graduate students initiated the nomination, which his department then spon-

sored. As one who always gave more than full measure in fulfilling his responsibilities, Frank Grace was a gentleman, a patriot, and a scholar who served his country, his good wife and family of six fine children, his department and his university well. His colleagues will remember and miss him. His students will recall his care and devotion.

George Grassmuck  
University of Michigan-Ann Arbor

### Charles S. Hyneman

Charles S. Hyneman, the fifty-seventh president of the American Political Science Association, died in Bloomington, Indiana, on January 20, 1985, at the age of 84. He had retired from his full-time appointment as Distinguished Professor at Indiana University in 1971, after having taught at his *alma mater* since 1956.

Charles Hyneman seldom related to those around him in a single role. We are not alone in having found him to be—sequentially and sometimes simultaneously—a distinguished scholar, a teacher, a lifelong stimulator of thought, a professional colleague, the father or grandfather we never had, a fellow gardener and basketball enthusiast, and, above all, a generous and reliable friend. A person of Charles Hyneman's stature passes through one's life but rarely. Few individuals manage to combine the qualities of intellect, integrity, and humanity to such an extraordinary degree, and yet succeed in imparting their gifts to others in such a disarmingly "homespun" fashion.

Sidney Hook, in his provocative book *The Hero in History*, made a distinction between the merely eventful man and the event-making man—the latter being one who by thought and deed made things occur that substantially altered the course of events for those about him. Charles Hyneman was too much of an iconoclast and a democrat with a small "d" to have accepted the title of "hero," and yet he had the ability to do the small thing as well as commit the great act that did make a significant difference in the lives, careers, and the perspectives on

issues and events assumed by those around him.

There is a moment in Plato's *Apology* in which Socrates explains his mission in life to the jurors who are trying him. He says:

I am a sort of gadfly given to the state by God and the state is a great and noble steed who is tardy in his motions owing to his very size and required to be stirred into life. I am that gadfly which God has attached to the state and all day long and in all places am always fastening upon you arousing and persuading and reproaching you.

Charles Hyneman was our gadfly. He aroused us. He persuaded us. And implicitly he reproached us as we recognized how much harder he pushed his own mind than we were inclined to push ours.

It was those self-imposed demands that made Charles the scholar of international repute, whose five decades of writing produced a significant contribution to the literature of political science. Charles had an unquenchable passion for scholarship and displayed an unending pursuit of the truth which remained with him till the end. Literally, in his last days, he was putting the finishing touches on *The Founding: A Prelude to a More Perfect Union*, which the editor, Howard Penniman, considers to be Charles' finest work. The corpus of his writings is wide ranging, starting with *The First American Neutrality* (1935), which evidenced his earlier interest in international relations and foreign policy. Among his later writings, many scholars still regard Hyneman's *Bureaucracy in a Democracy* (1950) as one of the more refreshing and seminal contributions to the fields of both public administration and democratic theory. Over an extended period Charles' concern about reconciling our origins as a national society with contemporary political practices and values is reflected in *The Supreme Court on Trial* (1963), *Popular Government in America* (1968), and his posthumous *The Founding*, as well as in the co-edited volumes, *A Second Federalist* (1967) and *American Political Writing During the Founding Era* (1983). Indeed, many of us long suspected that Charles purposely kept one

or two of his writing projects short of completion so that his scholarly agenda was always open.

Like all great scholars, however, Charles was never entirely happy with the methods he and his colleagues used for gaining that knowledge. He was well trained in the historical and legal approaches that dominated political science before World War II, and he gained invaluable practical experience in several governmental agencies during WWII. His appointments included the Bureau of the Budget, the Office of the Provost Marshall, General in the War Department, and the Federal Communications Commission. This governmental experience convinced him that the discipline's knowledge was not good enough to be very useful. Its factual basis was too anecdotal and unreliable, and its theories were too simplistic and unverified. After the war he became one of the leaders of what came to be known as "the behavioral revolution" in political science. He organized a series of conferences at Northwestern University on the possibilities of making the discipline's empirical base more reliable and its theoretical superstructure more meaningful. Charles published his own ideas in his seminal book *The Study of Politics* in 1959, and a year later he was elected president of the American Political Science Association. The Northwestern conferences and his book profoundly changed the way most political scientists since that day have gone about their business. Many, of course, have challenged Hyneman's wisdom and guidance in that area; but that, too, Charles always welcomed. His own personal commitment to the need for a quantitative base to political science is evidenced in his monumental *Voting in Indiana* (1979), which was a labor of love.

While most political scientists, however, would say that Charles Hyneman was one of the great scholars of his time, just about everyone who knew him says he was the most gifted and dedicated teacher they have ever known. To understand just what that means you have to remember what he did and did not leave behind. There is no "Hyneman school" of political science that one must either

join or oppose. Charles left no disciples, only students. There are plenty of Strausians and Parsonians and even a few Eastonians, but no Hynemanians. That is not because Charles had no talented pupils; after all, his former students from Indiana, Louisiana State University, Northwestern, and the University of Illinois included a late U.S. vice president, several senators and congressmen, Pulitzer prize winners, nationally recognized newsmen and women, as well as faculty members at most of the major public and private universities in this country. The list of self-proclaimed students—that is, his colleagues and others who "audited Hyneman for life"—is equally long and impressive.

Charles was never a teacher in the didactic sense; indeed, he disliked pomposity in others in the profession. Consequently, his approach to teaching was often disarming and occasionally even misunderstood until students gradually came to the full appreciation of his unorthodox style and his frequently irreverent examples to illustrate a point. The students of Charles Hyneman have practiced many different kinds of political science, adhered to many different political philosophies, and participated in many different political movements. They are a diverse collection in all respects except three: they all believe that human truth is to be found in the journey more than the arrival; they reserve the right to be dissatisfied with any conclusion, especially their own; and they know that for them this way of looking at their profession is the greatest legacy of Charles Hyneman.

In an age when we attempt to peg persons ideologically, Charles Hyneman defied neat categorization. Charles often could see great problems and issues arising on the national agenda long before others of his generation thought there was anything amiss in race relations, the increase in federal power, or the role of women in society. In that sense, Charles Hyneman was a liberal. Charles, however, had long since thought through many of the complications, nuances, and pitfalls of those issues by the time they had reached the level of national awareness. Consequently, Charles was able to provide a broader perspective and to



counsel caution about the destruction of other values in the pursuit of single-minded reform. In that sense, Charles Hyneman was a conservative.

And in that context, we think of Charlie Hyneman in his role as a citizen. Hyneman may himself have placed the status of citizen at the top of the list of roles one can play in life. He believed in the virtues of good citizenship and tried to live that good citizenship in his daily contacts with colleagues and friends. That is undoubtedly why he often talked about Gibson County. He personified the rural heartland of this country in which he believed you could find what was still real, true, and valuable about the great American experience.

His frequent reference to Gibson County notwithstanding, Charles' interests extended far beyond rural Indiana and far beyond the boundaries of political science. All his life he sought out other places and other people—philosophers, sociologists, lawyers, practicing journalists, and practitioners in the political sphere. That is why he cherished his stint in the early 1950s with the Chicago Sanitary Board. He was fascinated with the remarkable functioning of the Daley machine in Chicago. He had a particular kind of respect for the people who were engaged in the daily work of politics. He had the same regard for the working journalist, just as he found wisdom in the ongoing life of the people who were like those among whom he had grown up in Gibson County. He always used to tell us that life was complex enough in Gibson County that we did not need to look at other more exotic areas. Almost every kind of thing could occur in Gibson County—every kind of political thing and every kind of social thing. There was always with Charles a greater trust in rural people than in urban people. The last years of his life, which he spent working on American thought in the formative years of the Republic, reinforced his convictions about the virtues of an earlier, less complicated way of life. That characteristic undoubtedly made it difficult for him to accept some features of modern life.

Charles' scope of concern went far beyond his students, friends, and family. But it was the latter, and particularly his

wife Frances, who remained central to his concerns until the very last moments. He knew it was Frances' love and attention that kept him alive despite his sometimes fragile health. He used to grumble about her scolding him on his diet, for not wearing a hat when working in the sun, or for not pacing himself. He always ended up, however, taking her advice despite his protestations. His grouching never fooled anyone about the marvelous love they had for each other over the decades. Men who are strongly independent-minded and courageous in the moral sense invariably have wives who match them in those qualities and provide them with both an anchor and a rudder. And thus it was with Charles Hyneman.

J. Gus Liebenow and  
Byrum E. Carter  
Indiana University

Austin Ranney  
American Enterprise Institute

## Robert L. Morlan

Robert L. Morlan, age 64, professor of political science at the University of Redlands, died suddenly on April 12, 1985, just two weeks before a scheduled retirement party that scores of his former students had planned to attend. During his 36 years at Redlands, Morlan, an influential teacher, launched the careers of many political scientists and public administrators.

Morlan received the B.A. degree from Denison University and the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Minnesota. While at Redlands, he served as chairman of the political science department and dean of social sciences. Though a specialist in American government, he travelled frequently to the Netherlands, where he was at various times a visiting professor at the University of Leiden, the University of Amsterdam, and the College of Europe at Bruges and a research fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study.

He served as president of the Western Political Science Association (1967-68) and the Southern California Political Science Association (1955-56, 1961-63)

and was deeply active in the Washington Semester Program both at Redlands (from whence he helped many students find their way to and through the nation's capital) and nationally (serving as chairman of the National Committee of the Washington Semester, 1967-69).

Bob Morlan believed deeply in the importance of civic responsibility, the two-party system, and the role of churches in communal and public life. He was elected to the city council of Redlands, was a delegate to various Democratic party conventions, and was an officer in the Council of Churches in his city and county. He served on commissions concerned with college financial aid, inter-governmental relations, the delivery of health care, human relations, the civil service system, the United Nations, and air pollution control.

He was the author of several books, including *Intergovernmental Relations in Education* (1950); *Capitol, Courthouse, and City Hall* (5th ed., 1981); and *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922* (1955).

He is survived by his wife, Ann, and by four children.

James Q. Wilson  
University of California, Los Angeles

### James N. Murray

James N. Murray died January 23, 1985, at his home in Iowa City. Murray was born in Chicago in 1925 and was educated at the Todd School, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and the University of Illinois. After a brief period on the faculty of Northwestern University, he joined the Iowa Department of Political Science in 1954, where, except for visiting appointments at Mexico City College, the University of Istanbul (where he helped found its department of political science), and San Francisco State University, he remained until his death. He is survived by his wife, Pat, three sons, and two grandchildren.

Murray's professional and personal devotion to international arms control led him to become a close student of national security policy and a strong (but not un-

critical) supporter of the United Nations. His reputation for careful scholarship on arms control questions made him much sought after as a speaker both on the campus and throughout eastern Iowa.

Jim Murray will be remembered by his students as an especially fine teacher. We know this not just from the perennial exhaustion of space in his demanding classes, not just from the numbers of students who followed him from course to course, not just from the many invitations coming from former students who hoped he could find time to speak to their professional associations, and not just from the heartwarming turnout of students at his memorial service. We know it because the students have been telling us so, directly and repeatedly, for many years.

Jim Murray will be remembered by his friends and colleagues as a most special person—urbane, witty, charming, a marvelous host, and an unsurpassed raconteur. Knowing such a man is a rare treat in life. He is sorely missed.

Douglas Madsen  
University of Iowa

### Ferenc Albert Vali

Ferenc Albert Vali, Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, died on November 19, 1984, after a long illness. He was 79.

Vali taught international law, international relations, and Soviet and East European politics in the Political Science Department at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst since 1961. He retired several years ago but continued to teach both at the University of Massachusetts and at Florida International University. He was the first Emeritus Professor of the University's Political Science Department. From 1958 to 1961 he was a research associate of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, and from 1946 to 1949, he was professor of international law at the University of Budapest.

During World War II Vali participated in a secret diplomatic mission in Turkey for the Hungarian government. From 1951 to 1956 he was a political prisoner in Hungary. After the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 he escaped to Austria and, via England, entered the United States in 1957. This part of his life is recounted in his unpublished memoirs.

Ferenc Vali was the author of at least 11 books and many articles. His best known work, the definitive book on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, is *Rift and Revolt in Hungary: Nationalism Versus Communism*. Other books include: *The Quest for a United Germany*, *The Turkish Straits and NATO*, and the *Politics of the Indian Ocean Region: The Balances of Power*.

He was the recipient of several fellowships and grants, including fellowships from Harvard University, the Rockefeller Foundation, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the U.S. Naval War College. He spoke several languages, English, Hungarian, French, German, Italian, and Turkish, and had a reading knowledge of others as well. He possessed an extraordinary knowledge of those areas of the world known as East Central Europe and the Balkans.

Born in Hungary in 1905, Vali was educated both there and abroad. He received the Doctor Juris degree from the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Budapest in 1927, the Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and Political Science of the University of London in 1932 and the Diploma of the Academy of International Law, The Hague, Netherlands in 1932. He held an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Wayne State University.

Ferenc Vali leaves his wife, Rose Vali.

Karl W. Ryavec  
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

### **Clement E. Vose**

Clement E. Vose, John E. Andrus Professor of Government, Wesleyan University, died January 28, 1985. He was the victim of a partially incapacitating stroke

on January 5; seven days later, he suffered the massive stroke that led to his death.

Clem Vose was born on March 19, 1923, in Caribou, Maine. He did his undergraduate work at the University of Maine, Orono. He served as a combat infantryman in World War II and was wounded in the Battle of the Bulge. Later he went on to the University of Wisconsin for doctoral work.

No one who spent much time with Clem would be surprised to learn that Caribou is a small town in the farthest north country of Maine or that Vose was a common Maine surname as far back as colonial days. To his death, he retained and luxuriated in a vintage Down East manner. Laconic in conversation, he was nevertheless a raconteur. He expressed himself vividly and effectively, but obliquely through anecdotes, aphorisms, and observations that revealed his extraordinarily rich and improbably disparate knowledge. Judicious, perceptive observations of the passing parade was the warp of his discourse; the dryest of dry humor was the woof. These aspects of his nature were imitated by the art and science of his scholarship and pedagogy.

In retrospect, it seems inevitable that a man of judicious temperament whose constant impulse was to unravel the workings of events, would have become a student of judicial behavior. Inevitable or not, his life-long interest in studying the human and social sources of legal change through interviews, documents and other primary sources crystallized in his dissertation research under David Fellman. That research, a searching investigation of the roots of major series of civil rights decisions, is reported in *Caucasians Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP and the Restrictive Covenant Cases* (1959).

Another Vose contribution to the understanding of legal change in the United States is his account of the group politics that led to major modern constitutional amendments and Supreme Court reversals—*Constitutional Change; Amendment Politics and Supreme Court Litigation since 1900*. Among his articles, "Litigation as a Form of Pressure Group

## People in Political Science

Activity," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 319 (September 1958), was for many years virtually a mandatory reprint in collections of political science readings and remains the standard source on the topic.

By the early 1960s, Vose's fascination with the labyrinthine detective work that his research required led him to embark on a second, parallel course of research, writing, and teaching. He became the leading authority on the use of reference works and archives of documents in political inquiry. His contributions in this sphere include the 1975 APSA publication, *A Guide to Library Sources in Political Science: American Government*, articles in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and *The Handbook of Political Science* and a series of articles in *PS* on the uses of the papers in the presidential libraries as a political science concern and on the papers of Richard M. Nixon.

Vose's articles on the Nixon papers, the most recent of which appeared in the December 1983 *PS*, were part of his continuing leadership in linking the APSA to the National Archives. He was the APSA's representative of the National Archives Council from 1970 to 1983, succeeding Harold D. Lasswell, and was chairman in 1977-78. Vose was closely involved in the successful litigation to keep the Nixon papers and tapes in the public domain. He joined as plaintiff with James MacGregor Burns, Donald G. Herzberg, Austin Ranney, the APSA, the American Historical Association, and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, Legal Defense and Research in the *Nixon Papers Case*. The ensuing Supreme Court decision *Nixon v. Administrator* (1977), as Vose wrote, was a landmark: "The American Political Science Association for the first time in its history was a party in a major constitutional case in the Supreme Court, and won" (*PS*, Fall 1977, p. 435).

Vose spent most of his career in liberal arts colleges. He taught for one year at Beloit College, Wisconsin, two years at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, and three years at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. In 1958 he joined the Wesleyan faculty at the behest

of E. E. Schattschneider, Vose's predecessor as John E. Andrus Professor of Government.

Clem Vose was a gifted teacher and a senior statesman in the liberal arts college setting he enjoyed so much. He also was a presence in the discipline and profession of American political science. At the time of his death he continued to be deeply immersed in scholarship. He was studying judicial enforcement of the rights of the mentally retarded. He lived fully, relished his friendships, and left a legacy in his person as much as in his work.

Russell D. Murphy  
Wesleyan University

Fred I. Greenstein  
Princeton University

## Craig Redpony Wanner

Craig Wanner died in New York last fall. He was 38 years old. At the time of his death he held a position in the University College of Rutgers University. Craig received his Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University in 1975 and had previously taught at Kean College and Jersey City State College.

Everyone acquainted with research on judicial process will recognize the substantial contribution that Craig's first scholarly work—his dissertation—made to our subfield. Portions of it were published in the *Law and Society Review* in 1974 and 1975 and quickly became the most significant empirical-based analysis of civil litigation in the United States.

Utilizing a data base that he collected by hand in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Baltimore, Craig tested a set of hypotheses relating to civil litigation in American courts. He was developing these materials along with others for six cities into a book that would have provided the field with a still better set of data and theoretical outlines regarding civil litigation patterns and the impact of the judicial system on litigants.

Craig's interest in policy analysis led to the founding of an interdisciplinary journal, *Policy Perspectives*. Under his guid-

ance it had developed into a lively forum for debate and discussion reflecting his diverse training and research interests as well as his considerable methodological skill. His own research and publications dealt with service delivery issues and Indian policy. Indeed, he played an important role in giving organizational shape to Native American policy studies, appearing on numerous panels in this area, in which he was also undertaking research toward a book.

Those interests bridged substantive fields beyond the judicial arena, and his methodological sophistication colored his work whatever the subject. Although Craig did not publish in political theory, his work in law and policy studies led him to a consideration of philosophical issues. He was an early contributor to discussion on public policy and critical theory and his acquaintance with interpretive social theory was broad and deep. For those who knew him in that context and who appreciated his ability to coordinate policy interests with theoretical investigations, his presence will be sorely missed.

Craig was a quiet but engaging individual who contributed positively to every professional setting in which he was placed. He sometimes told war stories about the data collection for his dissertation that revealed his commitment to social re-

search at great cost to himself. As a discussant on professional panels we remember his ability to tie diverse papers together with a facility generally appreciated by the paper-givers themselves.

On other occasions, another dimension of his personality emerged, a sensibility that some might call "post-modern." In connection with both politics and contemporary culture, he had a keen appreciation of artifice and the artificial, of the "copy without an original," of the "series" that one could compile, but which could never be "fully summarized." Craig detested the mean-spirited and the fake. The rest he greeted with affirmation and joy. These qualities bound him to the wider world of his contemporaries, and made of him a person of more than professional interest.

His contributions to social research on law would have been impressive if they had been spread out over a longer period. They are stunning given the short span of his professional life. We are fortunate that his work will endure as an example to those of us who remain.

William McLaughlan  
Purdue University

Theodore M. Norton  
Hampshire College

John Brigham  
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

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## Research and Training Support

### Postdoctoral Fellowship in Political Economy

The Graduate School of Industrial Administration (GSIA) at Carnegie-Mellon University offers a postdoctoral fellowship for a researcher with a strong commitment to the use of mathematical or quantitative analysis in the study of politics and the interdependence of political and economic decision-making. Fellows are to devote a 12-month period of residence to research. There are no teaching duties. Fellows may also take advantage of GSIA's doctoral program to obtain additional training in advanced topics.

Applications are invited from recent Ph.D.s in economics, political science, or related fields. All applicants should have received the doctorate within the past four years. Special consideration will be given to scholars interested in pursuing collaborative research with GSIA faculty in studying political processes that relate to government spending and taxation and in studying legislatures and voting. A 12-month stipend, fully commensurate with an assistant professor's salary, will be provided.

Applicants may either forward a resume and a brief statement of research interests or write for further information to: Howard Rosenthal, Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA 15213. □

### American Council of Learned Societies

Applicants to the programs administered by the ACLS (with the one exception below in Chinese Studies) must be citizens or permanent residents of the

United States. Support is offered for postdoctoral humanistic research; participation in conferences abroad; and research, training, and language study on both postdoctoral and graduate levels in Chinese and East European studies. The equivalent of the doctorate is acceptable in lieu of the Ph.D. Younger scholars and independent scholars who do not hold academic appointments are strongly encouraged to apply.

Application should be made under one program only, except in the cases of Travel Grants for Humanists to International Meetings Abroad, China Conference Travel Grants, and programs for summer language study. In requesting application forms, please state: citizenship or permanent residence, highest academic degree held and date received, academic or other position, field of specialization, proposed subject of research or study, period of time for which support is requested, and the specific program under which application is contemplated. Correspondence should be directed to the Office of Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 228 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017.

### ACLS General Programs of Postdoctoral Fellowships and Grants:

*ACLS Fellowships:* for research in the humanities; research in the social sciences with a predominantly humanistic emphasis will also be considered. Deadline: September 30, 1985.

*ACLS/Ford Fellowships:* for humanistic research broadly defined on social issues that bear on (1) meanings of equality and their relationship to a socially just society; (2) intergenerational responsibility; (3) the concept of governance; (4) the cultural and philosophical assumptions

implicit in crime and punishment. Deadline: September 30, 1985.

*Research Fellowships for Recent Recipients of the Ph.D.:* for humanistic research. Deadline: September 30, 1985.

Requests for application forms for the programs above must be received by ACLS no later than September 24, 1985.

*Grants-in-Aid:* to advance significant humanistic research in progress. Deadline: December 15, 1985.

*Travel Grants:* for scholars in humanistic disciplines to participate in international meetings held outside North America. Deadline: July 1 for November-February meetings; November 1 for March-June meetings; and March 1 for July-October meetings.

#### **Area Programs Sponsored Jointly by the ACLS and the Social Science Research Council**

*Grants for China Studies:* for postdoctoral research and training in social, scientific, and humanistic aspects of China area studies. Deadline: December 2, 1985. Also, grants for intensive language training in Chinese to be undertaken during the summer of 1986 in Taipei. Deadline: February 15, 1986.

*Grants for East European Studies:* for research in the social sciences and humanities relating to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Anticipated deadline: December 2, 1985. Requests for information should be made after October 1, 1985.

*Programs Administered by the Social Science Research Council:* will include grants for postdoctoral research relating to Africa, Japan, Korea, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Near and Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. Deadline: December 1, 1985. Fellowships will also be offered for dissertation research to be carried out in Africa, Asia (except China), Latin America and the Caribbean, the Near and Middle East, and Western Europe, or for cross-area research. Deadline: November 1, 1985. If funding is available, fellowships for grad-

uate training and postdoctoral research for recent Ph.D.s in Russian and Soviet studies will be offered. Requests for information about these programs should be addressed to the Office of Fellowships and Grants, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

*Programs Administered by the International Research and Exchanges Board:* will include postdoctoral and pre-doctoral exchanges with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Yugoslavia. United States citizens whose research projects necessitate residence of two months or longer in any one of these countries must apply to IREX rather than to the ACLS. Correspondence concerning these programs should be addressed to the International Research and Exchanges Board, 655 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017. □

#### **Visiting Professorships for Women**

The newly established deadline for submitting proposals to the Visiting Professorships for Women (VPW) program of the National Science Foundation is October 1. Proposals submitted for consideration in fiscal year 1986 should be postmarked no later than October 1, 1985. The VPW Program Announcement (NSF-85-6) can be obtained from the Forms and Publications Unit, Room 232, National Science Foundation, Washington, DC 20550. For further information, contact Margrete Klein, Director, Visiting Professorships for Women Program, (202) 357-7734. □

#### **Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program, 1986-87**

The Teacher Exchange Program involves a one-on-one exchange for teachers at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels with suitable teachers overseas. The 1986-87 overseas exchange programs will involve Canada, United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Switzerland,

and possibly Italy. The number of exchanges available and the eligibility requirements vary by country.

The program also provides opportunities for teachers to participate in summer seminars from three to eight weeks in length. During the summer of 1986, seminars will be held in Italy and The Netherlands.

Applications will be available in the summer. The deadline for receipt of completed applications is October 15, 1985. For further information, write: Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program, E/ASX, United States Information Agency, 301 4th Street, S.W., Washington, DC 20547. □

### **Postdoctoral Fellows in the Humanities**

The Columbia Society of Fellows in the Humanities, with grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the William R. Kenan Trust, will appoint a number of postdoctoral fellows in the humanities for 1986-87. Fellows newly appointed for 1986-87 must have received the Ph.D. between January 1, 1984, and July 1, 1986. The stipend is \$24,500, one-half for independent research and one-half for teaching in the undergraduate program in general education. Additional funds are available in support of such needs as research materials and typing.

Application forms can be obtained by writing to the Director, Society of Fellows in the Humanities, Heyman Center for the Humanities, Box 100, Central Mail Room, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

Deadline for receipt of completed application forms is October 15, 1985. □

### **Senior Fellows in the Humanities**

The Columbia Society of Fellows in the Humanities, with a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, will appoint

two Senior Fellows in the Humanities for the academic year 1986-87.

Awards will be made to scholars of particular accomplishment and promise who have held the doctorate and who have been teaching as full-time faculty for at least five years *but have not yet received tenure*, and who have at least one significant publication to their credit. Preference will be given to candidates qualified for promotion to tenure but for whom a tenured position does not currently exist.

Senior Fellows for 1986-87 will receive a stipend of \$28,000 plus regular faculty benefits. Additional funds are available in support of such needs as research materials and typing. Senior Fellows will teach half-time in courses determined in consultation with the appropriate departments at Columbia.

Appointments as Senior Fellows in the Society will normally be renewed for a second year.

Candidates must be nominated by the chairman of their departments or of an appropriate interdepartmental committee, either at Columbia or at their present institution. Deadline: Nominations and supporting materials must be received no later than October 15, 1985.

For further information, write: The Director, Society of Fellows in the Humanities, Heyman Center for the Humanities, Box 100 Central Mail Room, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. □

### **Canadian Studies Grant Programs, 1986**

The *Canadian Studies Faculty Enrichment Program* is designed to provide faculty members with an opportunity to develop new courses or modify existing ones which will be subsequently offered as part of their regular teaching load. Courses in social sciences, humanities, law, fine arts and, in some instances, areas of natural sciences with a unique relevance to Canada, are welcomed. *Deadline for applications: October 31, 1985.*

The *Canadian Studies Senior Fellowship Award* is designed to provide senior



scholars with an opportunity to complete and publish a major study which will significantly benefit the development of Canadian studies. A limited number of fellowships are reserved by the embassy each year for academics having a lengthy track record in teaching, researching, and publishing on Canada. Preference in such instances is to fund a project once a publisher has expressed interest. *Deadline for applications: October 31, 1985.*

The *Canadian Studies Graduate Student Fellowship Program* is designed to promote research in social sciences, humanities, law, fine arts and, in some instances, natural sciences, with a view to contributing to the development of Canadian studies in the United States. The purpose of the program is to assist graduate students in offering them an opportunity to conduct part of their doctoral research in Canada. *Deadline for applications: October 31, 1985.*

The *Canadian Studies Faculty Research Grant Program* is designed to promote research in social sciences, humanities, law and fine arts, including all forms of scholarly inquiry and professional academic activities and, in some instances, areas of natural sciences with a unique relevance to Canada. The purpose of the program is to assist researchers in carrying out and reporting their studies and findings in scholarly publications with a view to contributing to the development of Canadian studies in the United States. *Deadline for applications: September 15, 1985.*

The *Canadian Studies Institutional Research Grant Program* is designed to promote research in social sciences, humanities, law, and fine arts, including all forms of scholarly inquiry and professional academic activities and, in some instances, areas of natural sciences with a unique relevance to Canada. The purpose of the program is to assist a team of researchers or an academic institution to carry out and report their studies and findings in scholarly publications with a view to contributing to the development of Canadian studies in the United States. *Deadline for applications: September 15, 1985.*

*Note:* All projects must be completed within a period of one year beginning two

months after the application deadline with the announcement of the awards. Programs are administered by the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C. Copies of the guidelines and application forms are available at the nearest Canadian consular post or the Academic Relations Office, Canadian Embassy, 1771 N Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. For more information, please call (202) 785-1400, ext. 322. □

## **Younger Scholars Program**

The National Endowment for the Humanities invites applications for Younger Scholars awards, a program for individuals to conduct research and writing projects in the humanities during the summer of 1986. Award recipients will be expected to work full-time for nine weeks during the summer, researching and writing a paper under the close supervision of a humanities scholar. No academic credit should be sought for these projects.

Applicants must be 21 years of age or under throughout the calendar year in which the application is submitted; or, if they are over 21, they must be full-time college students pursuing an undergraduate degree at the time of application.

Applicants must be U.S. citizens or foreign nationals who have lived in the United States for at least three consecutive years at the time of application. Individuals who will have received or expect to receive a bachelor's degree by October 1, 1986, are not eligible to apply.

By definition, the term *humanities* includes, but is not limited to, the study of history; philosophy; languages; linguistics; literature; archaeology; jurisprudence; the history, theory and criticism of the arts; ethics; comparative religion; and those aspects of the social sciences that employ historical or philosophical approaches.

In both subject matter and methodology, projects must be firmly grounded in one or more of the disciplines of the humanities. Also, projects must fall within one of the following three areas: (1) the inter-

pretation of cultural works; (2) the study of historical ideas, figures, and events; (3) understanding the disciplines of the humanities.

Deadline for receipt of applications is November 1, 1985.

To request guidelines and application forms for Younger Scholars awards, write: Younger Scholars Guidelines, Room 426-PS, Division of General Programs, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20506. □

### **Michigan Society of Fellows**

The Society will offer three-year post-doctoral fellowships at the University of Michigan to begin September 1986. Four fellowships will be awarded.

The purpose is to encourage outstanding achievement in the arts, sciences, and professions by supporting individuals selected for academic/creative excellence and professional promise. The fields of study include all departments and schools at the university.

Candidates should be at the beginning of their professional careers, not more than three years beyond completion of their degrees. The Ph.D. or comparable professional degree, received prior to appointment, is required.

Fellows are appointed with departmental affiliation as assistant professors/post-doctoral scholars. One-third salary and time support departmental teaching; the balance is devoted to independent research.

Yearly stipend/salary is \$18,000 with anticipated annual increments plus faculty benefits.

The deadline for applications is November 14, 1985.

Address inquiries and requests for application materials to: Michigan Society of Fellows, 3030 Rackham Building, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. Phone: (313) 763-1259. □

### **German Marshall Fund**

The German Marshall Fund of the United States makes awards to approximately 12 scholars annually for research on significant contemporary economic, political, and social developments involving the United States and Europe. The application deadline for the 1986 research fellowships is November 30, 1985, with awards to be announced in mid-March 1986. Further information can be obtained by writing to: The German Marshall Fund of the United States, 11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Phone: (202) 745-3950. □

### **Advanced Social Science Research**

The Institute for Advanced Study announces awards for postdoctoral research fellowships in the School of Social Science for 1986-87. Each year, the School of Social Science includes as visiting members some 15 scholars who constitute a genuinely interdisciplinary and international group. Members are expected to pursue only their own research, but the school organizes a weekly seminar at which members as well as invited guests present their ongoing work. Although the school is not wedded to any particular approach, it encourages social science with an historical and humanistic bent. Application forms should be obtained from and sent directly to the School of Social Science, Institute for Advanced Study, Olden Lane, Princeton, NJ 08540. Application deadline: December 1, 1985. □

### **Robert Wood Johnson Foundation**

Applications are being sought for the third round (academic year 1986-87) of appointments to be made under the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Pro-

gram for Faculty Fellowships in Health Care Finance. The fellowships offer a year of advanced training and field experience in health care finance followed by up to \$15,000 in support of a related research project. They are open to faculty in university programs and departments where there is a strong health care finance and health policy focus, as well as to individuals in health-related disciplines who would like to begin academic careers in health care finance, e.g., public health, health or hospital administration, public policy, public administration, law, business, political science, economics, or medicine.

Fellowships begin in September at the Johns Hopkins Center for Hospital Finance and Management with an intensive four-month exposure to the latest innovations in health care finance and an examination of related issues. Faculty for the didactic portion of the program will be drawn from leading scholars and practitioners around the country. During the following eight months, fellows will have a structured field and research experience in either a public or private health care financing organization, hospital, or alternative delivery system. Fellows are eligible to receive \$15,000 in support of a related research project upon completion of the fellowship.

The deadline for applications to the 1986-87 round of the program is January 20, 1986. For more information and application materials contact Carl J. Schramm, program director, at (301) 955-8316. □

### **Herbert Hoover Scholars**

The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Inc., a charitable and educational foundation funded entirely through gifts from private individuals and organizations, is pleased to announce its eighth annual Hoover Presidential Fellowship and Grant competition.

Under the program, the Association offers research support on a competitive basis to scholars and others conducting original investigations into the personal and public careers of President Herbert

Hoover, and into national public policy during the Hoover Period, 1921-33. Awards range to a maximum of \$10,000 annually and are renewable through re-application. Priority is given projects that utilize the primary historical resources of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, and that have the highest probability for publication and subsequent discussion among educators, policymakers, etc. Selection is by a committee of independent historians familiar with the existing historiography of the period. Information and application materials for the coming year are available each preceding September 1. Deadline for receipt of applications is the following January 31. To obtain all necessary documents, write: Chairman, Fellowship and Grant Committee, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Inc., P.O. Box 696, West Branch, IA 53258; or call (319) 643-5327. □

### **American Antiquarian Society**

The American Antiquarian Society is the first historical society to be national in the scope of its collections, and serves a worldwide community of scholars and researchers. Its library holds over two-thirds of all material known to have been printed in this country before the year 1821, and is preeminent through 1876. Each year several fellowships are awarded to scholars to work in the field of early American history and culture at the library. Two of the fellowships provide up to 12 months' support. The others support one to three months' research.

The next deadline for applications is January 31, 1986. Inquiries should be addressed to John B. Hench, Associate Director, Research and Publication, American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury Street, Worcester, MA 01609-1634. □

### **Research on Poverty**

The Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin, in associa-

## Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers

### Calendar of Key Meetings of International, National and Regional Political Science Associations

Association	Date	Meeting Place
APSA	August 29-September 1, 1985	New Orleans Hilton New Orleans, LA
IPSA	1988	Washington, DC
Midwest	April 10-12, 1986 April 9-11, 1987	Palmer House, Chicago, IL
Northeastern	November 14-16, 1985	Sheraton University Hotel Philadelphia, PA
Southern	November 7-9, 1985	Opryland Hotel, Nashville, TN
Southwestern	March 19-22, 1986 March 18-21, 1987	Menger Hotel Convention Center, San Antonio, TX Dallas Hilton, Dallas, TX
Western	March 20-22, 1986	Hilton Hotel, Eugene, OR

### International Development Foundation

Two professional development workshops are being planned by the International Development Foundation:

Consultancy in International Education, Washington, D.C., August 29-30, 1985; and Multinationals in International Development, Palm Beach, September 20-22, 1985. The workshops are limited to 25 participants.

To register, write to: Mekki Mtewa, Chairman, International Development Foundation, P.O. Box 24234, Washington, DC 20024. □

for commissioned papers on relevant topics and (2) information on relevant papers already presented or published; or to be presented or published. Papers in both categories are to be included in a special issue of a scientific journal or a separate published report. Proposals should be submitted no later than August 31, 1985.

For further information, please write or telephone Eric Stover at AAAS, Clearinghouse on Science and Human Rights, 1515 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20005; (202) 467-5237. □

### Statistics and Human Rights

The American Association for the Advancement of Science is undertaking a study of how statistical techniques can be used to improve human rights reporting and analysis. The AAAS project director, Eric Stover, is seeking (1) proposals

### International Development and Alternative Futures

The Association for the Advancement of Policy, Research and Development in the Third World is planning a conference on "International Development and Alternative Futures: The Coming Challenges," from September 18-21, 1985, at the

Hyatt Palm Beach, Florida. Roundtables include Africa, Asia/Southeast Asia, Inter-American Affairs, and the Middle East.

For more information write to the Association at P.O. Box 24234, Washington, DC 20024. Phone: (202) 639-6165. □

### **Asian and Pacific Americans in the 1980s**

The Minority Rights Group (New York), Inc. announces the conference, "Perceptions, Policies, and Practices: Asian and Pacific Americans in the 1980s," which will take place at Columbia University, October 4-5, 1985. This meeting will be co-sponsored by the Immigration Research Program, Center for the Social Sciences, Columbia University. The conference will focus on Asian American policy issues in the areas of civil rights, education, employment, immigration, and social policy. A distinguished civil rights panel will feature the following speakers and topics: William Marutani—Historical Perspectives of Asian American Rights; Dale Minami—Koreans Case and Japanese American Civil Rights Violations during World War II; Benjamin Gim—Status of Immigrant Rights under United States Law; Jim Shimoura—Vincent Chin Civil Rights Case; Ronald Takaki—Roots of Anti-Asian Violence. Chair: Setsuko Nishi, New York State Advisory Committee, United States Commission on Civil Rights. For information, write to: Asian and Pacific American Project, Minority Rights Group, P.O. Box 6140, Hamden, CT 06517. □

### **European Studies Conference**

The Tenth Annual European Studies Conference, sponsored by the University of Nebraska at Omaha, will be held on October 10-12, 1985, at the university. The conference is an interdisciplinary meeting with sessions devoted to the scholarly exchange of information, research methodologies, and pedagogical approaches.

Those interested in participating should contact Peter Suzuki, Conference Coor-

inator, Public Administration Department, or Louise Morgan, Conference Secretary, College of Continuing Studies, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182. Phone: (402) 554-2958 and (402) 554-2391. □

### **Technology and the Liberal Arts**

Colgate University and Hobart and William Smith Colleges are jointly sponsoring a symposium on technology and the liberal arts, "Space Colonization," October 11-12, 1985, in Geneva, New York. Papers are requested from social scientists, humanists, physical scientists, and engineers.

Contact: Gordon F. Sutton, Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003. Phone: (414) 545-3460. □

### **Carolinas Symposium on British Studies**

The 12th annual Carolinas Symposium on British Studies will be held at East Tennessee State University on October 12-13, 1985. The symposium provides an annual forum for the delivery of scholarly presentations and the exchange of ideas relating to all aspects of British studies.

While the symposium is regionally based in the Southeast, participants are welcome from all parts of the country. The program committee invites proposals for individual papers, full sessions, and panel discussions. Proposals should be sent by April 15, 1985, to James H. McGavran, Jr., Department of English, UNCC, Charlotte, NC 28223.

A \$100 prize will be awarded for the best paper from among those read at the symposium and submitted to the evaluation committee by the following May. □

## **Ethics, Government and Public Policy**

Papers are being sought for *Ethics, Government and Public Policy: An Anthology of Original Essays*, edited by James S. Bowman and Frederick A. Elliston. The collection is intended to analyze ethical issues in government from three complementary perspectives: that of individual government officials; policymakers and administrators; and citizens and citizen groups in society at large. The first of these can include topics such as codes of ethics, conflict of interest, whistleblowing, public vs. private life, deception by government agents, and sexual harassment. Possible topics for the second section include equal employment opportunity, comparable worth, campaign financing, cost-benefit analyses, risk assessment, regulatory mechanisms, and distributive justice. The last section will focus on public interest groups, the right to privacy, representative bureaucracy, the ombudsman, paternalistic legislation, community response to fraud and waste, and public confidence in democracy.

Outlines and proposals are due by October 15, 1985. Complete manuscripts should be submitted by May 30, 1986. Inquiries are welcome from philosophers, political scientists, and other specialists. They should be sent to: James Bowman, Public Administration, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306, or Frederick Elliston, Philosophy Department, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822. □

## **Evaluation Research Society**

The annual meeting of the Evaluation Research Society will be held October 17-19, 1985, at the Westin Hotel, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The Society is an international organization whose purpose is to improve the theory and practice of program policy evaluation.

For meeting information contact: Leonard Bickman, Vanderbilt University, Peabody College, Box 59, Nashville, TN 37203. □

## **Conference of Europeanists**

The Fifth International Conference of Europeanists will be held at the Georgetown Hotel in Washington, D.C., October 18-20, 1985. A copy of the preliminary program can be obtained by writing to the Council for European Studies, 1509 International Affairs Building, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. Following is a listing of panel titles:

### **October 18, 3-6 p.m.**

Alternative Futures for European Security: Coping with Strains in Values, Structures and Resources in the Alliance.

Institutionalizing Social Choice.

Recent European Economic Policies: An Evaluation.

Class Formation, Working-Class Consciousness and the French State.

Politics, Economic Ideology and Economic Policy.

### **October 19, 9 a.m. to 12 noon**

Euromissiles, Euromovements and Euroconsciousness.

Representations of Rural Life and Regional Identity: Ethnographic Analysis in Contemporary France.

Economic and Political Uncertainty and Economic Performance.

Changing Systems of Representation: Contemporary Social Movements.

Volatility and Dealignment in European Party Systems.

### **October 19, 1-3:45 p.m.**

The Socialist Government of Spain at Three Years: Patterns of Change and Continuity.

Austerity Left and Right: Is There a Difference?

Political Implications of Changing Values: The Case of West Germany.

Changing Workers, Changing Workplace.

The Impact of the Changing Labor Force on Higher Education: A Comparative Perspective.

## **Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers**

### **October 19, 4-6:30 p.m.**

Modified Biographies, Refashioned Identities, and Changing State Policies.

The Veil of Ignorance at Our Backs: Where Can the Nordic Welfare States Go?

Testing Socialism and Democracy: Germany 1914-1933.

Redefining Trade Unionism in Crisis.

Consciousness, Work and "Post-Industrialism": European Engineers Compared.

### **October 20, 9 a.m.-12 noon**

Has European Integration Failed?

Old and New Movements in Italy Since the 'Sixties.

Economic Change, Division of Labor and Gender Identity.

Resisting Radical Reform: Dynamics of Opposition in Thatcher's Britain and Mitterrand's France.

Efficiency and Welfare.

### **October 20, 1-3:45 p.m.**

The Crisis of the Nation State: Decomposition from Above and from Below?

Beyond Social Democracy.

New Myths or New Realities in Economic Redevelopment.

Corporatism and Theories of the State. □

## **Public Policy Research Conference**

The Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) will hold its 7th annual Research Conference at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. on October 24-26, 1985. The goals of the conference are to provide a forum for presentation and discussion of significant research on policy analysis and public management; to disseminate new ideas and research findings to other investigators, practitioners, government officials, and the general public; and to encourage the productive exchange of ideas, perspectives, and information between academics and practitioners.

The program for the 1985 Research Conference is being organized by Laurence E. Lynn, Jr. (University of Chicago), with help from Charles Wolf, Jr. (Rand Graduate Institute), Robert D. Reischauer (The Urban Institute), and Janet Weiss (University of Michigan). For information, write: Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 969 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637.

For information regarding APPAM membership, write APPAM, c/o Institute of Policy Sciences, 4875 Duke Station, Durham, NC 27706. □

## **International Studies Association-Midwest**

The annual conference of the International Studies Association-Midwest will be held on November 15-16, 1985, at the Water Tower Campus of Loyola University of Chicago. Proposals for entire panels or individual papers, and offers to serve as panel chairpersons or discussants, are welcomed. For information, contact the program chairperson, Vincent A. Mahler, Department of Political Science, Loyola University of Chicago, 6525 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626; (312) 508-3067. □

## **Social Scientists in Health**

The Association for Social Scientists in Health (ASSH) will sponsor its ninth program of invited and contributed papers at the American Public Health Association's 113th Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C., from November 17-21, 1985.

ASSH is an interdisciplinary group of social scientists who apply their professional training and expertise to the research and understanding of problems and public policies in the health field.

Information on registration for the meeting can be obtained from the American Public Health Association, 1015 15th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20005. □

## **American Politics Group of Great Britain**

The American Politics Group will hold its 1985-86 Annual Conference at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, from January 3-5, 1986.

Those interested in presenting papers or acting as a discussant should write to Miss G. R. Peele, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford OX2 6QA, England, as soon as possible. □

## **Georgia Political Science Association**

Those wishing to submit papers for the annual meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association should write to Loren P. Beth, Department of Political Science, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602, by September 1, 1985. The meeting will be held February 7-8, 1986, in Atlanta, GA. □

## **20th Century Literature**

The 14th annual Twentieth-Century Literature Conference will be held at the University of Louisville, Department of Modern and Classical Languages, on February 26-28, 1986. Every submission must pertain to the theme of "Literature and the Other Arts" and must not exceed ten typed, double-spaced pages. Critical papers previously read at other conferences or previously published cannot be accepted. Creative submissions may come from published or unpublished work.

For further details, contact Elizabeth B. Clay, Conference Chair, Department of Classical and Modern Languages, University of Louisville, Louisville, KY 40292. Phone: (502) 588-6683. □

## **International Studies Association**

A \$500 award will be presented in 1986 for the most useful paper on agriculture

as international business: how to educate for it, with special reference to optimum land use in LDCs and Third World countries. A student paper award of \$100 will also be made. The deadline for each paper is March 1, 1986. Contact the Working Group on Lifelong Learning, ISA International Education Section, Elliott P. Fagerberg, Executive Director, Institut Universitaire du Hautes Etudes Internationales, 132 rue de Lausanne, CM 1211 Geneve 21, Switzerland.

For details, contact the co-chairmen: Robert W. Hattery, Division of Continuing Education, School of Continuing Studies, Owen Hall 201, Bloomington, IN 47405, or Eve Lewis, Lowcountry International Trade Association, 40 South Battery, Charleston, SC 29401. □

## **Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics**

Scholars interested in participating in the Fifth Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics are invited to submit titles and brief descriptions (statement of purpose, central thesis, hypotheses, nature of data) of prospective papers on any aspect of the contemporary politics of the South. The conference is sponsored by the Department of Political Science at The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, and will be held on March 6-7, 1986. As with previous symposia, papers will be reviewed for possible publication.

Proposals for papers will be accepted through October 30, 1985, and all who have submitted proposals will be notified about the final program arrangements no later than November 15, 1985. Persons wishing to participate as panel discussants should also reply by October 15, 1985. Please direct all correspondence to The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, c/o Robert P. Steed, Department of Political Science, The Citadel, Charleston, SC 29409. Phone: (803) 792-6884. □



## **Mass Media and Congressional Elections**

The Department of Political Science at Nebraska Wesleyan University will host the Griswold-E.C. Ames Conference on the Mass Media and Congressional Elections on March 7 and 8, 1986, in Lincoln, Nebraska. Scholars conducting research in this field are invited to submit papers for presentation at the conference. A small honorarium will be provided to those invited to present papers, and publication of the contributions is being arranged. Abstracts should be submitted by October 31, 1985. Further information and suggestions for possible topics can be obtained from Jan P. Vermeer, Department of Political Science, Nebraska Wesleyan University, 5000 St. Paul Street, Lincoln, NE 68504. Phone: (402) 465-2436. □

## **Southwestern Political Science Association**

The 1986 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association will be held in conjunction with the Southwestern Social Science Association on March 19-22 at the Menger Hotel-Convention Center in San Antonio, Texas. The general theme of the meeting is "Human Rights and the Quality of Life."

Individuals wishing to present papers or organize panels on either the general theme or on other topics in political science should send a proposal to the appropriate section chair listed below with a one-page summary of the proposed research paper. Individuals wishing to serve as panel discussants or chairpersons should contact the appropriate section chair.

The deadline for submission of panel or paper proposals and discussant or chair requests is October 15, 1985.

The sections and chairpersons for the 1986 SWPSA meeting are:

*Political Theory:* Calvin C. Jillson, Department of Political Science, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803; (504) 388-2142.

*Mass Political Behavior:* Robert L. Savage, Department of Political Science, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR 72701; (501) 575-3356.

*International Relations and Politics:* Richard J. Stoll, Department of Political Science, Rice University, P.O. Box 1892, Houston, TX 77251; (713) 527-4842.

*Comparative Government and Politics:* Robert Harmel, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843; (409) 845-5124.

*Judicial Politics and Public Law:* James Gibson, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, Houston, TX 77004; (713) 749-4322.

*Legislative and Executive Politics:* Lyn Ragsdale, Department of Political Science, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721; (602) 621-7600.

*Federalism/Intergovernmental Relations:* Charles W. Wiggins, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843; (409) 845-8235.

*State and Local Politics:* Elaine Sharp, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas, 504 Blake Hall, Lawrence, KS 66045; (913) 684-3701.

*Political Methodology:* Marilyn K. Dantico, Department of Political Science, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287; (602) 965-2358.

*Public Administration:* Roby Robertson, Department of Political Science and Criminal Justice, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Little Rock, AR 72204; (501) 569-3331.

*Public Policy:* Jill Clark, Department of Political Science, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX 76019; (817) 273-2991.

*Gender and Ethnicity:* Huey L. Perry, Department of Political Science, Southern University, Baton Rouge, LA 70813; (504) 771-3210.

For general information or if in doubt about where to refer a proposal, contact Keith E. Hamm, Vice President and Program Chair SWPSA, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, Col-

lege Station, TX 77843-4348; (409) 845-5623 or 845-2511. ☐ Charles Kargleder, Department of Languages, Spring Hill College, Mobile, AL 36608. Information regarding local arrangements may be obtained from Joseph Arbena, Department of History, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 29631. ☐

### **Western Political Science Association**

The 1986 meeting of the association has been scheduled for March 20-22, 1986, at the Eugene Hilton Hotel in Eugene, Oregon. The local arrangements chair is Thomas Hovet, Department of Political Science, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97405. Phone: (503) 686-4864.

All those wishing to be considered as section chairs, panel chairs, paper presenters, discussants and roundtable or workshop organizers should communicate this information as soon as possible to Judith Stiehm, Vice Provost, Administration 102, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089. Phone: (213) 743-3331. ☐

### **Association for Asian Studies**

The 38th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies will be held at the Chicago Hilton and Towers in Chicago from March 21-23, 1986. The deadline for receipt of panel and paper proposals is August 2, 1985.

The contact person for the meeting is Robert O. Tilman, P.O. Box 5036, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC 27650. ☐

### **Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies**

The Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies (SECOLAS) will hold its 1986 meeting at Clemson University, April 3-5, 1986. The theme is "City and Country in Latin America: The Implications of Change." Proposals for panels, individual papers, and commentators in all disciplines are invited.

Please send proposals by October 15, 1985, to George Bowdler, Political Science Department, University of South Carolina at Aiken, Aiken, SC 29801, and

### **12th Annual Third World Conference**

The Third World Conference Foundation invites participation in the 12th Annual Third World Conference, April 3-5, 1986, at the Hotel Continental, Chicago, Illinois. This is an interdisciplinary conference organized around the theme, "Peace and Mutual Cooperation as Tools to Aid Third World Development and Global Interdependence."

Papers of publishable quality and panels that address the following areas of inquiry will be given primary consideration: National and Regional Developmental Strategies; Intra-Third World Social and Political Change; International Migration; Third World Refugee Movements; Militarism and Destabilization of Third World States; Third World Debt; Unemployment and Labor Force Participation; Women and Development; Agricultural, Industrial and Technological Development; Education Development and Policy; Developmental Insights from Third World Literature and Arts; and Media Coverage of Third World Issues. This list is not exhaustive and other significant contemporary issues, problems, or themes will also be considered by the Conference Planning Committee.

Abstracts of original papers or proposals for panels will be accepted through December 1, 1985. Panel proposals should include names and institutional affiliations of all participants and discussants. If you are interested in presenting a paper, organizing a panel, or serving as a panel chairperson or discussant, please contact: Janice Monti-Belkaoui, Associate Professor of Sociology, Rosary College, 7900 West Division Street, River Forest, IL 60305; (312) 366-2940; or Roger K. Oden, President, Third World Conference Foundation, P.O. Box

53110, Chicago, IL 60653; (312) 241-6688. □

## New York State Political Science Association

The 1985 meeting of the New York State Political Science Association was held on April 26-27 in New York City. The conference consisted of 24 panels involving all major fields of the discipline. The 1986 meeting will be held in Albany on April 4-5. The officers, program committee, and list of sections are as follows:

*President:* Charles Lamb, Department of Political Science, SUNY-Buffalo, Buffalo, NY 14260.

*Vice President and Program Chair:* Sondra Farganis, Department of Sociology, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601.

*Secretary-Treasurer:* Regina Axelrod, Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Adelphi University, Garden City, NY 11530.

*American Government:* John White, Department of Political Science, SUNY-Potsdam, Potsdam, NY 13676.

*Comparative Politics:* Marilyn Baissa, Division of Behavioral Studies, Utica College of Syracuse University, Utica, NY 13502.

*International Relations:* Sondra Farganis, Department of Sociology, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601.

*Judicial Process and Public Law:* Stephen Wasby, Department of Political Science, SUNY-Albany, Albany, NY 12222.

*New York-Canada Study Group:* Martin Lubin, Department of Political Science, SUNY-Plattsburgh, Plattsburgh, NY 12901.

*Political Theory:* John Harman, Department of Political Science, St. John Fisher College, Rochester, NY 14618.

*Public Administration:* Phillip Cooper, Department of Political Science, SUNY-Albany, Albany, NY 12222.

*Public Policy:* Lotte Feinberg, Department of Political Science, John Jay College,

CUNY, 455 West 59th Street, New York, NY 10019.

*State and Local:* Alice Sardell, Department of Urban Studies, Queens College, CUNY, Flushing, NY 11367.

*Teaching and Learning:* Steven Peterson, Department of Political Science, Alfred University, Alfred, NY 14802.

Those who wish to present a paper, chair a panel, serve as a discussant, or offer program suggestions should contact the appropriate section chair above. To receive full consideration, such communications should be received no later than October 15, 1985, for the 1986 meeting. □

## Midwest Political Science Association

The 1986 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association will be held in Chicago, Illinois, at the Palmer House, from April 10-12, 1986.

### Program Chair

Edward A. Kolodziej, Director, Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security (ACDIS), 330 Davenport Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801. Office: (217) 333-7086/3880; home: (217) 356-1734.

### Section Heads

*Political Attitudes, Behavior, and Psychology.* Edward Carmines, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405; (812) 335-1208.

*Parties and Elections.* Ruth Jones, Department of Political Science, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287; (602) 965-6551.

*Political Executives/Administrative Processes.* Bert Rockman, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; (412) 624-3708 or (412) 624-5501.

*Legislative Politics.* Joel D. Aberbach, Institute of Public Policy Studies, 1516

Rackham, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1070; (313) 763-4212 or (313) 764-3490.

*Judicial Process and Public Law.* Peter Nardulli, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1201 W. Nevada, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801; (217) 333-3340.

*State/Local/Urban/Intergovernmental.* Susan MacManus, College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University, 1983 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, OH 44115; (216) 687-2106.

*Gender, Race, and Ethnicity.* Virginia Sapiro, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, 110 North Hall, Madison, WI 53706; (608) 263-2414.

*Political Economy.* John Freeman, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1414 Social Science, 267 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455; (612) 373-2651/4610.

*Public Policy.* Carl Van Horn, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Wood Lawn Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901; (201) 932-9261.

*Comparative Politics (Industrial Nations).* Ronald Francisco, Department of Political Science, 504 Blake Hall, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045; (913) 864-3523.

*Comparative Politics (Developing Nations).* Frank Tachau, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago, Box 4348, Chicago, IL 60680; (312) 996-3105.

*International Politics.* Manus Midlarsky,

Center for International Relations, University of Colorado, 101/102 Hale, Campus Box 269, Boulder, CO 80309; (303) 492-5200.

*Foreign Policy and Strategic Analysis.* James Stegenga, Department of Political Science, Purdue University, Recitation Building, West Lafayette, IN 47907; (317) 494-4133.

*Normative Political Theory.* James Wiser, Department of Political Science, Loyola University, 6525 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626; (312) 508-3047.

*Analytic Theory and Methods.* Philip Schrod, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Scott Hall, 1890 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60201; (312) 492-7450. □

## **LBJ: A Texan in Washington**

The Fifth Annual Presidential Conference, a retrospective on Lyndon Baines Johnson, will be held April 10-12, 1986, at Hofstra University. The Conference Committee welcomes papers dealing with the life, career, and presidency of L. B. Johnson. They are interested in papers from the perspective of such fields as political science, history, economics, international affairs, the arts, journalism, business, law, public administration, and science. November 1, 1985, is the deadline for completed papers.

For further information, contact Natalie Datlof and Alexej Ugrinsky, Conference Coordinators, Hofstra University Cultural

## **LOCATION OF FUTURE ANNUAL MEETINGS**

Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association are scheduled to take place on the following dates and in the following cities:

August 29-September 1, 1985 in New Orleans, Louisiana  
August 28-31, 1986 in Washington, D.C.  
September 3-6, 1987 in Chicago, Illinois  
September 1-4, 1988 in Washington, D.C.  
August 31-September 3, 1989 in Atlanta, Georgia

Center, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY 11550. Phone: (516) 560-5669, 5670. □

departments, and institutional affiliations of all proposed participants. Panels may include roundtable discussions. Proposals should be received no later than November 1, 1985. □

### **Social Science History Association**

The 11th annual meeting of the Social Science History Association will be held October 16-19, 1986, at St. Louis, Missouri. Those wishing to participate or offer suggestions for the program should contact Program Committee Chair: Richard Steckel, Department of Economics, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH 43210. Phone: (614) 422-5008, office: (614) 422-6701; or Secretary or Co-Chair: D'Ann Campbell, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. Phone: (812) 335-3849, office. Papers and panel proposals should include a short description of the papers and the names,

### **C. G. Jung and the Humanities**

An international interdisciplinary conference to assess Jung's influence on the humanities and the arts will be held November 24-26, 1986, at Hofstra University. Papers are welcomed on Jung's work and theory as it has influenced a broad range of disciplines, primarily literature, art, music, mythology, anthropology, philosophy, theology, sociology, political science and physics. The deadline for completed papers is April 1, 1986.

For further information, contact Karin Barnaby, Conference Coordinator, Hofstra University Cultural Center, Hempstead, NY 11550. Phone: (516) 560-5669, 5670. □

## **CALL FOR PAPERS**

### **FIFTH ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL CONFERENCE**

## **LYNDON B. JOHNSON**

### *A Texan in Washington*

**THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY  
APRIL 10, 11, 12, 1986**

The Conference Committee welcomes papers dealing with the life, career, and Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson. We are eager to have papers from the perspective of such fields as: Political Science, History, Economics, International Affairs, The Arts, Journalism, Business, Law, Public Administration, and Science.

*In cooperation with the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas*



# **HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY**

HEMPSTEAD, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK 11550



Photograph, Lyndon, Richard Harwood and Haynes Johnson  
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, NY

#### **CONFERENCE CO-DIRECTORS:**

Robert C. Vogt, Dean, Hofstra College of Liberal Arts and Sciences  
Bernard J. Firestone, Assistant Professor Political Science

#### **DEADLINE FOR COMPLETED PAPERS:**

December 1, 1985. Papers are not to exceed 20 minutes presentation time. Papers and one-page abstracts must be submitted in duplicate. Selected papers will be published.

#### **FOR INFORMATION:**

Natalie Datlof & Alexej Ugrinsky  
Conference Coordinators  
Hofstra University Cultural Center (HUCC)  
Hofstra University  
Hempstead, NY 11550  
(516) 560-5669, 5670

## Calendar of Events for Conferences Listed in This Issue of *PS*

Date	Event
<b>1985</b>	
<b>August</b>	
29-30	International Development Foundation Workshop
<b>September</b>	
18-21	International Development and Alternative Futures: The Coming Challenges
<b>October</b>	
4-5	Asian and Pacific Americans in the 1980s
10-12	Tenth Annual European Studies Conference
11-12	Space Colonization
12-13	Twelfth Annual Carolinas Symposium on British Studies
17-19	Evaluation Research Society
18-20	Fifth International Conference of Europeanists
24-26	Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management
<b>November</b>	
15-16	Annual Conference of the International Studies Association-Midwest
17-21	Association for Social Scientists in Health
<b>1986</b>	
<b>January</b>	
3-5	Annual Conference of American Politics Group of Great Britain
<b>February</b>	
7-8	Georgia Political Science Association
26-28	14th Annual Twentieth-Century Literature Conference
<b>March</b>	
6-7	Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics
7-8	Mass Media and Congressional Elections
19-22	Southwestern Political Science Association
20-22	Western Political Science Association
21-23	38th Annual Meeting of Association for Asian Studies
<b>April</b>	
3-5	Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies
3-5	Twelfth Annual Third World Conference
4-5	New York State Political Science Association
10-12	Midwest Political Science Association
10-12	Fifth Annual Presidential Conference
<b>October</b>	
16-19	Eleventh Annual Meeting of Social Science History Association
<b>November</b>	
24-26	C. G. Jung and the Humanities

# **International Political Science**

## **Microfiche Edition of Papers Presented at XIIIth World Congress**

The approximately 600 papers presented at the XIIIth triennial World Congress of the International Political Science Association held in Paris, France, July 15-20, 1985, can be delivered to you in microfiche form by December 1985. The theme of the conference was "The Changing State and Its Interaction with National and International Society."

Orders received prior to October 1, 1985, will be charged a special reduced price of \$180 US for IPSA associate members and \$250 US for nonmembers; after October 1, prices will be \$210 US for members and \$280 US for nonmembers.

This is the fourth in a microfiche series of congress paper sets to be reproduced in this form. The first, second, and third series are still available upon request to the IPSA Secretariat: Edinburgh (1976) —\$68 US for associate members, \$85 US for nonmembers; Moscow (1979)—\$85 US for associate members, \$100 US for nonmembers; Rio de Janeiro (1982)—\$165 US for associate members, \$200 US for nonmembers.

## **Specifications for XIII Congress Papers:**

- Over 600 papers averaging 25 to 30 pages in length;
- English and French texts (approximately 90 percent English);
- Approximately 400 106 mm X 148 mm microfiche to a set;
- Last paper on each fiche is complete;
- Each series of fiches is mailed in a shipping container;
- Complete index provided both on paper and at the beginning of the microfiche set;
- A book of the abstracts of the papers will be sent in paper form;
- Mailing early December.

Orders should be accompanied by checks and sent to: Liette Boucher, International Political Science Association Secretariat, c/o University of Ottawa, Ottawa, K1N 6N5, Canada.

For further information contact Liette Boucher at (613) 231-5818. □

## Summer Features

### Area Studies Organizations

\*Information on these area studies organizations is from the summer 1984 edition of *PS*.

Organizations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION 255 Kinsey Hall 405 Hilgard Ave., UCLA, Los Angeles, California 90024 (213) 206-8011	Executive Secretary: Donald J. Cosentino President: Robert J. Cummings, Howard University Vice-President (President-Elect): Gerald J. Bender, University of Southern California Treasurer: Richard L. Sklar, UCLA	Issue: A Journal of Opinion (occasional) African Studies Review (quarterly) African Studies Association News (quarterly) History in Africa Studies Association	28th Annual Meeting: Nov. 23-26, 1985 New Orleans Hyatt Regency (joint meeting with Middle East  29th Annual Meeting: Oct. 29-Nov. 2, 1986 Capitol Concourse Hotel, Madison, WI
ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES, INC. 1 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109	President: Frank H. Golay, Cornell University Vice President: Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, University of Chicago Secretary-Treasurer: Russell Fifield, University of Michigan	Journal of Asian Studies (quarterly), Barbara D. Metcalf, University of California-Berkeley, Editor Bibliography of Asian Studies (annually) Estrella Bryant, Editor Monographs, Occasional Papers, and Reference Series, Frank Reynolds, Ronald Inden and Anthony Yu, University of Chicago, Co-Editors Asian Studies Newsletter (5 times a year), Editorial Staff, AAS Secretariat Doctoral Dissertations on Asia, Frank Joseph Shulman, Editor	Philadelphia, PA 1985  Chicago, IL Mar. 21-23, 1986  Boston, MA April 10-12, 1987
*COMMITTEE ON ATLANTIC STUDIES 1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006	Chairman: Robert J. Lieber Vice Chairmen: James Caporaso and Robert Jackson Secretary: Charles R. Foster, CAS	Annual Conference Proceedings in book form, Praeger Publishers	
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF BALTIC STUDIES, INC. 231 Miller Road, Mahwah, New Jersey 07430	President: Vaira Vikis-Freibergs, Universite de Montreal President-Elect: Rein Taagepera, University of California-Irvine Vice President, Conferences: Valters Nollendorfs, University of	Journal of Baltic Studies (quarterly), Toivo U. Raun, California State University, Editor AABS Newsletter (quarterly), Yana Okolo-Kulaks, Editor	University of Wisconsin-Madison May 30-June 1, 1986



Organizations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
	<p>Wisconsin-Madison Vice President, Publications: Tonu Parming, University of Maryland</p> <p>Vice President, Membership and Association Development: Rimvydas Silbajoris, Ohio State University</p> <p>Secretary-Treasurer: Janis Penikis, Indiana University-South Bend</p> <p>Director-at-Large: William R. Schmalstieg, Pennsylvania State University</p> <p>Executive Director: Janis Gaigulis</p>		
BRITISH POLITICS GROUP 503 Ross Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011	<p>President: James Alt, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri</p> <p>Secretary: Jorgen Rasmussen, Iowa State University</p>	<p>Newsletter Research Register Annotated Bibliography</p>	<p>New Orleans, LA August 29-September 1, 1985</p>
THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES One Dupont Circle, Suite 620, Washington, D.C. 20036	<p>President: Peter Karl Kresl, Bucknell University</p> <p>Vice-President: Richard Beach, SUNY, Plattsburgh</p> <p>Executive Officer: Ellen R. Babby</p>	<p>American Review of Canadian Studies (4 per year), William Metcalfe, University of Vermont</p> <p>Editor Canadian Studies Update (biannual newsletter)</p>	<p>Biennial meeting: Franklin Plaza Hotel, Philadelphia, PA September 19-21, 1985</p>
CARIBBEAN INSTITUTE AND STUDY CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICA (CISCLA) Inter American University of Puerto Rico, San German, Puerto Rico 00753	<p>Director: Jorge Heine</p> <p>Secretary: Sylvia Fitzmaurice</p>	<p>Newsletter: CISCLA Reports (English) CISCLA Informa (Spanish) Working Papers Series</p>	
CARIBBEAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION GPO Box 3682, San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936	<p>President: Fuat M. Andic</p> <p>Vice President: Vera Rubin</p> <p>Secretary-Treasurer &amp; Program Chairman: Angel Calderon-Cruz</p>	<p>CSA Newsletter, quarterly, Alma H. Young, Editor</p>	<p>1986 Annual Conference Caracas, Venezuela May 1986</p>
CENTER FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES Harvard University, 5 Bryant Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138	<p>Acting Chairman: Stanley Hoffmann</p> <p>Director: Guido Goldman</p> <p>Assistant Director: Abby Collins</p>	<p>Newsletters: French Politics and Society, Stanley Hoffman and George Ross, Editors German Studies, Guido Goldman, James Cooney, Lily Feldman, Editors</p>	
COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES 1509 International Affairs, Columbia University, New York,	<p>Chairpersons: Raymond Grew, University of Michigan; and Allan Silver, Columbia University</p>	<p>European Studies Newsletter (bi-monthly) Fellowship Guide for Western Europe (1981 edition)</p>	<p>Washington, D.C. October 18-20, 1985</p>

Organizations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
New York 10027	Exec. Director: Ioannis Sinanoglou, Columbia University	Libraries and Archives in France: A Research Handbook Libraries and Archives in Germany: A Research Handbook Libraries and Archives in Italy Research Resources: The European Community	
CONFERENCE GROUP ON GERMAN POLITICS Box 345, Durham, New Hampshire 03824 and c/o Prof. Jutta Helm, Dept. of Political Science Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL 61455	President, 1984-86: Peter Merkl, University of California; Santa Barbara President, 1986-88: Richard Merritt, University of Illinois Regional Directors: East: G. K. Romoser, University of New Hampshire; South: D. Hancock, Vanderbilt University; Midwest: K. Baker, Bowling Green (Ohio) State University; West: A. Hanhardt, University of Oregon Secretary: J. Helm, Western Illinois University Intern Director: G. K. Romoser, Box 345, Durham, NH 03824	Newsletter	Regional and national political science and European studies meetings
*INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION Byrnes International Center, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina 29208	President: James N. Rosenau, University of Southern California Vice Presidents: Raymond Platig, Department of State; Silviu Brucan, University of Bucharest	IS Newsletter, Susan Kiesel, Editor	
*AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR IRISH STUDIES ACIS Secretary, Maureen Murphy, 213 Student Center, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York 11550	President: Thomas Hachey, Marquette University Vice President: Robert Rhodes, SUNY, Cortland Secretary: Maureen Murphy Treasurer: Catherine B. Shannon	ACIS Newsletter (3 times a year) Irish Literary Supplement (twice a year)	
CONFERENCE GROUP ON ITALIAN POLITICS Department of Political Science, DePaul University, 2323 N. Seminary Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614	President: Joseph LaPalombara, Yale University Vice President: Sidney Tarrow, Cornell University Secretary-Treasurer: Robert Leonardi, DePaul University	Newsletter (twice a year)	Annual Meeting with APSA New Orleans, LA August 29-September 1, 1985
LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION Sid Richardson Hall, Unit 1, University of	President: Wayne Cornelius, University of California, San Diego Vice President: Cole Blasler, University of	Latin American Studies Association Forum (quarterly) Latin American Research Review (3 times a year)	Boston, MA Park Plaza Oct. 23-25, 1986

## Area Studies Organizations

Organizations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
Texas, Austin, Texas 78712	Pittsburgh Executive Director: Richard N. Sinkin, University of Texas Treasurer: Carmen Diana Deere, University of Massachusetts	Occasional publications in the CLASP series	
MIDDLE EAST ASSOCIATION Department of Oriental Studies, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona 85721	President: Kemal Karpat, University of Wisconsin at Madison President-Elect: Eliza- beth Fernea, University of Texas, Austin Executive Secretary- Treasurer: Michael E. Bonine, University of Arizona	MESA Bulletin (twice a year) MESA Newsletter (3 times a year) International Journal of Middle East Studies (quarterly) Directory of Graduate and Undergraduate Programs and Courses in Middle East Studies in the United States and Abroad (biennial)	New Orleans, LA Hyatt Regency Nov. 22-26, 1985
THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES OF AMERICA, INC. 59 East 66th Street, New York, New York 10021	President: John A. Gronowski, L. B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin Vice President: Felix Gross, President, Academy of Sciences and Humanities of the City University of New York Secretary: Thaddeus V. Gromada, Jersey City State College Treasurer: Witold Sulimir- ski, Vice-President, Irving Trust Co.	The Polish Review (quarterly)	Annual Meeting New York City
AMERICAN ASSOCI- ATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SLAVIC STUDIES 128 Encina Com- mons, Stanford University, Stan- ford, CA 94305	President: Robert Campbell, Indiana University Executive Director: Dorothy Atkinson, Stanford University		
*UKRAINIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION IN THE UNITED STATES P.O. Box 12963, Philadelphia, Penn- sylvania 19108	Executive Director: P. Diachenko	Quarterly Newsletter Occasional research and conference reports on Soviet affairs	

## An Update of National Political Science Associations

These entries were submitted to *PS* after the deadlines for recent issues. Listed below are the names, officers, publications, and meeting information for these associations.

Organizations	Officers	Publications	Meetings
HUNGARY Hungarian Political Science Association 1068 Budapest Benczur u. 33.	President: Peter Janos Vice Presidents: Antalffy Gyorgy, Halasz Jozsef, Lakos Sandor Secretary: Szobolszai Gyorgy	Annual Book	Annual Meetings
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS Soviet Political Science Association, Moscow, Frunze, Str. 10 Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences	President: Georgii Shakh- nazarov, Institute of State and Law First Vice President: Vladimir Chirkin, Institute of State and Law Vice Presidents: Fiodor Burlatskii, Vladimir Tumanov, Institute of State and Law; Michael Marchenko, Moscow State University Secretary: Sergei Deitseo, USSR Academy of Sciences Treasurer: Helen Novichkova	Annual of the Soviet Political Science Association, Djangir Kerimov, Institute of State and Law, USSR, Editor	February of each year

## AAUP Censure List

*Editor's Note: The following is reprinted from AAUP's January-February 1985 issue of Academe with the permission of the AAUP. Updated information from the AAUP annual meeting is also included.*

Investigations by the American Association of University Professors of the administrations of the institutions listed below show that, as evidenced by a past violation, they are not observing the generally recognized principles of academic freedom and tenure endorsed by this Association, the Association of American Colleges, and more than 100 other professional and educational organizations. The 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* may be found in the May 1978 issue of the *AAUP Bulletin*.

This list is published for the purpose of informing Association members, the pro-

fession at large, and the public that unsatisfactory conditions of academic freedom and tenure have been found to prevail at these institutions. Names are placed on or removed from this censure list by vote of the Association's Annual Meeting.

Placing the name of an institution on this list does not mean that censure is visited either upon the whole of the institution or upon the faculty, but specifically upon its present administration. The term "administration" includes the administrative officers and the governing board of the institution. This censure does not affect the eligibility of nonmembers for membership in the Association, nor does it affect the individual rights of members at the institution in question.

Members of the Association have often considered it to be their duty, in order to indicate their support of the principles violated, to refrain from accepting ap-

pointment to an institution so long as it remains on the censure list. Since circumstances differ widely from case to case, the Association does not assert that such an unqualified obligation exists for its members; it does urge that, before accepting appointments, they seek information on present conditions of academic freedom and tenure from the Association's Washington office and prospective departmental colleagues. The Association leaves it to the discretion of the individual, possessed of the facts, to make the proper decision.

The censured administrations, with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated by the parenthesized *Bulletin* or *Academe* citations following each listing. Reference should also be had to "Developments Relating to Censure by the Association" and to the "Report of Committee A," each of which appear annually in *Academe*.

**South Dakota State Colleges and Universities under South Dakota State Board of Regents** (September 1961, 247-255), 1962. Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, with respect to a case which occurred at South Dakota State University. Censure was not directed against the local or central administrative officers. The 1982 Annual Meeting determined that the Regents also now have sole responsibility with respect to a case which occurred in 1966 at Northern State College (September 1968, 306-313).

**Grove City College** (Pennsylvania) (March 1963, 15-24), 1963.

**College of the Ozarks** (Arkansas) (December 1963, 352-359), 1964. Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.

**Nebraska State Colleges** (December 1964, 347-354), 1965. Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees of the Nebraska State Colleges, with respect to a case which occurred at Wayne State College. Censure was not directed against the local or central administrative officers.

**Amarillo College** (Texas) (September 1967, 292-302), 1968.

**Southern University** (Louisiana) (March 1968, 14-24), 1968.

**Troy State University** (Alabama) (September 1968, 298-305), 1969.

**Frank Phillips College** (Texas) (December 1968, 433-438), 1969.

**Central State University** (Oklahoma) (March 1969, 66-77), 1969.

**Laredo Junior College** (Texas) (December 1970, 398-404), 1971.

**Southern Arkansas University** (March 1971, 40-49), 1971.

**Tennessee Wesleyan College** (March 1971, 53-57), 1971.

**Onondaga Community College** (New York) (June 1971, 167-174), 1972.

**Colorado Schools of Mines** (March 1973, 73-79), 1973.

**McKendree College** (Illinois) (March 1973, 86-92), 1973.

**Rider College** (New Jersey) (March 1973, 93-100), 1973.

**Camden County College** (New Jersey) (September 1973, 356-362), 1974.

**Voorhees College** (South Carolina) (March 1974, 82-89), 1974.

**Virginia Community College System** (April 1975, 30-38), 1975.

**Concordia Seminary** (Missouri) (April 1975, 49-59), 1975.

**Houston Baptist University** (April 1975, 60-64), 1975.

**Murray State University** (Kentucky) (December 1975, 322-328), 1976.

**Blinn College** (Texas) (April 1976, 78-82), 1976.

**Marquette University** (Wisconsin) (April 1976, 83-94), 1976.

**University of Osteopathic Medicine and Health Sciences** (Iowa) (April 1977, 82-87), 1977.

**Wilkes College** (Pennsylvania) (April 1977, 88-93), 1977.

**State University of New York** (August 1977, 237-260), 1978.

**University of Detroit** (March 1978, 36-54), 1978.

**Phillips County Community College** (Arkansas) (May 1978, 93-98), 1978.

**University of Maryland** (May 1979, 213-227), 1979.

**University of Texas of the Permian Basin** (May 1979, 240-250), 1979.

**Wingate College** (North Carolina) (May 1979, 251-256), 1979.

**Olivet College** (Michigan) (April 1980, 140-150), 1980.

**Nichols College** (Massachusetts) (May 1980, 207-212), 1980.

**Bridgewater State College** (Massachusetts) (April 1981, 86-95), 1981.

**Yeshiva University** (New York) (August 1981, 186-195), 1982.

**Eastern Oregon State College** (May-June 1982, 1a-8a), 1982.

**University of Idaho** (November-December 1982, 1a-17a), 1983.

**Sonoma State University** (California) (May-June 1983, 3-12), 1983.

**Goucher College** (May-June 1983, 13-23), 1983.

**Auburn University** (May-June 1983, 24-32), 1983.

**Morehead State University** (Kentucky) (May-June 1983, 33-41), 1983.

**American International College** (Massachusetts) (May-June 1983, 42-46), 1983.

**Illinois College of Optometry** (November-December 1982, 17a-23a), 1984.

**Metropolitan Community Colleges** (Missouri) (March-April 1984, 23a-32a), 1984.

**University of Northern Colorado** (May-June 1984, 1a-8a), 1984.

**Westminster College**, Salt Lake City, 1985.

**Southwestern Adventist College**, Texas, 1985.

**Temple University**, Philadelphia, 1985.

**Oklahoma College of Osteopathic Medicine and Surgery**, 1985.

## CAUT Censure List

The following university administrations are under CAUT censure:

President and Board of Governors, University of Calgary (1979);

President and Board of Regents, Memorial University of Newfoundland (1979).

The CAUT Council recommends that members of faculty associations not accept appointments at censured universities.

Information about the events which led to censure may be obtained from: The Executive Secretary, Canadian Association of University Teachers, 75 Albert Street, Suite 1001, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E7.

# PS Appendix

## APSA Council Minutes

*Editor's Note: The minutes following are subject to Council approval at its next meeting, August 28, 1985, in New Orleans.*

The Council met in the Lincoln West Room of the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C. on April 12, 1985, at 9:30 a.m. Present: Charles W. Anderson, Robert Axelrod, Brian Barry, Joseph Cooper, Richard F. Fenno, Jr. (presiding), F. Chris Garcia, Robert G. Gilpin, Jr., Samuel P. Huntington, Helen Ingram, William R. Keech, Thomas E. Mann, J. Donald Moon, Victor A. Olorunsola, Norman J. Ornstein, Benjamin I. Page, Bruce M. Russett, Arlene Saxonhouse, Donna E. Shalala, W. Phillips Shively, Susan Welch, Aaron Wildavsky, Gerald Wright, Dina Zinnes. Staff: R. Hauck, C. Rudder, S. Mann, J. Walen.

### President's Report

President Richard F. Fenno, Jr. opened the meeting by reporting on his activities as president, including travel to regional association meetings. He asked the Council to review the minutes of the March 15 meeting of the Administrative Committee, calling attention to several items that did not require Council action at this time: (1) a request from CIC chairs that the Association adopt guidelines for soliciting outside letters of recommendation for promotion and tenure, referred by the Administrative Committee to the Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms; (2) a Conference on Black Politics and a Summer Institute for black undergraduates, authorized by the Administrative Committee; (3) Administrative Committee action making unsold panel papers at the annual meeting more readily available to authors and a procedure by which foreign scholars can send their panel papers to the Association instead of the convention hotel; (4) a proposal for an Association role in the area of peace and security studies, referred by the Administrative Committee to the Conflict Processes Section; (5) a proposal for a book on "The Idea of a Responsible Party System," referred by the Administrative Committee to the Publications Committee, with a request that it present a

recommendation to the August Council meeting.

**Council Action:** The Council took no exception to the minutes of the Administrative Committee.

### Executive Director's Report

Thomas E. Mann briefly reviewed the principal staff members and their responsibilities and the work of various Association committees. He reported that the Evron M. Kirkpatrick Fund has received contributions totaling \$52,437.90 from 181 individuals and 12 organizations. The Kirkpatrick Fund Board of Trustees plans to initiate the Fund's programs in the fall. They will likely include a series of monographs on "the craft of political science" and annual support for the Pi Sigma Alpha oral history project. He reported that both Evron M. Kirkpatrick, former Executive Director of the Association, and Walter E. Beach, chairman of the Fund's Board of Trustees, were extremely gratified by the response from individuals and organizations to the Fund.

Mann also reported on the activities of COSSA (Consortium of Social Science Associations) and Administrative Committee recommendations for making the membership more aware of COSSA activities and benefits of the Association's active participation in COSSA.

### Committee Appointments

**Council Action:** The Council approved the Council committee appointments submitted by President Fenno and the 1986 Program Committee appointments, with Matthew Holden, Jr., University of Virginia as Program Chair, submitted by President-Elect Wildavsky.

Holden reported that there would be 24 sections with a general theme of "The Organization of Power." A list of the 1986 Program Committee appears in the Spring 1985 issue of *PS*. A list of the Council committee appointments appeared in the Winter 1985 issue of *PS*.

## APSR Transition

Dina Zinnes, the outgoing Managing Editor of the *Review*, and Samuel C. Patterson, the new Managing Editor, reported that the transition of editorial offices from Illinois to Iowa was on schedule and that the December, 1985 issue, the last issue under Zinnes' editorship, was filled. Manuscripts will soon be forwarded to Patterson and books are going to the new book review editor, Robert Salisbury. Zinnes reported that she has completed a computerized management system that can be transferred to a new *Review* office and also made available to other political science journals. Patterson expressed his gratitude to Salisbury for agreeing to serve as book review editor and to the 12 people who have agreed to serve on his Editorial Board, a list of whom were presented to the Council. He also reported that the *Review* office will open at the University of Iowa on June 1 and then move to Ohio State University in the summer of 1986. A production/copyediting office for the *Review* will be set up at the APSA national office. Patterson also discussed his plans for changing the appearance of the *Review*.

President Fenno thanked outgoing APSR Managing Editor Dina Zinnes for "your time, your skill, your judgement in performing one of the most important and difficult tasks in the profession." He thanked her on "behalf of the profession for a job well-done."

**Council Action:** The Council responded unanimously with a round of applause.

## Budget

Treasurer Susan Welch reported that the financial condition of the Association remains healthy, although a smaller surplus is anticipated this year than in the previous three years.

Mann reviewed the 1984-85 income and expenditures, explaining the basis for his estimate of a \$32,714 surplus, and the budget proposed by the Administrative Committee for the 1985-86 fiscal year, which has a projected surplus of \$13,974. He reported that the Administrative Committee rejected a current services budget which produced a deficit of \$57,476, and instead approved three recommendations for increasing revenues:

- (1) Increase Departmental Services dues by 10 percent, producing additional income of \$5,000;
- (2) Increase Personnel Service Newsletter advertisement rates for departments not belonging to the Departmental Services Program from \$50 and \$35 to \$75 and

\$50; producing new revenues of approximately \$3,000;

- (3) Increase institutional (library) membership rates from \$75 to \$100, producing \$75,000 of additional income.

During the discussion of the budget, Page expressed an interest in seeing a program budget, which includes an estimate of how much the *Review* costs each member. Discussion centered on the difficulty of allocating staff time and general operating expense to specific activities and publications.

**Council Action:** Mann should make an oral program budget presentation at the August Council meeting.

The Council reviewed a request from the Committee on the Status of Women and the Women's Caucus for Political Science to assist them in completing a report on the findings of an initial assessment survey on institutional policies and practices regarding career development for women in political science.

**Council Action:** The Council approved the request for \$500 in the current fiscal year.

Shalala suggested that the Executive Director be given a discretionary fund to handle requests such as the one from the women's groups.

**Council Action:** After much discussion of the need and advisability of such a fund, the idea was referred to the Administrative Committee for formulation of a recommendation to the Council.

The Council reviewed the three recommendations for increasing revenues.

**Council Action:** Two of the recommendations—increasing Departmental Services dues and increasing Personnel Service Newsletter advertisement rates for departments not belonging to the Departmental Services Program—were unanimously approved.

On the third recommendation for increasing revenues—increasing institutional rates to \$100—a counter proposal of raising the rates to \$105 was defeated by a show of hands. A proposal to raise the rates to \$95 was also defeated by a show of hands.

**Council Action:** The Council voted to increase the institutional (library) rates to \$100.

**Council Action:** The Council approved unanimously the proposed budget for 1985-86 fiscal year.

## Project '87

S. Mann reported on the activities of Project '87, the joint undertaking of the American Historical Association and APSA to com-



## **PS Appendix**

memorate the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution.

Mann reported on a series of projects: the quarterly magazine, *this Constitution*, whose circulation has increased from 10,000 to 25,000; a series of college faculty workshops; a book of "Lessons on the United States Constitution" for secondary school teachers; a series of in-school television programs for seventh, eighth and ninth graders; a television-assisted college course on the Constitution for distant learners; a series of televised forums on the Constitution to highlight significant events leading up to the formation of a national government; a conference on the bicentennial of the opening of the Constitutional Convention and fundamental constitutional principles.

### **Style Manual**

The Council reviewed the Style Manual prepared by the Committee on Publications. Ingram proposed that a section be added on gender neutral language.

*Council Action:* The Council approved the Style Manual with the following language added on page 3:

"Gender Neutral Language" (head)

"Unnecessarily gender-specific language should be avoided, including gender-specific terms for groups of people and the characterization of such groups as male."

The Council also referred three recommendations to the Publications Committee for consideration before the Style Manual is published:

- (1) Cite month (or season or number) as well as year in journal citations.
- (2) Delete "list authors alphabetically" in "If more than one work is cited in a pair of parentheses, list authors alphabetically and separate with semicolons."
- (3) Clarify the use of the first person.

The Council recommended that there be a statement in *PS* about how this style differs from the present *APSR* style.

### **Gaus Fund**

*Council Action:* The Council approved the Administrative Committee recommendation that a John Gaus Lectureship be established at the annual meeting.

The Lectureship will begin with the 1986 annual meeting. The president will appoint a selection committee, in a manner consistent with other Association award committees, charged with selecting a scholar who best em-

bodies the joint tradition of political science and public administration. An honorarium of \$1,500 will be attached to the Lectureship.

The Council requested that the president be sensitive to the Public Administration Section's requests in selecting the members of the selection committee and in selecting the first lecture recipient.

### **New Section on Presidency Research Group**

*Council Action:* The Council approved a petition from the Presidency Research Group to become an Organized Section of the Association.

Mann reported that a council committee on Organized Sections was meeting immediately after the Council meeting to discuss procedures and activities of the Organized Sections.

### **Proposed Change in Personnel Service Newsletter Guidelines**

The Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms has prepared a monograph, *Professional Ethics in Political Science*, which will include APSA's "Guidelines on Employment." The Committee has revised the guidelines in order to eliminate any suggestion that gender is a bona fide occupational qualification in the profession.

*Council Action:* The Council approved the following revised language:

"It is Association policy that educational institutions not discriminate among job candidates on the basis of sex, race, color, religion, or national origin except in those cases in which federal law allows religious preference in hiring.

"In accordance with this policy, therefore, the Association will not indicate a preference, limitation, or specification based upon these classifications in job listings, except that religious preference may be indicated when allowed by federal law."

### **International Political Science**

Mann reported that APSA had received \$30,000 from the National Science Foundation for 50 travel grants of \$600 each to scholars participating in the 1985 IPSA World Congress in Paris. The 50 recipients were selected in early April from among 158 qualified applicants.

The Council discussed the 1988 IPSA World Congress, to be held in Washington, D.C. and voiced concern about: (1) having the IPSA

Congress immediately follow the APSA convention and (2) moving the dates of the APSA convention by one day so that it would end on Labor Day, rather than the Sunday before Labor Day. The Council would much prefer to have the two meetings jointly scheduled, headquartered at separate hotels, with the IPSA meeting beginning a day or two before the APSA meeting. This possibility will have to be explored with IPSA officials and further consideration will have to be given to registration, exhibit, and advertising fees.

President Fenno reported that he will lead an APSA delegation to China the first two weeks in May. The delegation will consist of Fenno, Aaron Wildavsky, Philip E. Converse, Thomas E. Mann, Robert J-P. Hauck and Kenneth Lieberthal. A grant of \$40,234 has been received from the Asia Foundation to support the exchange, which is designed to encourage and assist the development of a national political science community and to re-establish political science as a separate research and teaching discipline in China. The Chinese Association of Political Science will send a delegation to attend the APSA annual meeting in 1986.

The Council reviewed the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Political Science in the Soviet Union, chaired by David Mayhew.

**Committee Action:** The Council approved the committee's recommendation that APSA try to bring about, through IREX, a colloquium series joining representatives of Soviet and American political science, featuring topics of general concern among political scientists.

**Committee Action:** The Council approved the creation of a Committee on International Political Science to absorb the responsibilities of the ad hoc committees on China and the Soviet Union, oversee the hosting of the 1988 World Congress in Washington, and develop relationships between American political science and political science in other nations.

The Committee is authorized for a three-year period, January, 1986 through December, 1988. The President and President-Elect will jointly appoint five members, each of whom will serve three-year terms. The appointments will be made by June so the appointees will have a chance to engage in some preliminary discussion at the 1985 World Congress in Paris. The new committee will have a budget of \$3,000 in FY 1985-86.

### **Annual Meeting**

Joseph Cooper, 1985 program chairman, reported on the activities of his Program Com-

mittee. The 1985 meeting will feature 2,000 participants on 480 panels: 254 Program Committee panels, 76 Organized Section panels; and 150 panels of unaffiliated groups. In addition, the meeting will include three evening plenary sessions, a special panel in honor of Charles Hyneman, and a jazz concert.

The Council, in response to a suggestion by Professor Diddy R. M. Hitchins of the University of Alaska, reviewed the question of smoking at APSA annual meetings.

**Council Action:** The Council rejected a proposal that "smoking is prohibited" as too strong. They rejected the Administrative Committee's recommendation that "smokers are respectfully requested not to smoke" as too weak. Instead, they revised the Administrative Committee's recommendation to read "because of the small meeting rooms and the discomfort to others, smokers are urged not to smoke while attending panel meetings." This notice will be included in the Preliminary and Final Programs, displayed at the convention hotel, and panel chairs will be asked to make this announcement at the beginning of panel sessions.

Mann presented the Council with a proposal from the San Francisco Hilton for the 1990 meeting.

**Council Action:** The Council agreed to accept the proposal, in view of the merits of the proposal and the fact that APSA has not met on the west coast since 1975.

Several Council members asked the Association to explore a different time and different sites for future annual meetings.

### **NEH Liaison Committee**

The Council reviewed the NEH Liaison Committee's "Report on Political Science and the Humanities" and expressed their enthusiastic support of the report.

**Council Action:** The Council asked that a note of appreciation be sent to Walter Murphy, chair, and to the members of his committee.

### **Small Research Grant Program**

The Council reviewed the report on the Small Research Grant Program. In the first round of competition, 79 grant applications were received. Awards will be made by the Research Support Committee by May 1.

The Council adjourned at 4 p.m.

# APSA Publications List

## PERIODICALS

**The American Political Science Review.** Quarterly journal of scholarly articles and book reviews in political science. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$20 per copy; \$80 per volume.

**PS.** Quarterly journal of Association news and articles of professional concern. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$5 per copy; \$20 per volume. (\$6 for the spring issue containing the preliminary program.)

**The NEWS for Teachers of Political Science.** Quarterly newspaper on education and the curriculum. Included in APSA membership. \$7 annual subscription fee for non-APSA members.

**this Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle.** Quarterly magazine with articles and information on the Bicentennial. The magazine is supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and is a joint publication of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association. \$8 subscription for APSA members.

## DIRECTORIES

**APSA Membership Directory, 1985.** Alphabetical listing of current members, their training, affiliations and areas of specializations. Index includes list of women members, black members, and hispanic members, members by fields of interest and geography. \$15 for members and \$20 for non-members.

**Directory of Undergraduate Political Science Faculty, 1984.** Lists nearly 500 separate departments of political science with name, address, phone number, and names and specializations of faculty members. \$8, APSA members; \$12, nonmembers.

**Annual APSA Directory of Department Chairpersons.** Names and addresses of chairpersons in departments offering political science at four-year institutions. \$20 each. Annual, October.

## INDEXES

**Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review.\*** 1906-1968, \$6.50.

**Cumulative Index to the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting.\*** Key word index to all papers included in proceedings of Annual Meetings for 1904-1912, 1956-1970. \$18.50.

## INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

**Congress: We the People** is a telecourse produced by WETA and APSA with support from the Annenberg/CPB Project. For more information or to order the video cassettes, contact Annenberg/CPB Project, 1213 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, IL 60091. Or call 1-800-LEARNER (532-7637); in Illinois call (312) 256-3200.

APSA distributes a *Study Guide* for students enrolled in a course on Congress that uses the program. The *Study Guide* price is \$12.95; there is a 20 percent discount on each copy for bookstores. *For colleges licensing the entire telecourse for distant learners*, APSA provides free of charge a desk copy of the *Study Guide* for faculty and a *Faculty/Administrative Guide*.

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and *Fiscal Strain in 51 American Communities* by Paul David Schumaker, Russell W. Getter, and Terry Nichols Clark. \$6 each, lower price on bulk orders. For information and price list write APSA Division of Educational Affairs.

**Project '87 Conference Monographs.** *The American Constitutional System Under Strong and Weak Parties*, edited by Patricia Bonomi, James MacGregor Burns and Austin Ranney, Praeger Publishers, 1981. (This book can be ordered only from Praeger Publishers, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017.) \$19.95 ea. *The Constitutional Convention as an Amending Device*, edited by Kermit L. Hall, Harold M. Hyman and Leon V. Sigal, published jointly by the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, 1981. \$6.50 ea. for paper and \$10.50 ea. for hardcover. *Teaching About the Constitution in American Secondary Schools*, edited by Howard D. Mehlinger, published jointly by the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, 1981. \$6.50 ea. for paper and \$10.50 ea. for hardcover. *Liberty and Equality Under the Constitution*, edited by John Agresto, published jointly by the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, 1983. \$7.50 ea./\$12.95 hard.

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## MISCELLANEOUS

**Political Science: The State of the Discipline.** Edited by Ada W. Finifter. Includes 19 chapters by many of the country's leading political scientists reviewing the present state and future directions of research in the subfields of the discipline. 1983. Paper: \$15 for APSA members and classroom adoptions

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Area Studies Organizations	Summer

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Majority in 1986?**  
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**Fall 1985**  
Volume XVIII Number 4

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Gary Clyde Hufbauer  
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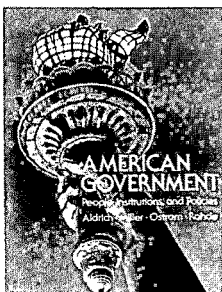
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## Editor's Corner

### The Weak and Helpless

Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott give *PS* readers a glimpse of their work on the use of sanctions as a foreign policy tool. In their recently published *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy*, Hufbauer and Schott identify 103 cases since the start of World War I in which one or more countries have employed sanctions to achieve their foreign policy goals. (The U.S. was a perpetrator in two-thirds of these efforts.)

Hufbauer and Schott report here on some of their findings. In particular, they identify the circumstances under which sanctions are most likely to work, for example when the target country is "weak and helpless." Frequently, sanctions do not help accomplish foreign policy goals, and Hufbauer and Schott tell us why. Finally, these two scholars take the specific cases of U.S. sanctions applied against Nicaragua and South Africa and, based on their earlier findings, speculate on the probable impact the sanctions will have.

### Senate Control

As for speculation here in Washington, perhaps the most thoroughly discussed topic these days is that of which party will control the Senate following the 1986 elections. Two intrepid political scientists, Michael Lewis-Beck and Tom W. Rice tell us their answer and provide impressive evidence to support it in their article "Are Senate Election Outcomes Predictable?"

Also in this issue there are two articles that expand on themes of previous issues, including an assessment of the role of experts in redistricting by Susan MacManus and Charles Bullock and a critical review of recent literature on black politics by Hanes Walton, Jr.

### Topics for Forum

Topics are selected for the Forum section of *PS* not only to continue *PS* themes but often because APSA's president, Council or committees are emphasizing particular concerns. For example, 1984-85 President Richard Fenno and Council have committed the Association to address the problem of the retention and recruitment of blacks in the profession. Partly as a consequence of this interest, *PS* has presented a series of articles on black political scientists and the field of black politics.

Similarly, several APSA committees have discussed the problems of sexual harassment and the ethical and legal obligations of APSA members and political sci-



Jeffrey J. Schott



**Gary Clyde Hufbauer**

ence departments in this area. Charles Cnudde, Chair of the Departmental Services Committee, and Betty Nesvold, a member of the committee, have thoroughly researched and thought about this problem. They present some useful guidance for department heads and deans in this issue of *PS*.

Other examples include Randall Ripley's article on requests for outside letters of reference and the presentation by Robert Benedict, Dalmás Nelson and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea on the University of Utah's intensive effort to recruit women and minority faculty members, both of which articles stem from initiatives of the Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms.

### **Annual Meeting Reports**

Finally, special note ought to be made of our coverage of the annual meeting in New Orleans. Thanks to Carol Nechemias, for the last three years we have had excellent substantive reports on the plenary sessions. For the first time this year, five chairs of roundtables have written reportorial essays on the substance of their panels, with the result that these particular roundtables will be preserved for *PS* readers rather than vanish in thin air as roundtables tend to do.

As you read the Association News in particular, it is unlikely that the pictures from the annual meeting will escape your notice. Our talented photographer is Babette Augustin.

Catherine Rudder

## Letters

### Business and Politics

To the Editor:

As a political scientist who teaches at a business school and who has been writing about business-government relations for more than a decade, I would like to express my disappointment with David Menninger's article, "Political Science and the Corporation" (*PS*, Spring 1985, pp. 206-212). In my judgment, this piece contributes little to the ability of political scientists to explore the political significance of the corporation.

The central problem with Menninger's argument is that he takes for granted precisely those dimensions of corporate power whose existence is in fact most problematic. Menninger's analysis reflects his personal political biases rather than his familiarity with the extension scholarship on the political role of the corporation.

For example, he writes, "employees are *ruled* by supervisors and managers, stockholders' assets are *ruled* by corporate directors, customers and suppliers are *ruled* by an industrial sector's entrenched giants" (italics added). Each clause in this sentence is incorrect. In fact, corporate personnel policies are constrained by a whole series of statutes and judicial decisions that encompass areas ranging from discrimination to pension rights and occupational health. The assertions that stockholder assets are "ruled" by corporate directors betrays a remarkable ignorance of existing literature on corporate governance and corporate law—let alone the contemporary increase in the success rate of stockholder suits and hostile takeovers! The notion that America's "corporate giants" are "entrenched" is about a decade out of date. It overlooks both the significant increase in the percentage of American

firms that face competition from imports as well as the entrepreneurial explosion—currently running at the rate of 600,000 new companies a year—which is undermining the market position of established firms in a large number of sectors.

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*Is TVA really more accountable than Con Ed? Is the Pentagon more subject to public rule than General Dynamics?*

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To suggest that "individuals seem to have little choice about accepting or rejecting (corporate rule) in a meaningful fashion" overlooks the numerous political challenges to corporate prerogatives that emerged during the 1970s. Has Menninger ever heard of Ralph Nader or the Sierra Club? The dramatic increase in corporate PACs since the mid-seventies, documented in the article in *PS* following Menninger's, represents in large measure a response to the numerous political setbacks experienced by business during the first half of the 1970s at the hands of the public interest movement. I would refer Menninger to my article, "The Power of Business in America: A Reappraisal," published in *The British Journal of Political Science*, January 1983.

In the next paragraph, we are informed that, "countervailing forces such as government regulation . . . are insignificant checks to corporate power when compared to the regular and intensive review which public rule must subject itself." This statement at least has the virtue that it might conceivably be true, though I would welcome some evidence. Is TVA really more accountable than Con Ed? Is the Pentagon more subject to public rule than General Dynamics? In any event,

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the veracity of this statement certainly is not self-evident.

Underlying Menninger's entire discussion of corporate power is his assumption that the power of business is linked to the "large corporation's concentration of resources and wealth." But this is by no means obvious. There are a number of extremely powerful industries which contain relatively few large companies; the milk producers cooperatives are the most obvious example and within the oil industry, the independent producers have been far more powerful than the far larger integrated majors. There is in fact an extensive literature on this topic with which Menninger displays no familiarity.

Certainly the corporation poses a number of challenges for democratic politics and political scientists would do well to study its political significance far more extensively, and intensively, than they have done up to now. Robert Dahl made this argument three decades ago and it is equally valid today. Such a research agenda, however, is scarcely promoted by pre-judging its conclusions.

David Vogel  
University of California, Berkeley

### Menninger replies:

David Vogel's letter focuses almost exclusively on the first half of my article and the characterization of the corporation that I believe reflects the perceptions of most political scientists today, but which he believes reflects solely my prejudices. Some of the elements of this characterization I do happen to accept as true; other elements I am not so sure about. However, since my purpose was *not* to give my analysis of the corporation, but to get other political scientists to think about their analysis, I stated as bluntly as I could a conceptual "ideal type" of the corporation as a problem for democratic society that needs more systematic and rigorous study from the discipline than it has been getting thus far.

I intended (or I should say hoped) that I would be just provocative enough in this characterization to get my readers to go on to consideration of the proposals for

further research which I present in the article's second half, along with my concluding implication that the results of this research should *not* be prejudged. I regret that this is the half of the article which Professor Vogel virtually ignores, since I am sure that I would have profited much more from hearing about his own research agenda items than I have from his presumptions about my personal political biases.

The questions Professor Vogel raises in objection to my characterization of the corporation are certainly legitimate, but his implied answers do not strike me as sufficient to close the books on any major issues about the power and influence of the corporation. For example, statutes and judicial decisions intending to constrain corporate personnel policies may have their practical effects limited by corporate discretion in their interpretation and application. Stockholders' short-term gain from take-over battles may be compromised in the long term because of excessive borrowing employed by both corporate raiders *and* defenders—a mortgaging of stockholder assets by management that is mushrooming despite the formalities of corporate governance or corporate law. The threat of foreign competition or entrepreneurialism to the market position of established firms may be softened by protectionist legislation and the high rate of failure among small businesses starved for capital. The significance to American politics of Ralph Nader or the Sierra Club may depend on whether the consumer or environmental movements of the 70s have managed to produce a corporate economy in the 80s that exercises more social responsibility than it did before—and is *perceived* to do so by the public at large. And the electoral vulnerability of politicians who happen to be in office during bad economic times as compared to the relative legal immunity of managers whose companies are found to have broken the law may be more relevant to the issue of accountability than comparing utility companies or two components of the same military-industrial complex.

Professor Vogel may see only more hostility toward the corporation in these suggestions, but I still must insist that they

point to valid problems for further research by political scientists which is necessary to understand more fully and dispassionately the relationship between corporate capitalism and democratic politics. As it stands now, and as I attempt to show in my article, that relationship would be described by numerous political scientists in terms much less sanguine than those suggested by Professor Vogel. I would refer Professor Vogel back to Robert Dahl, for example, who has stated most recently in *A Preface to Economic Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), his own conviction "that both corporate capitalism and bureaucratic socialism tend to produce inequalities in social and economic resources so great as to bring about severe violations of political equality and hence of the democratic process, and that we ought to consider whether an alternative more congenial to democratic values might not be found" (p. 60).

I quote Dahl not to chasten Vogel, but to demonstrate once again what I see as a prevailing point of view in the discipline towards the modern corporation, regardless of any exceptions taken to it by Vogel and others. Whether it is the right point of view is, I believe, another question altogether, for which the answer has not yet been made clear. My suggestion to David Vogel is that it won't be made clear until it can be addressed without prepossessions of any sort.

David Menninger  
University of California, Los Angeles

## Humanities and Political Science

I read with some astonishment the report on "Political Science and the Humanities" published in the Spring, 1985 issue of *PS* (pp. 247-259). This chirpy account of the state of our discipline goes against many of my personal impressions, gleaned over the past 30 years. I had thought that our discipline was intellectually incoherent in the extreme and completely lacking an intellectual center. You can imagine, therefore, how pleased I am to learn that all is well after all, and

that the love for the humanities is what binds all political scientists together.

I was especially gratified to learn that what the authors call "classical" political theory

continues to define many of the fundamental problems, phrase the critical questions, and provide the crucial concepts that inform and directly or indirectly guide scholarship in political science, including that which is the most self-consciously scientific. Analyses of voting behavior, sample surveys, and aggregate data relating to categories of political systems as well as studies of implementation of public policy can be recognized as almost always addressing matters that were first identified as significant in classical political theory.

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*I had thought that our discipline was intellectually incoherent in the extreme and completely lacking an intellectual center.*

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Assuming that the authors are here referring to the recognized "classics" of political theory—i.e., principally the major works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Mill and Marx—their statement will come as news indeed to those of us who teach and write about these books. I eagerly await documentation for their assertion that "analyses of voting behavior, sample surveys and aggregate data relating to categories of political systems" are "almost always" addressing matters "first identified" in classical political theory.

Where in the *Republic* is the need for "sample surveys" to be found? Where in *The Philosophy of Right* does one hear a call for "aggregate data" on the categories of political systems? Where in Hobbes' *Leviathan* is the need for "analyses of voting behavior" identified?

Alas, the above quotation, together with numerous others, suggests to me that the authors of the report either have not read "classical" political theory, or if they have they have utterly misunder-

## Letters

stood it, or if they have understood it they have allowed themselves, formed into committee, to produce a bunch of hokum, in order to convince the present administration of the National Endowment for the Humanities to give more grants to political scientists. I prefer the third explanation.

Dante Germino  
University of Virginia

### The committee replies:

As the big bird of the APSA's liaison committee with NEH, I suppose Professor Dante Germino's letter falls within my nest. He begins with the statement that he perceives incoherence within political science. I see no reason to doubt that one who read our report in the careless manner that he has would find incoherence anywhere—or even everywhere.

Our report does not claim that political scientists are linked into one, neat, happy discipline. Rather, the committee operated on the premise that we are a pluralistic discipline. Indeed, the report speaks of political science "becoming a complicated conversation among scientific and humanistic approaches, to the benefit of both" (p. 248). Many of us share concerns for values that we, as well as scholars in other disciplines, believe to be humanistic. We tried to identify some of the fields outside the more obvious areas of political philosophy and jurisprudence where humanistically oriented scholarship is being produced.

In his final paragraph, Professor Germino offers three explanations for our disagreeing with him: *First*, we have not read "classical" political theory. I suspect that we have all done so. For myself, I can only add that I did so in a rather intense manner under Professor Leo Strauss. *Second*, we do not understand classical political theory. It is surely possible that this criticism is correct, just as it is possible that it is Professor Germino who lacks understanding. We thought that theorists like Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, and Locke were concerned with problems such as "community, justice, law, legitimacy, freedom, equality, and persuasion"—in sum with citizen-

ship and statecraft (p. 247). We also thought that many contemporary political scientists, though using different methodologies and often arriving at different conclusions, were also pursuing those concerns. We may be wrong in either or both analyses, but it will take more than an *ipse dixit* based on careless—and thoughtless—reading to convince me.

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*Such a claim [that the committee tried to sell its integrity] is false as well as malicious. It is unworthy of a person who claims membership in a community of scholars.*

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Professor Germino's *third* explanation for our sin of coherence—and the one he prefers—is that the committee tried to sell its integrity to NEH in exchange for increased grants to political science. Such a claim is false as well as malicious. It is unworthy of a person who claims membership in a community of scholars. I would not dignify it by further response.

Walter F. Murphy  
Princeton University

This is in response to Dante Germino's vituperative and ill-tempered letter of June 11, in which he attacks the APSA report on political science and the humanities that you published in the Spring 1985 issue of *PS*, and of which I am an author.

In his letter Professor Germino quotes mockingly from a paragraph of the report that deals with political philosophy and political science, and remarks that he "eagerly awaits documentation" of the assertion it contains. In closing he questions the report's authors' knowledge and understanding of classical political theory and impugns their motives in composing the report.

The authors of the report did indeed have

**TABLE 1**  
**The Political Classics and Empirical Political Science**

Contemporary empirical study	"Matters first identified as significant in classical political theory" treated in the contemporary empirical study	Specific mention of classic writer by empiricist	Empirical research method employed in the empirical study
Seymour M. Lipset, <i>Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics</i> (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960)	The social and economic bases of stable democratic government. (For a "classic" consideration of this matter see Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , Books IV, V, VI. See also J. J. Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i> , Bk. II, chs. 9, 10, 11; Bk. III, ch. 4. For a detailed comparison of Aristotle's and Lipset's approaches to this subject see W. T. Bluhm, <i>Theories of the Political System</i> , 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 113-119.)	Several references to Aristotle's theories, one to Rousseau, passing references to Hobbes, Locke, Marx.	sample survey data, aggregate data
Robert D. Putnam, <i>The Beliefs of Politicians</i> (New Haven: Yale, 1973)	The relationship between political attitudes, values, beliefs on the one hand and political behavior on the other. (For a classic consideration of this subject see Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , 1301 a-b, 1302 a-b.)	Definition of "classic" model of democracy drawn from Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> 1317b plus reference to Rousseau's comment on it, "Liberal" model of democracy drawn from Locke, Bentham, the two Mills.	random sample survey of British and Italian politicians
William T. Bluhm, <i>Building an Austrian Nation: The Political Integration of a Western State</i> (New Haven: Yale, 1973)	The conditions under which the "social contract" approach to political construction is likely to succeed. (See classic treatments by Hobbes and Locke.)	References to Hobbes' contract theory.	sample survey data, aggregate data
Christopher Achen, "Measuring Representation," <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 22 (3) (August 1978): 476-510	The salient elements of "representativeness." (For a classic treatment see J. S. Mill, <i>Considerations on Representative Government</i> .)	Reference to the work of J. S. Mill. (Achen expressly states that he wishes to bring the normative and descriptive dimensions of the subject of "representativeness" together in this study.)	sample survey data

(continued on next page)



TABLE 1 (continued)

Contemporary empirical study	"Matters first identified as significant in classical political theory" treated in the contemporary empirical study	Specific mention of classic writer by empiricist	Empirical research method employed in the empirical study
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, <i>The War Trap</i> (New Haven: Yale, 1981)	Why allies fight with each other. (For a classic treatment see Thucydides, <i>The Peloponnesian War</i> , 3:10-12.)	Reference to the work of Thucydides.	aggregate data
G. Bingham Powell, Jr., <i>Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence</i> (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1982)	The conditions of stability of a democratic system of government. (For a classic treatment see Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , 1316b-1320b.)	Reference to Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , Barker translation (Oxford ed.), pp. 184-186.	sample survey data, aggregate data

in mind "the recognized 'classics' of political theory—i.e., principally the major works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Mill and Marx" when they wrote the paragraph in question. It is indeed also the case that over the last 25 years there has developed a literature of empirical political science which presents

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***The authors of the report have both read and understood classical political theory.***

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the results of "analyses of voting behavior, sample surveys, and aggregate data relating to categories of political systems" which "can be recognized as almost always addressing matters that were first identified as significant in classical political theory." The authors of this literature have attempted to refine and operationalize questions and hypotheses proposed by classical political theorists and either to answer the questions or to illustrate/test the hypotheses with techniques of empirical measurement that were not available to the classic philosophers. I furnish below, in tabular form, example documentation of this assertion

that Professor Germino wishes (see Table 1).

I could proliferate this table for pages, but the titles I have presented are adequate to document the assertion of the report that Professor Germino has contested. Taken together with the professional reputations of the classics scholars on the committee they are sufficient to show that the authors of the report have both read and understood classical political theory. They also demonstrate the continued relevance of the classics of political thought for empirical political science, as do the portions of Section II, paragraph I, that Professor Germino did not mention. It is distressing that Professor Germino, who has studied the classics so carefully, cannot see their relevance for contemporary political inquiry.

I should also like to observe that in colleges and universities where there are lively, even adversarial, discussions between classicists and empiricists both parties profit. Such discussions serve to make philosophers aware of their naivete about what is involved in empirical investigation, and of the importance of that investigation. They also make empiricists cognizant of their need to philosophize, in order to think critically about their models. In my view this sort of inter-

The continued importance of the humanistic tradition expressed in political philosophy is manifested in several ways. Classical political theory continues to define many of the fundamental problems, phrase the critical questions, and provide the crucial concepts that inform and directly or indirectly guide scholarship in political science, including that which is the most self-consciously scientific. Analyses of voting behavior, sample surveys, and aggregate data relating to categories of political systems as well as studies of implementation of public policy can be recognized as almost always addressing matters that were first identified as significant in classical political theory.

In addition, the enduring role of classical political theory in the discipline has meant that political scientists, as a community of scholars, never completely lost a feeling for the importance of dealing with basic values. While the scientific revolution pulled the discipline as a whole toward the goal of creating a science that would be value free, a continuing respect for the role of theory preserved a legitimate place for the serious treatment of values.

—from "Political Science and the Humanities: A Report of the American Political Science Association" (PS, Spring 1985, p. 252).

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change is more fruitful than a policy of splendid isolation which breeds resentment, misunderstanding, and fantasy. Without open communication no human things are "well after all."

William T. Bluhm  
University of Rochester

## Recording FBI Abuses

It is not the case, as asserted by Robert J. Goldstein, that the Roelofs-Houseman text contains "no references at all to the FBI" ("The FBI and American Politics Textbooks," *PS*, Spring 1985, pp. 237-246). It contains a lengthy discussion of the 1939-1975 "national emergency" detention plan on p. 506, a discussion of domestic intelligence-gathering on p. 501, an allusion to the "COINTELPRO" program (which we agree is important to know about) on p. 507, and a number of allusions to FBI activities throughout the text. On pp. 312-313, we supply the ACLU-suggested form letter to be sent to the FBI for obtaining your personal file. And, not unrelated to these concerns, we provide a practical guide to the law of search and seizure on pp. 502-503.

Our book was of course not designed to deal solely with the various civil liberties threats posed by the FBI, but we are concerned about this oversight since civil liberties issues were an important theme in our book. We are satisfied that we not only deal with the FBI and civil liberties, but that these are placed within a usable context by the other themes and concerns which tie the book together.

Incidentally, it will not do to argue that the FBI is not in our Index. Plenty of cross-references are provided.

Gerald L. Houseman  
University of California, Irvine

## Goldstein responds:

I am pleased to stand corrected by Professor Houseman. As I wrote in my arti-

cle (p. 238), in doing my research "all indexed entries referring to the FBI" were examined in 47 textbooks, thus leaving open "the possibility that poorly indexed books might include additional material" although "a check of several texts revealed no substantive references to the FBI that were not indexed." Since the 47 texts averaged about 500 pages apiece, it was not feasible to read each and every page and I clearly indicated I did not do so. Since Professor Houseman's letter is the only one of its kind received as of August 8 (three months after publication of my article), this may well be the only instance where poor indexing led me to overlook a substantive reference to the FBI.

I do think Professor Houseman is being a bit ungenerous in throwing the blame entirely on me since his book indexes many other government organizations, including, for example, the Food and Drug Administration, the International Commerce Commission and the Civilian Conservation Corps, each of which have only one indexed entry and are arguably far less significant than the FBI. Further, although Professor Houseman suggests "plenty of cross references are provided" there are no index entries under "COINTELPRO" (which is in fact nowhere mentioned or even clearly alluded to in the book, on page 507 or anywhere else), under "emergency detention," under "intelligence gathering," or under any other category which readily comes to mind clearly relevant to FBI abuses in the domestic intelligence field. The discussion of domestic intelligence gathering on page 501 nowhere alludes to the FBI, and the material on pp. 312-313 nowhere explains why or how it could be that the FBI might have files on anyone other than those who in the past have applied for a job with the federal government. I do applaud the discussion of FBI emergency detention planning on page 506, which I have dealt with at length in my own research ["An American Gulag? Summary Arrest and Emergency Detention of Political Dissidents in the United States," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, X (1979)].

In sum, although I think Professor Houseman's letter suggests the book he co-

authored deals far more extensively with FBI abuses in the domestic intelligence field than it in fact does, his book clearly does make some references to material relevant to this field and my article was in error in suggesting otherwise. But my error resulted from a faulty index rather than intentional misconstruction and I am glad to learn that I can subtract one book from my list of those which failed to deal with this topic at all.

Robert Justin Goldstein  
Oakland University

## Black Politics

Readers of Professor Wilson's note on political scientists who have studied black politics (*PS*, Summer 1985, pp. 600-607) might find the excellent work of John Strange of interest. His article on black politics, based on his 1966 Princeton doctoral dissertation, was written expressly for a volume on *Black Politics in Philadelphia* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), edited by Joseph Zikmund and myself.

Miriam Ershkowitz  
Texas Tech University

## Liberation Poster Exhibits

Third World posters on a whole range of topics—human rights, development and women's issues as well as liberation struggles—are collected, restored, translated and exhibited through my firm, Liberation Graphics.

I receive many calls and letters from political science teachers who have seen or read about my exhibits. They usually request free posters or exhibits unaware of the costs involved in developing a formal exhibit. I am flattered by the acknowledgement of my work but, until now, I have not been able to respond meaningfully to these requests.

At the present time I am putting together a historical liberation graphics portfolio at the behest of the Smithsonian Institution's Traveling Exhibition Service

(SITES) and the Washington Project for the Arts. This portfolio will highlight the development of the contemporary poster traditions of the Philippines, Cuba, Nicaragua, the Palestinians and South Africa.

I feel that it is possible for Liberation Graphics to do something positive and creative for the political science educators who write and request graphic resources to enhance their world studies programs: I can reroute prepaid exhibits, once the original client has finished with it, to a political science department for its temporary use. What this means is that instead of dismantling an exhibit after its initial showing, I would allow it to travel to a school, with no fee involved, if I have received the request in advance.

Of course, the schools will have to assume responsibility for shipping and insurance costs, which will vary depending upon the location. If, however, this approach works and teachers contact me well in advance of their program it may even work out that some of my regular clients would pay the shipping and insurance as a goodwill gesture. One of the reasons I am willing to explore this matter is that I think some of my clients would actually like to see some of their exhibits

toured to high schools and universities. It is also possible that if the idea catches on additional posters will be printed during the original printing run for free distribution to the students who will later see the exhibit at their school.

As with any exploratory endeavor, there are no hard and fast rules. Each professor or department wishing to consider an exhibit should contact me as far in advance as possible—three months is not an unusual lead time for formal exhibition preparation—and we will consider the details at that time, in a spirit of mutual cooperation.

Finally, if any of your members wish to receive copies of posters related to contemporary issues of the Third World they may write to me and I will be pleased to refer them to the appropriate organization. Many human rights and development groups distribute free or inexpensive posters from time to time and your

# Economic Sanctions and U.S. Foreign Policy

**Gary Clyde Hufbauer**  
Georgetown University

**Jeffrey J. Schott**  
Institute for International Economics

## Introduction

Economic sanctions have played an important role in foreign policy throughout the twentieth century. In a comprehensive study of sanctions, we have documented 103 cases since the beginning of World War I where sanctions have been deployed by a number of countries in pursuit of foreign policy goals.<sup>1</sup> The United States has practiced the art of economic coercion far more than any other country, participating in 68 of the 103 cases; but the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France, and the Arab League have also utilized sanctions on numerous occasions.

The popularity of sanctions has waxed and waned over the years, but they have never quite gone out of style. The conspicuous failures of recent episodes involving the U.S. grain embargo against the Soviet Union and sanctions against the construction of the Soviet-European gas pipeline raised serious doubts as to the efficacy of sanctions in a world of interdependent economies. Yet, despite these questions, the United States continues to turn to sanctions as an answer to foreign policy disputes. Most recently, President Reagan has waged economic warfare against Nicaragua while the Congress has called for, and the President has agreed to, certain sanctions against South Africa.

A country can address foreign policy disputes in five different ways: diplomacy, political coercion, economic coercion, covert action, and military intervention. Policy responses often involve a combination of these ingredients. Economic sanctions often emerge as the centerpiece when a balance is needed between actions that seem too soft or too strident. In these situations, sanctions are seldom regarded as the "ideal" weapon; rather they are seen as the "least bad" alternative.

What about the other weapons in the diplomatic armory? Diplomacy in the classic sense has acquired a bad name. The telecommunications revolution and transoceanic jet travel have undermined the influence of overseas emissaries. Today, diplomats are often used as message carriers (the story of U.S.-USSR diplomacy) or hostages (in Iran and Libya), rather than mediators or negotiators.

Political coercion—marked by breaking diplomatic relations and isolating the target country internationally—has its own drawbacks. A complete break in diplomatic rela-

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Gary Clyde Hufbauer was a Senior Fellow at the Institute for International Economics when this analysis was completed. He is now the Marcus Wallenberg Professor of International Financial Diplomacy at Georgetown University. He was formerly Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Trade and Investment Policy of the U.S. Treasury, Director of the International Tax Staff at the Treasury, and professor of economics at the University of New Mexico. He received his Ph.D. in international economics from Cambridge University and a J.D. from Georgetown University.

Jeffrey J. Schott is a research associate at the Institute. He was formerly a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and an international economist at the U.S. Treasury Department. He holds an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University.

<sup>1</sup>Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott, assisted by Kimberly Ann Elliott, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy*, Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1985.

## **Economic Sanctions and U.S. Foreign Policy**

tions establishes a hostile atmosphere and undermines the political leverage available to influence the policies of the target country. Relations between Iran and the United States illustrate this outcome. A campaign to turn the country into an international pariah takes time to implement, time that is often well-spent by the target to achieve a political rescue. This story is illustrated by erstwhile U.S. efforts to isolate Syria.

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*The conspicuous failures of recent episodes involving the U.S. grain embargo against the Soviet Union and sanctions against the construction of the Soviet-European gas pipeline raised serious doubts as to the efficacy of sanctions in a world of interdependent economies.*

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Covert and quasi-military measures are distasteful to democracies (especially post-Vietnam America), and domestic backlash from liberal quarters can easily undercut support. To avoid this pitfall, governments resort to charades, such as covert U.S. aid to the contras in Nicaragua under the guise of humanitarian assistance (food, clothing, and medicine), and the ill-disguised French effort to incapacitate the Greenpeace anti-nuclear protest vessel in New Zealand.

Military intervention may work against certain small and even medium-sized countries (Grenada and Argentina); but it often seems too dangerous in instances where the threat of big-power confrontation lurks (Poland and Afghanistan), and military intervention often proves ineffective in the context of national civil wars (the United States in Vietnam; Israel in Lebanon).

By comparison with other tools in the diplomatic armory, economic sanctions may not seem so bad. Trade and financial controls are a way to demonstrate resolve, to express outrage, and to seek to deter further abuses—without risking dangerous confrontation or embarrassing humiliation.

### **Foreign Policy Goals**

Sanctions are deployed in pursuit of various policy goals. We organized the 103 sanctions episodes according to five broad classifications:

1. *Modest Policy Goals.* Modest goals are not trivial, but they are relatively limited and specific in scope. Included in this group are sanctions imposed in support of human rights (the Carter Administration's campaigns in Uruguay, Korea, and other countries), antiterrorism (erstwhile U.S. sanctions against Libya and Iraq), nuclear non-proliferation (U.S. and Canadian measures against Taiwan and Korea), as well as settlement of expropriation disputes (U.S. sanctions against Peru in 1968).
2. *Destabilization.* The overthrow of a foreign government (for example, Allende in Chile or Somoza in Nicaragua) is a straightforward way to achieve desired changes in policy. Destabilization episodes spring from conflicts over modest issues such as expropriation disputes (U.S. actions against the Goulart regime in Brazil in the early 1960s) and because of hostile overall relations between the sender and target countries (Soviet attempts to overthrow Tito in Yugoslavia in 1948).
3. *Disruption of Military Adventures.* Sanctions have been used in attempts to forestall or terminate foreign military adventures by countries engaged in limited conflicts. Such cases often occur in the context of border disputes among smaller countries (for example, India and Pakistan in 1971 over Bangladesh; the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974), and when major powers seek to stem support for armed insurrections in Third World countries (for example, sanctions against the

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935).

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***A complete break in diplomatic relations establishes a hostile atmosphere and undermines the political leverage available to influence the policies of the target country.***

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4. *Impair Military Potential.* These cases involve long-term campaigns to weaken the economic and military potential of a major adversary. In these cases, sanctions are designed to impose heavy costs on the target's economy and thereby diminish resources available for a military build-up or foreign adventure. Such measures often include the preemptive purchase of strategic goods (British acquisition of Spanish wolfram during the Second World War) or restricted access to sophisticated goods and technologies (U.S. denial of export licenses for large, high-speed computer sales to the Soviet Union). This type of sanction was deployed most recently when the United States tried to block construction of a Soviet-European gas pipeline to forestall development of Soviet energy resources and to deny the Soviet Union hard currency proceeds from the sale of natural gas in Europe.
5. *Other Major Policy Changes.* Countries often attempt to coerce fundamental changes in the political regime of a target country. Illustrative of such episodes are current efforts to abolish apartheid in South Africa, and to lift martial law, release dissidents, and reopen talks with the Solidarity trade union in Poland.

We did not analyze the effectiveness of sanctions in soothing domestic interests. Yet domestic policy concerns are often more important in inducing sanctions than the resulting behavior of a foreign country. What U.S. president can afford to "do nothing" when the Soviet Union invades Afghanistan or downs a Korean Air Lines flight? What Soviet leader could ignore ideological deviation by Yugoslavia or Albania? Sanctions often involve symbolic gestures that put a country on record against a foreign outrage, even though informed opinion in the sender country expects no concrete change in target country behavior. While domestic audiences may initially favor actions that convey disapproval and deny business as usual, over time the symbol may fade into obscurity or create a backlash among affected business groups.

### **Lessons and Guidelines**

Are sanctions effective in achieving foreign policy goals? Success is in the eyes of the beholder. Much depends on the type of goal sought, the particular historical context, and the method in which sanctions are deployed.

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***By comparison with other tools in the diplomatic armory, economic sanctions may not seem so bad. Trade and financial controls are a way to demonstrate resolve . . . without risking dangerous confrontation or embarrassing humiliation.***

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The decision to impose sanctions is influenced by a whole host of factors, both political and economic, which may bear importantly on the outcome of a sanctions episode. The political variables we examined included the health and stability of the target country, the warmth of prior relations between sender and target, international assistance to the target or cooperation with the sender, the duration of sanctions, and

## **Economic Sanctions and U.S. Foreign Policy**

the use of companion policies such as covert and quasi-military measures. The economic variables included the cost of sanctions to both target and sender countries, their trade linkage, the ratio of their GNP values, and the type of sanction deployed (trade or financial).

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*Sanctions often involve symbolic gestures that put a country on record against a foreign outrage, even though informed opinion in the sender country expects no concrete change in target country behavior.*

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In our analysis, we judged an episode successful if sanctions made a modest contribution to a goal that was at least partially realized. By that definition, sanctions were successful in 36 percent of the cases we analyzed.<sup>2</sup> Episodes involving destabilization and modest policy goals were the most successful; attempts to disrupt military adventures, to impair a foreign adversary's military potential, or otherwise to change its policies in a major way generally failed. Furthermore, success has proven more elusive in recent years than in earlier decades. The growth in global economic interdependence and East-West confrontation have made it easier for target countries to find alternate suppliers, markets, and financial backers to replace goods embargoed or funds withheld by the sender country.

From the 103 episodes, we have constructed "nine commandments" or general propositions on the use and abuse of economic sanctions in pursuit of foreign policy goals. Sanctions occasionally can bear fruit, but only when planted in the right soil and nurtured in the proper way.

1. Countries often have inflated expectations of what sanctions can accomplish. At most, a weak correlation exists between economic deprivation and political willingness to change. Non-economic factors often overshadow the impact of sanctions in determining the political outcome.

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*The growth in global economic interdependence and East-West confrontation have made it easier for target countries to find alternate suppliers, markets, and financial backers to replace goods embargoed or funds withheld by the sender country.*

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2. Sanctions are most likely to be effective against the weak and helpless. Crass but true: a strong correlation exists between the political and economic health of the target country and its susceptibility to economic pressure. This feature obviously is most pronounced in destabilization cases. Size is also a factor; on average, the GNP of the sender country was more than 150 times greater than that of the target country.

3. Sanctions are more likely to succeed against allies and close trading partners. These countries are more apt to bend on specific issues in deference to the overall relationship. Particular attention should be given to the political costs of such actions, however; the preservation of political alliances is a two-way street.

4. Sanctions should impose the maximum cost on the target country. Sanctions that bite are sanctions that work. On average, the cost of sanctions to target countries was about two percent of GNP in successful cases.

<sup>2</sup>The same percentage applied to cases in which the United States was involved.



5. Sanctions should be applied decisively and with resolution. A strategy of "turning the screws" invites evasion: it affords the target country time to find alternative suppliers, to build new alliances, and to mobilize domestic opinion in support of its policies. Furthermore, sanctions generally are regarded as a short-term policy, with the anticipation that normal commercial relations will be reestablished after the resolution of the crisis. Public opinion in the sender country may initially welcome sanctions, but support often dissipates over time.

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*Sanctions should be applied decisively and with resolution. A strategy of "turning the screws" invites evasion: it affords the target country time to find alternative suppliers, to build new alliances, and to mobilize domestic opinion in support of its policies.*

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6. The more sanctions cost domestic firms, the less likely they will succeed. Sanctions can result in important losses for specific domestic industries such as agriculture or heavy construction equipment, even if the costs to the sender economy as a whole are negligible. Political fallout from affected domestic industries often undermines support for the continuation of sanctions.

7. Companion actions, such as covert measures, may or may not improve the effectiveness of sanctions. Such measures are used in conjunction with economic sanctions most frequently in destabilization and impairment of military potential cases, but on balance there is little evidence that they tip the scales in favor of success.

8. International cooperation is not a guarantee of success because it is generally sought in high stakes cases that are less likely to succeed under any circumstances. In cases involving specific and modest goals, international cooperation is not needed to achieve success. Sanctions should be either deployed unilaterally—because the impact on one's allies is slight—or they should be designed in cooperation with one's allies in order to reduce backlash and evasion.

9. Careful planning is essential. Countries should weigh carefully the costs and benefits of economic sanctions *before* resorting to their use in foreign policy ventures.

In sum, the commandments admonish government policymakers to recognize the limits of economic sanctions and to frame their actions accordingly. Each case requires independent analysis. The propositions should be read as general indicators, not infallible guideposts, in the fine art of statecraft.

### **Implementation of Policy Guidelines**

The policy guidelines we have put forward are flexible standards. In the foreign policy area there can be no hard-and-fast rules; each situation is different, marked by a particular set of economic and political conditions. Each requires a well-tailored policy response.

To illustrate how these guidelines might be used to determine whether sanctions should be part of the policy response, we examine two episodes of current concern, namely U.S. actions against Nicaragua and South Africa. The Nicaraguan case illustrates a situation where sanctions might have been successful if applied decisively; the South African case illustrates a contrasting situation where, unilaterally, the United States does not wield sufficient economic leverage to dismantle the apartheid regime. Before turning to these episodes two points should be emphasized: first, we do not evaluate the merits of particular foreign policy goals—our study is about means, not ends; second, we do not focus on the domestic policy aspects of

## Economic Sanctions and U.S. Foreign Policy

economic sanctions—yet, in both cases, a major goal is to put the United States on the “right side of history.”

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*U.S. sanctions have been costly to Nicaragua, but not calamitous.*

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### Nicaragua

Since the first days of the Reagan administration, sanctions against Nicaragua have been imposed in piecemeal fashion, in a dual attempt to stem support for guerrillas in El Salvador and to destabilize the Sandinista regime.<sup>3</sup> In January 1981, the United States terminated its bilateral aid program, including “Food for Peace” shipments and suspended a \$10 million wheat sale. Later that year, the United States blocked a \$30 million credit from the Interamerican Development Bank for a fisheries project. In May 1983, the U.S. import quota for Nicaraguan sugar was cut by 90 percent and subsequently terminated in May 1985 when a total bilateral trade embargo was imposed.

U.S. sanctions have been costly to Nicaragua, but not calamitous. The Nicaraguan economy, already suffering from a combination of mismanagement dating back to the Somoza years, civil war, and the sharp drop in world prices for its commodity exports, has continued to function with the support of the Soviet Union and new trading partners (including several U.S. allies) that purchase Nicaraguan sugar, coffee, and bananas. While the economic climate has gone from bad to worse, Western trade credits and infusions of foreign aid, principally from socialist countries, have sustained the Sandinista regime. Increased grants, loans and trade credits from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Libya reportedly have averaged about \$150 million a year.

As sanctions were deployed, U.S. economic ties with Nicaragua diminished and correspondingly the U.S. ability to influence Sandinista policy through economic pressure declined. The recent trade embargo comes at a time when the United States accounts for only 14 percent of Nicaragua’s exports and imports, down from a more influential 35 percent in 1980. U.S. sanctions against Nicaragua are a classic case of too little, too late.

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*While the economic climate has gone from bad to worse, Western trade credits and infusions of foreign aid, principally from socialist countries, have sustained the Sandinista regime.*

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Yet Nicaragua was a case where sanctions might have worked, if applied more decisively. In 1981, the fledgling Sandinista regime was weak and the economy in shambles. The United States accounted for much of Nicaraguan trade and investment. The United States had a clear and specific objective: end the arms flow to El Salvador and implement democratic reforms. The United States maintained cordial, if not altogether friendly relations with Nicaragua, owing to prior U.S. support in the overthrow of the Somoza regime. The threat of comprehensive sanctions could have sent a message which, at the time, would have been hard to ignore. By not moving quickly, the United States lost its chance to influence events in Nicaragua through economic coercion. In the Nicaraguan episode, U.S. policymakers failed to heed two vital lessons.

<sup>3</sup>Ironically, the Carter Administration used sanctions to destabilize the Somoza regime, thereby ushering the Sandinistas into power.

First, sanctions need to be applied quickly and forcefully. Gradualism breeds evasion. On the economic front, the piecemeal U.S. approach to sanctions has given Nicaragua time to find alternative trading partners and new sources of aid and trade credits. On the political front, U.S. sanctions have been counterproductive. Incremental sanctions gave the Sandinistas time to consolidate their hold on power, an excuse for Nicaragua's economic woes, and an occasion to suppress internal dissent. Sanctions have not diverted the Sandinistas from the Marxist path; instead, they afforded Moscow the chance to come to Nicaragua's rescue—much as the USSR did in Cuba.

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***Sanctions against South Africa may strengthen the "laager" mentality that drives the apartheid regime—much as sanctions did with the white minority regime in Rhodesia.***

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Second, the United States again discovered that international support for sanctions is hard to come by—the world has many white knights willing and able to perform economic and political rescues. This lesson argues either for taking decisive *unilateral* action to preempt such rescues, or for keeping economic sanctions in the closet.

In sum, Nicaragua is a case where a bolder use of economic weapons might have worked. As a consequence of step-by-step measures, however, the United States lost its predominant influence over the Nicaraguan economy. Today, even drastic sanctions such as an asset freeze or naval blockade might not alter Sandinista policy.

#### ***South Africa***

The case of South Africa is more ambiguous. The Botha government remains friendly with the Reagan Administration; meanwhile, South Africa is importantly placed geographically and remains a key source of strategic minerals. Its domestic policies, however, are repugnant to the great majority of Americans. For decades, U.S. policy has been torn between conflicting American interests in South Africa and hampered by a conspicuous absence of U.S. economic leverage over the South African economy.

International sanctions have been applied since 1962 to coerce the South African government into pursuing fundamental reforms in the apartheid regime. Most have been relatively mild (for example, a porous arms embargo) and feebly enforced. The potentially most damaging measure, the Arab oil embargo, was undercut by Iran until 1979. By that time, South Africa had reduced its reliance on imported oil through stockpiling and the development of nuclear energy and synthetic fuels.

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***On the other hand, two factors weigh in favor of a judicious use of sanctions: the present friendly relations at the government level between the United States and South Africa and the possibility of international support for narrowly-targeted sanctions.***

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In 1985, racial violence and repressive emergency controls spawned new calls in the United States, Europe, Japan, and Australia for additional sanctions against the apartheid regime. France has restricted new investments by French companies in South Africa, mirroring actions taken by Sweden in 1979. Australia halted official export finance for companies trading with South Africa and banned imports of krugerrands. The U.S. Congress, in stark contrast to the Reagan administration's policy of

## Economic Sanctions and U.S. Foreign Policy

"constructive engagement," called for a ban on the sale of krugerrands, a moratorium on new bank loans and most computer exports to government agencies, and a complete halt of transfers of nuclear technology and equipment (this last measure tightens preexisting nuclear export controls imposed since 1975). The Reagan Administration has agreed to implement administratively many of the provisions in the compromise worked out between the House and Senate on sanctions toward South Africa.

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*Unilateral sanctions will not dent the armor of apartheid. The United States and key European countries must coordinate their policies to create even a semblance of effective economic pressure against the South African government.*

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Under current conditions, could additional sanctions exert much impact on the South African economy and might they serve as a catalyst for peaceful change? Here again, a few lessons from historical experience are instructive.

First, the sanctions are largely symbolic; they would impose no significant costs on the South African economy. The United States, for example, accounts for only 15 percent of South Africa's exports and imports, and for less than 20 percent of total foreign direct investment in South Africa (and foreign investment itself is only a small share of overall investment in South Africa). The cost to South Africa of U.S. sanctions imposed in isolation would quickly be compensated by trade and financial flows with other countries. The Swedish experience in South Africa since its 1979 investment ban has shown that one country's withdrawal is soon replaced by another's deposit, with little net drain on South African resources. West Germany, for one, has increased its trade and investment ties with South Africa significantly in recent years.

Second, sanctions against South Africa, like those directed against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Polish crackdown on Solidarity, would answer the domestic call for action, put Western societies on the "right side of history," and convey moral opprobrium. But seldom are they powerful enough to coerce a strong government into making fundamental reforms in its political system. Indeed, sanctions against South Africa may strengthen the "laager" mentality that drives the apartheid regime—much as sanctions did with the white minority regime in Rhodesia.

Third, the message of U.S. sanctions is garbled because of the internal policy dispute between the Congress and the Administration. This results in indecisive and often inconsistent policy implementation; bluntly put, it lets the target country off the hook. History shows that the message of U.S. sanctions seldom reaches the foreign target when the Congress and the Administration sound discordant notes. Israel has successfully deflected frequent attempts by the past seven administrations to cut U.S. aid flows in the knowledge that the Congress would not let such measures stick for very long. Turkey also ignored U.S. attempts in the mid-1970s to dislodge its troops from Cyprus, in part because of efforts by the Ford and Carter Administrations to undercut congressionally mandated sanctions. Half-hearted rebukes do not carry great weight.

On the other hand, two factors weigh in favor of a judicious use of sanctions: the present friendly relations at the government level between the United States and South Africa and the possibility of international support for narrowly targeted sanctions.

Sanctions have sometimes been effective against allies and close trading partners. Allies are more likely than adversaries to bend to economic pressure in deference to broader political and strategic objectives. The United Kingdom and France withdrew

from the Sinai in 1956 partly in response to U.S. sanctions; South Korea and Taiwan deferred plans to build nuclear reprocessing plants under the shadow of cuts in U.S. economic and military assistance. These examples and others suggest that sanctions will have a better chance of prevailing if the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany maintain relations with South Africa.

Unilateral sanctions will not dent the armor of apartheid. The United States and key European countries must coordinate their policies to create even a semblance of effective economic pressure against the South African government. Such pressure might best be directed towards the implementation, over a period of time, of specific reforms that gradually erode the pillars of apartheid. The South African government could be asked to take several pragmatic steps. For example, the government could first endorse, and later implement, the program advocated last January by six South African employer groups: universal citizenship, meaningful political participation for all blacks, free and independent trade unions, the right to own shops or conduct business anywhere in the country, and an end to the forced relocation of people.

However, if reforms come to South Africa, they are likely to be inspired by internal developments that are only tangentially related to Western economic pressure. Even if a joint program of economic pressure is agreed to by the United States and Europe and even if the program seeks practical reforms, the historical record indicates that success is not assured. Fewer than a quarter of U.S. attempts to deploy sanctions since 1973 have been even partially successful. The record for large international campaigns in pursuit of ambitious goals through the use of economic pressure is particularly dismal. The South African government may ultimately decide to unwind the system of apartheid, but reforms are far more likely to be inspired by domestic chaos and nervous foreign bankers than by official sanctions.

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*The South African government may ultimately decide to unwind the system of apartheid, but reforms are far more likely to be inspired by domestic chaos and nervous foreign bankers than by official sanctions.*

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## **Conclusion**

Our study has attempted to distinguish between circumstances in which economic sanctions can contribute to the achievement of foreign policy goals and those in which sanctions can do very little. The episodes against Nicaragua and South Africa are instructive guides on how *not* to deploy sanctions.

Attention to the nine commandments would help government policymakers avoid pitfalls and maximize the effectiveness of sanctions. To harbor hopes of success, policymakers should be confident that their goals are within their grasp, that they can impose sufficient economic pain to command the attention of the target country, that their efforts will not simply prompt offsetting policies by other major powers, and that the sanctions chosen will not impose insupportable costs on their domestic constituents and foreign allies. The prudent leader will weigh carefully the costs and benefits of economic sanctions before resorting to their use in foreign policy ventures.

## Forum

### The Contributions of President Aaron Wildavsky

**Nelson W. Polsby**

University of California, Berkeley

To those legions of political scientists who have in one way or another been touched by Aaron Wildavsky's prodigious scholarly output, or fallen under the influence of his immensely persuasive teaching, or read his arresting essays in news-



**Aaron Wildavsky**

papers and magazines, his election as President of the American Political Science Association must, no doubt, have been a matter not of whether, but of when. The Association's presidency exists primarily to honor distinguished scholarship, teaching, and service to our learned profession. On all these dimensions, Wildavsky's accomplishments have been extraordinary.

Aaron Bernard Wildavsky was born on May 31, 1930, in Brooklyn, New York, the third child and only son to live to adulthood of Eva and Sender Wildavsky, who had immigrated to America from Poltava, in the Ukraine, a dozen years earlier.<sup>1</sup> Having seen the Czarist and Bolshevik alternatives, as Wildavsky later remarked, his parents had no doubt of their preference for democracy.<sup>2</sup> The senior Wildavsky was originally a book-binder by trade, who bought, fixed up, and managed a small apartment building.

During [World War II, Wildavsky writes] we rented an apartment in a house we did not own. I learned to live with a situation in which our tenants complained about their landlord, we complained about ours, my father complained about his boss, and the superintendent hired to take care of the building complained about him. I cannot think of a better way to get an objective

<sup>1</sup>Wildavsky has written movingly of his parents in an essay, "The Richest Boy in Poltava," *Society* 13 (Nov./Dec. 1975) on which I have drawn. Other autobiographical materials include the prefatory matter to various of his books, cited below, and "Rationality in Writing: Linear and Curvilinear," *Journal of Public Policy* I (February 1981): 125-140.

<sup>2</sup>*The Revolt Against the Masses and Other Essays on Politics and Public Policy* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 22.

view of social relations than to be landlord and tenant, employer and employee all at once.<sup>3</sup>

Wildavsky was educated in the public schools of Brooklyn, graduating from P.S. 89, and Erasmus Hall High School, where his academic record was undistinguished. Readers may take comfort from the fact that by at least some standards, Wildavsky was a late bloomer. By the time he arrived at Brooklyn College, however, in 1950, his interests in politics were well formed. He reports:

Politics was an avid subject of conversation in our house. My mother used to read me stories from the *New York Daily News*, an early experience which taught me how selective perception can make one comfortable with a newspaper whose editorial views are utterly opposed to one's beliefs. My father vigorously argued with his friends over foreign policy questions. There was no debate about the New Deal because we were all Democrats. I was 14 before I met a live Republican.<sup>4</sup>

I did not learn about Communists and fellow travelers from books; I learned by observing their behavior in student politics. I was amazed to discover that one of the clichés about them was true: they *were* subject to outside guidance

by the Communist party and they *did* all say the same thing.<sup>5</sup>

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*There was something in Wildavsky's temperament, however, that did not respond to the niggling limitations of data-gathering in a closed political system. The manifold opportunities for research presented by the riotous display of American politics beckoned.*

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Among the academic influences on Wildavsky at Brooklyn College in the early 50s—as on many of the gifted students who gathered there—were Samuel Konefsky, Charles Ascher, Arthur Charles Cole, A. F. K. Organski, and Jesse Clarkson, who evidently taught him considerably more than the rudiments of his craft. This rapidly became apparent during a year as a Fulbright scholar at the University of Sydney (1954-55). Asked by Rufus Davis to satisfy Australian curiosity about contemporary American politics, Wildavsky undertook a lecture series on the political system of the United States to university students in Brisbane. His first scholarly publication, "Exploring the Content of McCarthyism," appeared in 1955 in *The Australian Outlook*.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, structural analogies between Australia and the United States awakened an interest in federalism, leading to a second journal article,<sup>7</sup> and an investigation of a key episode in Australian political history—the 1926 referendum—led to the publication

<sup>3</sup>*The Revolt Against the Masses*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>His own four children are not so underprivileged: Wildavsky himself switched his registration to the Republican party a few years ago. This move was prompted by a complicated interaction of influences on his thinking: a belief that the Republicans were more hospitable to his individualistic, near-libertarian convictions about human freedom and the efficacy of self-help, a feeling that they were, as he is, strong for national defense and less embarrassed about openly patriotic sentiment. His sort of Democrats, meanwhile, had been losing a lot of intra-party battles. The dominant branch of the party, so it seemed, had become heedless of the costs of social programs and inattentive to many of their real consequences. Moreover, while left-Democrats made very heavy demands on the political system, they appeared to have no compunctions about withdrawing support from it by making unreasonable and thoughtless criticisms. Wildavsky did not leave the Democratic party, however, while his parents, both admirers of Roosevelt, were alive.

<sup>5</sup>*The Revolt Against the Masses*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup>"Exploring the Content of McCarthyism," *The Australian Outlook* 9 (June 1955): 88-104.

<sup>7</sup>"Housing and Slum Clearance under the American Federal System," *Public Administration*, The Journal of the Australian Regional Group of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, 14 (Dec. 1955): 229-236.

in Melbourne of Wildavsky's first hard-cover book—the first of 26 to date.<sup>8</sup>

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*Wildavsky has used budget making to explore a wide panoply of issues.*

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And so, by the time the late-blooming Wildavsky returned in the fall of 1955 to begin graduate studies at Yale he had already written approximately as much publishable scholarly material as an assistant professor of better than average productivity. As the years have gone by, Wildavsky's instinct for the scholarly occasion has sharpened. Just as he was able to come forward in a timely fashion with an overview of American politics to meet the needs of Australian audiences, Wildavsky has readily responded to the more recent demands of American audiences of all sorts. Articles by Wildavsky on current foreign and defense issues,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>*Studies in Australian Politics: The 1926 Referendum* (Melbourne/London: F.W. Cheshire, 1958). Half of this book is Wildavsky's study; the other half is an essay by Dagmar Carboch. Wildavsky's vitae lists eight edited volumes and 17 (actually there are 18) books which he has written, alone or with collaborators.

<sup>9</sup>"Nuclear Clubs or Nuclear Wars," *Yale Review* 61 (March 1962): 345-362. "Practical Consequences of the Theoretical Study of Defense Policy," *Public Administration Review* 25 (March 1965): 90-103. "A Third-World Averaging Strategy," with Max Singer, *U.S. Foreign Policy: Perspectives and Proposals for the 1970s*, Paul Seabury and Aaron Wildavsky, eds. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 15-35. "ABM as an Issue or You Can't Tell the Strangeloves Without a Scorecard," *Commentary* 48 (Nov. 1969): 55-63. "Oil and the Decline of Western Power," with Edward Friedland and Paul Seabury, *Political Science Quarterly* 90 (Fall 1975): 437-450. "What's In It For Us? America's National Interest in Israel," *Middle East Review* 10 (Fall 1977). "Dilemmas of American Foreign Policy," "The Soviet System," and "Containment Plus Pluralization" in *Beyond Containment*, Wildavsky, ed. (Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1983), pp. 11-24, 25-38, 125-146.

party politics,<sup>10</sup> the Presidency,<sup>11</sup> and diverse problems of social policy<sup>12</sup> have

<sup>10</sup>"A Methodological Critique of Duverger's Political Parties," *Journal of Politics* 21 (May 1959): 303-318. "What Can I Do? Ohio Delegates View the Democratic Convention," *Inside Politics: The National Conventions*, Paul Tillett, ed. (Dobbs Ferry: Oceana Publications, 1960), pp. 112-130. "On the Superiority of National Conventions," *Review of Politics* 24 (July 1962): 307-319. "The Intelligent Citizen's Guide to the Abuses of Statistics: The Kennedy Document and the Catholic Vote," and "Uncertainty and Decision-Making at the National Conventions," with Nelson W. Polsby, in *Politics and Social Life*, Polsby et al., eds. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), pp. 370-389, 825-844. "The Goldwater Phenomenon: Purists, Politicians and the Two-Party System," *Review of Politics* 27 (July 1965): 386-413. "Richard Nixon, President of the United States," *Transaction* 5 (Oct. 1968): 8-15. "The Meaning of 'Youth' in the Struggle for Control of the Democratic Party," in *Revolt Against the Masses*, pp. 270-287. "The Three-Party System—1980 and After," *The Public Interest* 64 (Summer 1981): 47-57. "The Party of Government, the Party of Opposition, and the Party of Balance: An American View of the Consequences of the 1980 Election," in *The American Elections of 1980*, Austin Ranney, ed. (Washington, D.C.: The American Enterprise Institute, 1981), pp. 329-350.

<sup>11</sup>"Choosing the Lesser Evil: The Policy-Maker and the Problem of Presidential Disability," *Parliamentary Affairs* 13 (Winter 1959-60): 25-37. "The Two Presidencies," *Transaction* (Dec. 1966): 7-14. "Presidential Succession and Disability: Policy Analysis for Unique Cases," *The Presidency*, Wildavsky, ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), pp. 777-795. "The Past and Future Presidency," *The Public Interest* 41 (Fall 1975): 56-76. "Jimmy Carter's Theory of Governing," with Jack Knott, *The Wilson Quarterly* (Winter 1977): 49-67. "The Prophylactic Presidency," with Sanford Weiner, *The Public Interest* 52 (Summer 1978): 3-19. "Was Nixon Tough? Dilemmas of American Statecraft," *Society* 16 (Nov./Dec. 1978): 25-35. "Plébiscitary Presidency: Direct Election as Class Legislation," *Common Sense* 2 (Winter 1979): 1-10. "Putting the Presidency on Automatic Pilot," in *The American Presidency: Principles and Problems*, 1, Kenneth W. Thompson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), pp. 23-33.

<sup>12</sup>"Aesthetic Power or the Triumph of the Sensitive Minority Over the Vulgar Mass: A



frequently taught political scientists how to bring professional learning to bear on the contemporary concerns of the wider community, and have reminded his col-

leagues of the many ways in which good scholarship can serve the ends of good citizenship. He sees this activity as something of a moral obligation:

Self-government is one of the noblest and most difficult aims of mankind. A pessimist about human nature, I cannot regard its ultimate prospects as certain. If a man can contribute to the survival and extension of free government in the smallest way, he has done well.<sup>13</sup>

Political Analysis of the New Economics," *Daedalus* (Fall 1967): 1115-1128. "The Empty-head Blues: Black Rebellion and White Reaction," *The Public Interest* 11 (Spring 1968): 3-16. "The Political Feasibility of Income by Right," with Bill Cavala, *Public Policy* 18 (Spring 1970): 321-354. "A Program of Accountability for Elementary Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan* (Dec. 1970): 212-216. "The Revolt Against the Masses," in *The Revolt Against the Masses*, pp. 29-51. "The Search for the Oppressed," *Freedom at Issue* 16 (Nov./Dec. 1972): 5-16. "Economy and Environment/Rationality and Ritual: A Review of the Uncertain Search for Environmental Quality," *Accounting, Organizations and Society* (June 1976): 117-129; and *Stanford Law Review* 29 (Fall 1976): 183-204. "The Strategic Retreat on Objectives," a review essay in *Policy Analysis* 2 (Summer 1976). "Doing Better and Feeling Worse: The Political Pathology of Health Policy," *Daedalus* (Winter 1976): 105-123. "A Tax by Any Other Name: The Donor Directed Automatic Percentage Contribution Bonus, a Budget Alternative for Financing Government Support of Charity," with David A. Good, *Policy Sciences* 7 (1976): 251-279. "Using Public Funds to Serve Private Interests," *Society* 16 (Jan./Feb. 1979): 39-42. "No Risk Is the Highest Risk of All," *American Scientist* 67 (Jan./Feb. 1979): 32-37. "Regional Equity as Political Welfare," *Taxing and Spending* 2 (April 1979). "Improving the Quality of Life: Television Repair," with Lee Friedman, *Technology in Society* 1 (1979): 329-338. "Wealthier is Healthier," *Regulation Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1980): 10-12, 55. "Richer is Safer," *The Public Interest* 60 (Summer 1980): 23-39. "Pollution as Moral Coercion: Culture, Risk Perception, and Libertarian Values," *Cato Journal* 2 (Spring 1982): 305-325. "On the Uses of Adversity in Higher Education," in *Responses to Fiscal Stress in Higher Education*, Robert A. Wilson, ed. (Tucson: Center for the Study of Higher Education, College of Education, University of Arizona, June 1982), pp. 64-73. "Squaring the Political Circle: Industrial Policies and the American Dream," in Chalmers Johnson, ed., *The Industrial Policy Debate* (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1984), pp. 27-44. "The 'Reverse Sequence' in Civil Liberties," *The Public Interest* 78 (Winter 1985): 32-42.

Wildavsky's career at Yale was unusual. He swiftly established himself as a leading figure among what a few of us in middle age still believe was an extraordinarily able group of fellow graduate students.<sup>14</sup> His classmates rapidly came to prize the irrepressible flow of ideas and aphorisms that bubbled out of his fertile imagination. Very few topics arose in seminar to which, it seemed, Wildavsky had not given prior thought. His contributions to the free-for-alls that passed for discussion in classrooms and in the hallway were prolific and notable also for their openhanded generosity.

Owing to a series of accidents, however, Wildavsky as a graduate student never became as well known to the Yale faculty as to his colleagues. He took Robert Dahl's course in a year Dahl was on leave, with a distinguished visitor from Columbia, Arthur MacMahon, Cecil Driver's course with Wesleyan's Sigmund Neumann, and Robert Lane's course with David Truman, also of Columbia. When the time came for Wildavsky to go onto the job market, it was Neumann and Harvey Mansfield, on leave from Ohio State, who came to the rescue with word-of-mouth recommendations to J. D. Lewis at Oberlin. There is evidence, nevertheless, of a considerable Yale influ-

<sup>13</sup> *The Revolt Against the Masses*, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Some of us have taken considerable responsibility for Wildavsky's education through the years, and are delighted to take credit—at least partial credit—for his efforts now that they have received so much recognition. Among others, Wildavsky's siblings and seminar-mates at Yale included Robert C. Fried, Fred I. Greenstein, Raymond E. Wolfinger, Robert T. Golembiewski, Sarah McCalley Morehouse, James David Barber, Theodore Lowi, and Herbert Jacob.

ence in Wildavsky's early work; indeed, in one form or another he published most of his Yale term papers.

Wildavsky's original half-formed intention on arrival at Yale was to study the Soviet Union with Frederick Barghoorn, a project for which he already had the requisite language skills. There was something in Wildavsky's temperament, however, that did not respond to the nagging limitations of data-gathering in a closed political system. The manifold opportunities for research presented by the riotous display of American politics beckoned.

Eventually, four major Wildavsky efforts showed the influence of the Yale connection. Wildavsky's dissertation, written under the careful direction of Allan P. Sindler, then a junior member of the Yale faculty, was on the Dixon-Yates case, a marvelous farrago of Eisenhower-era administrative snafus and intrigues. This gave Wildavsky an opportunity to spread on a very large canvas his conviction, nurtured by James Fesler and Herbert Kaufman, that public administration was a continuation of politics, in the same sense that war was diplomacy fought with slightly different weapons.<sup>15</sup>

A second book that arose from the Yale years was the first of many Wildavsky collaborations: *Presidential Elections*, published in 1964 and in every quadrennium since.<sup>16</sup> At the heart of this book was a longish term paper on party

reform, jointly written with me, and presented to Allan Sindler's course on political parties. Vestiges of the term paper are still embedded in the book, six editions later.<sup>17</sup>

Third, illustrating Wildavsky's virtuoso gifts not only as a teacher but as a world-class kibitzer, is *Leadership in a Small Town*.<sup>18</sup> In the autumn of 1958 Wildavsky went off to Oberlin to prepare, and teach, eight courses a year to some of the most talented and demanding undergraduate students in the country. One of these courses was state and local government, then as now a topic capable of glazing over the eyes of the most devoted student. Drawing upon his considerable knowledge of the then-underway Dahl study of New Haven, Wildavsky constructed a parallel investigation of Oberlin. He enlisted Oberlin undergraduates in the task of overcoming the sampling problems the New Haven study was encountering by saturating the community with student observers. Instead of having to justify a community power study that studied only urban renewal, public education and political nominations, Wildavsky, over three years' time, studied *everything*—and concluded that Oberlin, too, displayed a pluralistic power structure.

The fourth Yale influence on Wildavsky's work has, perhaps, proven the most fruitful of all. His brilliant and influential book, *The Politics of the Budgetary Process*, was in part inspired by the superb teaching of Charles E. Lindblom, who was then engaged in his slow migration toward political science from the Yale economics department. Wildavsky did not enroll in Lindblom's seminar, but, alert as always to currents stirring in the air, he discovered Lindblom through the rave notices some of the rest of us were giving Lindblom's lucid and stimulating explorations of the comparative merits of comprehensive and incremental decision-making systems. Budgeting was one of Lindblom's examples, and Arthur

<sup>15</sup>*Dixon-Yates: A Study in Power Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962). See also "TVA and Power Politics," *American Political Science Review* 65 (Sept. 1961): 576-590 and "The Analysis of Issue-Contexts in the Study of Decision Making," *Journal of Politics* 24 (1962): 717-732.

<sup>16</sup>*Presidential Elections*, with Nelson W. Polsby (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 6th edition, 1984). Wildavsky has collaborated four times in edited volumes, with Michael Boskin, Judith V. May, Paul Seabury, and me. Nine times he has collaborated with co-authors on books: with Mary Douglas, Ellen Tannenbaum, Hugh Heclo, Naomi Caiden, Paul Seabury and Edward Friedland, Frank Levy and Arnold Meltsner, Jeffrey Pressman, Jeanne Nienaber, and me.

<sup>17</sup>See the chapter titled "Reform," pp. 208-266 in the 6th edition.

<sup>18</sup>*Leadership in a Small Town* (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1964).

Smithies' book was on the reading list.<sup>19</sup> One of the ways a reader can understand the first edition of *The Politics of the Budgetary Process* is as an incrementalist answer to Smithies' synoptic approach to budget-making.<sup>20</sup>

Later editions of the book have multiplied its uses, as Wildavsky has used budget-making as a way to explore a wide panoply of issues relating to calculation and control in government, the reform of public administration, and planning in practice. Now there are no fewer than six Wildavsky books on some aspect or other of budgeting, with at least two more on the way.<sup>21</sup> Wildavsky has, in addition, in-

<sup>19</sup>Arthur Smithies, *The Budgetary Process in the United States* (New York: 1955).

<sup>20</sup>*The Politics of the Budgetary Process*, 4th edition (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984) (first edition, 1964).

<sup>21</sup>*The Budgeting and Evaluation of Federal Recreation Programs, or Money Doesn't Grow on Trees*, with Jeanne Nienaber (New York: Basic Books, 1973). *Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries*, with Naomi Caiden (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974). Paperback edition by Transaction, Inc., New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1980. *Budgeting: A Comparative Theory of Budgetary Processes* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975). *The Private Government of Public Money*, with Hugh Heclo, 2nd edition (London: Macmillan, 1981). *How to Limit Government Spending* (Los Angeles/Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). In addition, there is the edited volume, *The Federal Budget: Economics and Politics* (Editor, with Michael Boskin) (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1982). Still in preparation is a history of taxation and expenditure in the western world, with Carolyn Webber, and an examination of contemporary budgetary battles since 1979 in American national government, with Joseph White. Other important Wildavsky contributions on budgeting include: "Political Implications of Budgetary Reform," *Public Administration Review* 21 (Autumn 1961): 183-190. "Comprehensive Versus Incremental Budgeting in the Department of Agriculture," with Arthur Hammond, *Administrative Science Quarterly* 10 (Dec. 1965): 321-346. "Toward a Radical Incrementalism: A Proposal to Aid Congress in Reform of the Budgetary Process," in *Congress: The First Branch of Government* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1966), pp. 115-165; "A Theory of the Budgetary Process," with Otto Davis and M. A. H. Dempster,

*American Political Science Review* 60 (Sept. 1966): 529-547; "On the Process of Budgeting: An Empirical Study of Congressional Appropriation," with Otto A. Davis and M. A. H. Dempster, in *Papers on Non-Market Decision Making*, Gordon Tullock, ed. (Charlottesville: Thomas Jefferson Center for Political Economy, University of Virginia, 1966), pp. 63-132; "The Political Economy of Efficiency: Cost-Benefit Analysis, Systems Analysis, and Program Budgeting," *Public Administration Review* 26 (Dec. 1966): 292-310; "Rescuing Policy Analysis from PPBS," *Public Administration Review* 29 (March/April 1969): 189-202. "Leave City Budgeting Alone! A Survey, Case History and Recommendations for Reform," with Arnold Meltsner, *Financing the Metropolis: The Role of Public Policy in Urban Economies*, 4, John P. Crecine and Louis H. Masotti, eds. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1970), pp. 311-358; "On the Process of Budgeting II: An Empirical Study of Congressional Appropriations," with Otto A. Davis and M. A. H. Dempster, *Studies in Budgeting*, Byrne et al., eds. (Amsterdam-London: North-Holland Publishing, 1971), pp. 292-375; "The Annual Expenditure Increment—or How Congress Can Regain Control of the Budget," *The Public Interest* 33 (Fall 1973): 84-108; "Towards a Predictive Theory of Government Expenditure: U.S. Domestic Appropriations," with Otto Davis and M. A. H. Dempster, *British Journal of Political Science* 4 (1974); "On Change . . . or, There is No Magic Size for an Increment," with M. A. H. Dempster, *Political Studies* 27 (September 1979): 371-389; "A Budget for All Seasons? Why the Traditional Budget Lasts," *Public Administration Review* 6 (Nov./Dec. 1978): 501-509; "Budgetary Futures: Why Politicians May Want Spending Limits in Turbulent Times," *Public Budgeting and Finance* 1 (Spring 1981): 20-27; "Budgets as Compromises Among Social Orders," in *The Federal Budget*, pp. 21-38; "The Budget as New Social Contract," *Journal of Contemporary Studies* 5 (Spring 1982): 3-20; "Modelling the U.S. Federal Spending Process: Overview and Implications," with Michael Dempster, in R. C. O. Matthews and G. B. Stafford, eds., *The Grants Economy and Collective Consumption* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 267-309; "From Chaos Comes Opportunity: The Movement Toward Spending Limits in American and Canadian Budgeting," *Canadian Public Administration* 26 (Summer 1983): 163-181; "The Transformation of Budgetary Norms," *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 42 (December 1983): 421-432; "Budgets as Social Orders," *Research in Urban Policy* 1 (1985): 139-197.

spired a sizeable number of books and monographs by others on collateral issues raised by his broad-gauged view of budgeting.

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*How does he do it all? The first and foremost secret of Wildavsky's success is hard and unremitting creative work over a long period of time.*

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Wildavsky's work comes in clusters, or bunches, like grapes, any one of which would be sufficient to encompass the output of a productive scholar. There is, already cited, the group of studies on budgeting and public finance: in the United States, in Britain, and in poor countries considered descriptively, normatively, historically, statutorily, constitutionally, economically, administratively, politically, substantively, procedurally, in the large and in the small. Then there are the policy analyses: on what happens to federal programs at the grass roots, on recreation programs, on the politics of estimating domestic oil and gas supplies, on trade policy and the oil shocks of the 1970s, on public versus private electric power, on urban streets, schools and libraries, on how to do policy analysis and how to teach policy analysis and how to plan for policy analysis.<sup>22</sup> There are works on federalism<sup>23</sup> and on party poli-

tics, elections and presidential nominations. His book with the late Jeffrey L. Pressman, *Implementation*, has spawned a large number of studies amounting to a subfield of its own.<sup>24</sup> And, finally and most recently, there are the works marking a transition in Wildavsky's thinking from political economist to political anthropologist in which he explores the roots of political behavior in political culture and attempts to match the characteristics of regimes with prevailing value systems and social relations that sustain the political beliefs of the populace.<sup>25</sup>

Wildavsky's success in organizing Oberlin College state and local government seminars into a fruitful research project was the precursor of other important

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Toward Federalism: Confronting the Conventional Wisdom on the Delivery of Governmental Services," Special issue of *Publius* 6 (July 1976); "Bare Bones: Putting Flesh on the Skeleton of American Federalism," *The Future of Federalism in the 1980s* (Washington, D.C.: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, July 1981). Report and Papers from the Conference on the Future of Federalism, Alexandria, Virginia, July 25-26, 1980, pp. 67-88; "Birthday Cake Federalism," in *American Federalism: New Challenges for the 1980s*, Robert B. Hawkins, Jr., ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Press, 1982), pp. 181-191; "Federalism Means Inequality," *Society* 22 (Jan./Feb. 1985): 42-49 and an edited work, *American Federalism in Perspective* (Editor) (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967).

<sup>24</sup>Compare the first (1973) and third (1984) editions of *Implementation*.

<sup>25</sup>See "The Three Cultures: Explaining Anomalies in the American Welfare State," *The Public Interest* 69 (Fall 1982): 45-58; "A Proposal to Create a Cultural Theory of Risk," with Michael Thompson in *The Risk Analysis Controversy: An Institutional Perspective*, H. C. Kunreuther and Engle V. Ley, ed. (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1983); "Change in Political Culture," *Politics*, Journal of the Australian Political Science Association (forthcoming November 1985); *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers*, with Mary Douglas (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982); *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1985).

<sup>22</sup>Some of these are collected in *The Revolt Against the Masses* and in *Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979). British edition as *The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis* (London: Macmillan, 1980). See also *Implementation*, with Jeffrey Pressman, 3rd edition (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); *Urban Outcomes*, with Frank Levy and Arnold Meltsner (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973). *The Politics of Mistrust: Estimating American Oil and Gas Resources*, with Ellen Tennenbaum (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1981).

<sup>23</sup>See "Party Discipline Under Federalism: Implications of Australian Experience," *Social Research* (Winter 1961): 437-458; "A Bias

organizational efforts. As a young associate professor at Berkeley, where he moved in 1962, Wildavsky was prevailed upon to take over the chairmanship of his department in the difficult days of the 1960s. Not long thereafter he was asked to become founding Dean of Berkeley's Graduate School of Public Policy, a position that required him to build a faculty and a curriculum more or less from scratch, find and move into a building, establish customs and traditions, recruit and train students, and see to their future employment. Wildavsky's managerial touch proved to be sure as well as imaginative, and the school is one of the great recent success stories of Berkeley.

Meanwhile, in order to stimulate policy-related research on the Bay Area, Wildavsky organized the Oakland project, a series of studies of many facets of Berkeley's neighboring big city. Numerous seminars, dissertations and books came out of this project, as well as useful ties between the university and its urban environment. In 1977 Wildavsky became President of the Russell Sage Foundation in New York. Conflict with the Chairman of the Board shortly led to his resignation, however, and he returned to Berkeley where he divides his time between the Department of Political Science and the Survey Research Center.

Writing and administration have served in Wildavsky's case to complement teaching rather than to exclude it from his busy schedule. The vitality of his ideas have always proven enormously attractive to students. Among the Oberlin undergraduates who studied with Wildavsky and have gone on to make their mark in the political science profession are James Eisenstein, Robert Jervis, John Kingdon, Andrew McFarland, John Mendeloff, James L. Payne, Edward Schneier, John Schwarz, and Merrill Shanks. Berkeley doctoral students of Wildavsky's include Payne and McFarland, once again, Jeffrey L. Pressman, Judith May, Jeanne Nienaber Clarke, Michael Preston, Jesse McCorry, Frank Thompson, Jack Knott, Sam Kernell, Arnold Meltser, Alex Radian, Mari Malvey, Jay Starling, David Weimer and David Dery. Countless others have passed through his graduate seminars or have taught or done research

as his apprentice and rightly consider themselves deeply indebted to him for his generous counsel and lively stimulation.

In addition to all the activity I have mentioned so far, Wildavsky has found time to serve his profession and the public in various ways: as the sometime director of three business corporations, as president of the Policy Studies Association, as a loyal alumnus serving the Brooklyn College Foundation and the Committee on Graduate Education of the Yale University Council, as a member of the editorial boards, at one time or another, of some seventeen scholarly journals, as the organizer of symposiums and *festschriften*, advisor to publishers, impatient member of countless committees, commissions and advisory boards, speaker at academic gatherings and special occasions. He is founder of the Faculty Sports Association at the University of California, Berkeley, and is Chairman of Weinreb House, a home for autistic adults.

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*While he is not writing, he is thinking, mulling, cogitating, maybe even ob-sessing.*

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There is evidence that all this quantity has not driven out quality at all: Wildavsky is one of our profession's most honored members. In 1975, the first Charles E. Merriam Award was given to him by his colleagues in this Association in recognition of notable career-long contributions applying theory to the practice of politics and government. In 1981, the Evaluation Research Society gave him its Paul F. Lazarsfeld Award for Research. In 1982 the American Society for Public Administration gave him their Dwight Waldo award, honoring his contributions to the literature of public administration and his distinguished career as a scholar and educator. In 1984 the Policy Studies Association gave him their Harold Lasswell Award, for his contributions to the study of public policy. He has been elected a member of the National Academy for Public Policy Analysis and Management, a Fellow of The American

## Forum

Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1977 Brooklyn College made him an honorary doctor of law.

How does he do it all? The first and foremost secret of Wildavsky's success is hard and unrelenting creative work over a long period of time. It was already possible nearly thirty years ago for me to get a laugh from a group of political scientists by explaining my chronic insomnia as the result of the certain knowledge that while I was sleeping, Wildavsky would be publishing. I have since given up my insomnia; Wildavsky is still fulfilling his part of the bargain, although he flatly denies working at night and claims to work only occasionally on weekends.

It helps also that Wildavsky has ideas and imagination, and the facility to keep them flowing. This unusual access to the well-springs of creativity within was, no doubt, in the first instance a God-given talent. Wildavsky has taken steps to nurture and cultivate this talent, however. He is one of those who writes in order to learn what he thinks, and who embraces the discipline of putting his ideas promptly into words and sentences, of combing into a linear format the tangled thoughts and stray insights that dart through his unusually active mind. He is not, therefore, necessarily his own best editor. This is probably just as well; highly effective self-editing can strangle too many infant ideas in their cradles. He practices incrementalism in writing while preaching it in budgeting: as the many editions of his various books attest, he does not believe it is necessary to exhaust any subject the first time around. It is not unusual, however, for him to do between five and fifteen drafts before first publication, and rare is the acquaintance of Wildavsky's who has not been drawn into the iterative process that he uses to weigh and test his ideas before they reach print. Wildavsky nevertheless accepts the risks of expressing, and sometimes publishing, first approximations, and permitting the winnowing and evaluation of ideas to be a public process. This is an approach to scholarship that takes a certain measure of courage; Wildavsky once turned up in Jerusalem to lecture—in English—on his forthcoming treatise on the leadership of

Moses. This was not the act of a risk-averse scholar.<sup>26</sup>

Wildavsky is an early riser and a man of settled habits. He goes to his office regularly in the morning and reads and writes. Between bouts of writing he takes walks; then he writes again. His unusual capacity to focus his attention and to blot out distractions helps him to write under extraordinary circumstances: a draft of one of his best books—*The Private Government of Public Money* (with Hugh Heclo)—was turned out in a great hurry, less than a month, because his sabbatical in Britain was running out. He has written articles while flat on his back, otherwise immobilized by back spasms. I once saw him write an article in the midst of an APSA council meeting, while with his right hand, so to speak (he is left-handed) he was a full participant in the proceedings. Unlike the rest of us, he writes, and publishes while holding down demanding administrative jobs.

While he is not writing, he is thinking, mulling, cogitating, maybe even obsessing. Wildavsky shares his intellectual concerns readily, appreciates the contributions of others, and, as the long list of his collaborative works suggests, enters with enthusiasm and generosity into scholarly dialogue. His collaborators include anthropologists and economists as well as political scientists, senior scholars as well as graduate students. All collaborative efforts involving two authors require each author to contribute 75 percent of the effort. Wildavsky's 75 percent is invariably fully visible in the final product, unmistakably memorialized in the quips, epigrams, paradoxes and conundrums ("doing better and feeling worse") that he loves so much, as well as in the large, fully political conception of the subject at hand, no matter that at first blush it may seem to involve prosaic matters of double-entry bookkeeping or managerial detail.

He loves mess. This includes difficult multi-dimensional problems, the chaotic paintings of Friedrich Hundertwasser and books piled every which-way. The news-

<sup>26</sup>The highly favorable reviews of *The Nursing Father* suggest that it was worth the effort.

paper after Wildavsky finishes reading it looks as though it has undergone hand-to-hand combat. He covers manuscripts—his own, other peoples’—with hard to read scrawls and pipe dottle. He reads eclectically and gets ideas from everywhere. Mechanical gadgets—especially complicated and improbable ones like his noisy Japanese pinball pachinko machine—enthrall him.

Walking and gardening are Wildavsky’s favorite recreations. These are perfect occupations for a man whose preoccupations are always with him; they afford ample scope for the uninterrupted consideration of whatever intellectual problem is on Wildavsky’s mind. Because Wildavsky is always hatching something with most of his attention, he is in many of the routines of life absent-minded: until he got the hang of it rather later in life than most Americans he was a dangerously preoccupied driver of automobiles. He is an acquired taste as a conversational partner; he has almost no small talk, and indeed can be held down to medium-talk only by determined effort. His kindnesses to students and colleagues, sometimes involving considerable personal inconvenience, are legendary. So are the lapses in his attention to the niceties of human interaction.

It is not in the slightest true, however, that he fails to suffer fools gladly. Rather he is a broadly tolerant man who has work to do, and is chronically impatient to get on with it. Some hapless interviewer once asked the young Wildavsky—who was applying for a job—what he thought of the then-raging controversy over the study of political behavior. This was, to Wildavsky, not a subject: “Who studies non-behavior?” he asked, terminating the discussion.

He didn’t get the position. I asked him later whether he knew what he was doing. “Of course,” he said. “I decided that they had better know the worst.” No doubt he was right; the worst about Wildavsky can be discovered very quickly. As for the best, political scientists need only to look about their libraries. As he says:

Every man needs a craft through which he can express himself to the extent of his abilities, and I have found mine.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>*The Revolt Against the Masses*, p. 3.

## **Are Senate Election Outcomes Predictable?**

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Congressional scholars manifest great interest in models of national elections. Aggregate time series equations for predicting the outcome of House contests abound (Bloom and Price, 1975; Hibbs, 1982; Jacobson, 1981; Jacobson and Kernell, 1982; Kramer, 1971; Lewis-Beck and Rice, 1984a; Tufte, 1975, 1978). Remarkably, however, comparable work on the Senate is nonexistent. Indeed, in the only article for exception to this generalization, Hibbing and Alford (1982) refer to the Senate as the “forgotten side” of Congress. Why are there no models to predict Senate elections? Because, in what would seem the dominant view, Senate elections are unpredictable. Commenting on 1982 Senate races, Mann and Ornstein (1984, p. 43) asserted that “[s]mart political analysts don’t put money on their predictions—and for good reason. They know how unpredictable politics is.”

The alleged unpredictability of Senate

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**Michael Lewis-Beck**



**Tom Rice**

elections is easily attributed to the unique characteristics of the institution. Again, to quote Mann and Ornstein (1984, p. 46), "The House is not the Senate, and House elections have their own distinctive features." Compare. The senatorial term of office is six years, just one-third of the seats are contested in an election year, Senators represent whole states, and Senate races are more strategic (e.g., more money and news follows Senate campaigns; witness the 1984 North Carolina contest between Helms and Hunt, overshadowed only by the presidential battle itself). Of course, these distinctive features do not guarantee that Senate elections are unpredictable. Still, Rosenstone (1983, p. 28) reports that senatorial races (1978) were poorly predicted by state pre-election surveys. And, more to the point for our purposes, the one relevant modeling effort managed an R-squared for a Senate seat equation of merely .33, thereby leaving so much error that, in fact, aggregate Senate election outcomes would be generally unpredictable (Hibbing and Alford, 1982, p. 511).

The lack of a model for predicting nationwide Senate election results is unfortunate for scientific reasons, as well as for some practical ones. First, there is the intrinsic interest, shared by politicians and the public, in naming the winners in congressional combat. Further, this interest is usually heightened when the focus is on the "upper chamber," rather than on the House. Finally, correctly guessing the overall results is especially intriguing for the upcoming election year, where a net shift of just four seats to the Democrats will cause the Republicans to lose their Senate majority. Below, we develop an aggregate time series model to predict or, more precisely, to forecast, Senate elections. As shall be seen, this model is substantively plausible and, at the same time, able to generate accurate forecasts six months in advance of the election.

#### **Developing a Senate Forecasting Model**

Scientists usually seek explanations. But sometimes they want merely to forecast. At what time will the solar eclipse occur?



Will it rain tomorrow? How fast will GNP grow next quarter? Which college applicants will succeed? Can the president and his party maintain a Senate majority? These are examples of interesting forecasting questions. In the study of politics, relatively little forecasting takes place. Therefore, it is useful to clarify the most salient aspects of a good forecasting instrument (see Lewis-Beck, 1985a). Nothing is more important, obviously, than accuracy. But being right is not the whole story. The lead time is also important. An election forecast, to be called so, must come out before the election. (Interestingly, some popular models developed for the House do not meet this simple standard; see the discussion in Lewis-Beck and Rice, 1984a; Lewis-Beck, 1985a). As in meteorology, then, it is necessary "to make tomorrow's prediction before tomorrow arrives" (*Economist*, May 25, 1985, p. 94). Moreover, the farther in advance a forecast occurs, the more valuable it is. (Voter exit polls, for instance, are not high-quality forecasting devices because, while quite accurate, they must wait until election day itself.)

With the preliminary criteria of "accuracy" and "lead" in mind, we begin our search for a Senate forecasting model by examining the House studies. Several aggregate time series equations for House elections appear fairly accurate (producing R-squared around .75), namely, Hibbs (1982), Lewis-Beck and Rice (1984a), and Tufte (1975; 1978, ch. 5). (The model of Jacobson, 1981, is not considered further, due to its relatively low R-squared.) These models are similar, in that post-World War II election outcomes are held to be a function of an economic variable and, usually, a non-economic variable. However, they also differ in important ways: (1) the dependent variable is measured either in votes or seats; (2) midterm elections are or are not included; (3) forecasting is or is not possible.

The last point, which relates to the issue of "lead," deserves more attention. The well-known Tufte (1978, ch. 5) midterm House election equation uses as one independent variable the election-year change in real disposable income per

capita, an indicator which is of course not available before the election. And, his other independent variable, presidential popularity in a September or October Gallup Poll, is only obtainable with a trivial lead time. The forecasting potential of Tufte's (1978, pp. 115-119) presidential-year House election model is still more limited. Beside the independent variable of real disposable income per capita in the election-year, he includes a net presidential candidate advantage measure, based on Michigan Survey Research Center-Center for Political Studies surveys analyzable only after the election (Lewis-Beck, 1985a, p. 59).

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*Of every two seats the  
president's party has up,  
it can expect to lose one,  
ceteris paribus.*

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In contrast, the Hibbs (1982, p. 397) on-year House election model can serve as a forecasting device. His independent variable is the OPEC-adjusted cumulative growth rate of per capita real disposable income over the fifteen pre-election quarters, the last being the July-September quarter prior to the November election. Thus, a before-the-fact election prediction is possible (assuming that the Commerce Department releases the July-September quarter figures in time for the election).

The most recent House model, that of Lewis-Beck and Rice (1984a), provides the greatest lead, utilizing measures taken six months before the election. Further, it covers all contests, on-year or off-year. And, the dependent variable is net seat change for the president's party, which eliminates the need for calculation of a votes-to-seats "swing-ratio." Accordingly, seat change is predicted, substantively, from the quarterly real GNP growth rate and Gallup Poll presidential popularity (both assessed six months prior). This equation generates an R-squared = .80, a figure none of the others surpass. Moreover, the formulation is robust across different election types and systems. That is, a comparable equation yields an R-squared = .82 for

United States presidential elections, and an R-squared = .71 for Fifth Republic French National Assembly elections (see, respectively, Lewis-Beck and Rice, 1984b; Lewis-Beck, 1985b). In sum, it offers a promising baseline from which to elaborate a Senate forecasting model.

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*Even the most optimistic [scenario], which envisions a highly popular president (60 percent approval) and a booming economy (2 percent quarterly growth) yields a forecast of a net four seat loss for the Republicans, just enough to cost them their majority.*

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Suppose, then, that Senate seat change (gain or loss for the president's party),  $S_t$ , is viewed as a linear function of real GNP quarterly growth rate,  $G_{t-6}$ , and presidential popularity in the Gallup Poll,  $P_{t-6}$ , both measured six months before the election, as follows:

$$S_t = b_0 + b_1 G_{t-6} + b_2 P_{t-6} \quad \text{Eq. 1}$$

What happens when ordinary least squares (OLS) is applied to this benchmark economy-popularity equation, using observations for post-World War II elections? It yields a low R-squared of .36. An enlightening result, hinting that the paucity of Senate election models in the literature may stem from the poor goodness-of-fit statistics which standard congressional elections formulations produce. (But recall that Hibbing and Alford, 1982, were undaunted, reporting a still lower R-squared for their Senate seats equation.)

Why does this plausible, even routine, formulation of Senate seat change in Eq. 1 give a mediocre performance, making valid forecasts out of the question? One explanation comes from the special pattern of seat changes claimed for the Senate. Mann and Ornstein (1984, p. 43) capture this position well: "In the United States Senate, we rarely see

substantial party shifts from one election to another. Even when the House shifts by party margins of 40 seats, the Senate rarely changes by more than a few. When it does, the change is usually cataclysmic." Put another way, they are contending that the distribution of the Senate seat change variable is far from normal, and exhibits much more restricted variance relative to House seat change. Either of these conditions would, indeed, create estimation problems for OLS (Lewis-Beck, 1980, pp. 26-27, 35-37).

Let us assess each, focusing first on the normality issue. With so few observations on Senate seat change across the post-war period, visual evaluations of the distribution shape, such as a frequency polygon or a histogram, are not illuminating. However, a standard tool for small samples is a mean-median comparison. For the eighteen elections from 1950, the mean Senate seat change = -2.67, the median = -2.00. These figures are almost the same, indicating that the variable exhibits little departure from normality, after all.

What about the dispersion of the changes? Have the extreme seat shifts which have sometimes taken place in the Senate been "cataclysmic," in comparison to House shifts? In 1958, presidential party losses hit a peak of twelve Senate seats. To imagine a comparable loss in the House, it is of course necessary to make allowance for the different number of seats in each body. A straightforward standardization technique consists of multiplying Senate seat changes by 4.35 (i.e., 435 seats/100 seats = 4.35). So doing, the 1958 Republican Senate loss becomes equivalent to a 52 Republican seat loss in the House. This standardized projection is, in fact, quite close to the actual 1958 Republican House seat loss of 47. Furthermore, since 1950, the incumbent party has never given up more than 48 seats in the House. Thus, the extreme of Senate seat change for this period—minus 12—approximately equals (after standardization) the extreme of House seat change—minus 48. While both these losses might be regarded as "cataclysmic" in them-

selves, those in the Senate are certainly no more so than those in the House.

The question of both extremes, incumbent gains as well as losses, needs attention, too. The Senate seat change variable goes from -12 to +2, for a total range of 14. This seems like a rather small band compared to the House figure, a range of 85 seats (from -48 to +37). However, yet again, the initial comparison is misleading because of the highly unequal size of the chambers. Standardization (multiplying by 4.35) yields an adjusted range of 61 seats for the Senate, not much narrower than that of the House.

A like problem of comparison occurs when overall variance is evaluated, using the standard deviation of the seat change variable. For the Senate, the raw standard deviation = 4.3; for the House, this standard deviation = 24. But, the standardized Senate standard deviation = 19. Once more, this supposed difference between Senate and House largely disappears. Instead, they seem about equal in the extent to which their political composition varies from election to election, after the disparate magnitudes of the bodies are taken into account.

Why do the obvious formulas for predicting Senate elections, such as that of Eq. 1, not perform better? It is not because of the distribution of the dependent variable, which is essentially normal, with a variance comparable to that of the House. Rather, it is because a critical independent variable has been neglected—the number of incumbent seats at risk ( $R_t$ ). The more seats the president's party has up for reelection, the more seats it will lose, other things being equal. Suppose, for example, that the incumbent always lost the same share of its contested seats, say one-half. Then, if it had ten seats up, it would only lose five; but, if it had twenty seats up, the loss would be ten. Thus, the mere fact of having a greater number of vulnerable seats increases incumbent Senate seat losses. In other words, "the more you have, the more you have to lose." (A similar idea is pursued for the House, in Oppenheimer and Waterman, 1985.) The quantity of incumbent Senate seats at risk has varied considerably over this post-World War II

period, from 25 to 9. On average, the president's party has had 17 seats contested for reelection. Looking to the 1986 races, the Republicans have 22 seats up (the Democrats only 12).

Therefore, the Republicans have a relatively high number of seats at risk in 1986. Does this mean they are likely to suffer bigger losses? Overall, this seats-at-risk variable,  $R_t$ , correlates a robust -.52 with seats gained,  $S_t$ . (In fact, we were able to find no other potential independent variable which yielded such a high correlation.) Clearly, it is a promising predictor. Hence, we revise the initial equation, now holding net seat change,  $S_t$ , to be a function of GNP,  $G_{t-6}$ , presidential popularity,  $P_{t-6}$ , and this new variable, number of incumbent seats at risk,  $R_t$ . (Also, we include a control dummy on president's party,  $D_t$ , to take into account a slight, long-run, Democratic advantage.) Estimating such a model with OLS yields the following:

$$\begin{aligned} \hat{S}_t = & -1.49 + 1.42G_{t-6} + .15P_{t-6} \\ & (-.50) \quad (2.45) \quad (3.28) \\ & - .63R_t + 2.78D_t \\ & (-4.08) \quad (1.74) \end{aligned} \quad \text{Eq. 2}$$

R-squared = .73    N = 18  
SEE = 2.54    D-W = 1.84

where  $S_t$  = number of Senate seats gained or lost by the president's party;  $G_{t-6}$  = growth rate or real GNP in the second quarter of the election year;  $P_{t-6}$  = the percentage approving of how the president is handling his job in the May Gallup Poll six months prior to the election;  $R_t$  = the number of Senate seats up for reelection which are of the president's party;  $D_t$  = dummy for president's party (0 = Republican, 1 = Democrat); the Gallup data are from the relevant surveys in *The Gallup Poll*, Scholarly Resources, Wilmington, Delaware; the other variables are calculated from various issues of the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.; the figures in parentheses are t-ratios ( $|t| > 1.77$ , significant at .05, one-tail); R-squared = the coefficient of multiple determination; SEE = the standard error of estimate of  $S_t$ ; D-W = the Durbin-Watson statistic; N = the number of observations (on Senate elections from 1950-1984).

**TABLE 1**  
**Senate Election Predictions with Equation 2**

Year	President's Party	Actual Senate Seat Change for President's Party	Predicted Senate Seat Change for President's Party	Absolute Prediction Error	Prediction of Bad Year for President's Party <sup>a</sup>	Prediction Success on Bad Year Forecast
1950	D	-5	-4	1	Yes	Right
1952	D	-2	-3	1	Yes	Right
1954	R	-1	1	2	No	Wrong
1956	R	0	0	0	No	Right
1958	R	-12	-7	5	Yes	Right
1960	R	0	0	0	No	Right
1962	D	2	0	2	No	Right
1964	D	1	-2	3	Yes	Wrong
1966	D	-4	-3	1	Yes	Right
1968	D	-7	-6	1	Yes	Right
1970	R	1	2	1	No	Right
1972	R	-2	-1	1	Yes	Right
1974	R	-5	-9	4	Yes	Right
1976	R	1	1	0	No	Right
1978	D	-3	0	3	No	Wrong
1980	D	-12	-12	0	Yes	Right
1982	R	2	-1	3	Yes	Wrong
1984	R	-2	-4	2	Yes	Right

<sup>a</sup>A bad year for the president's party means it lost seats.

### Evaluation of the Senate Forecasting Model

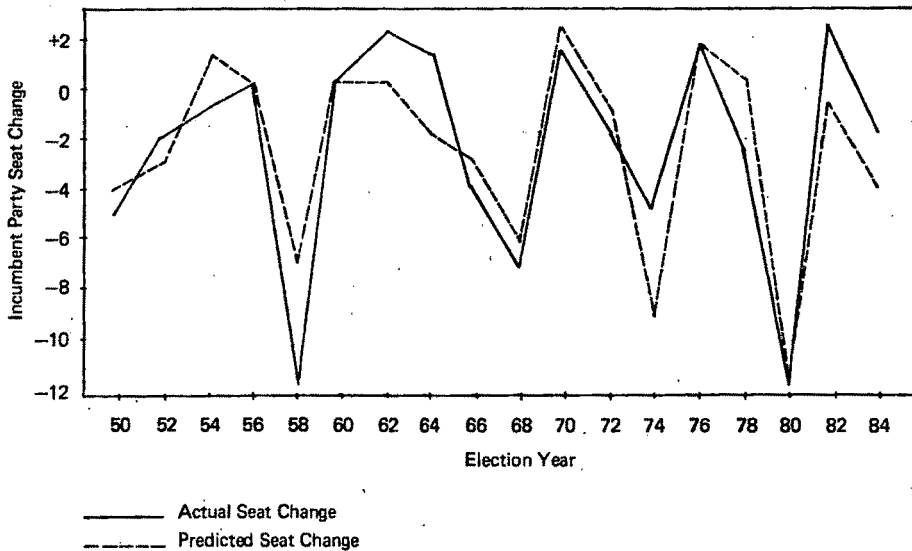
Let us evaluate the predictive properties of Eq. 2. The R-squared of .73 means a goodness-of-fit competitive with the best House models. (Further, the adjusted R-squared of .65 does not challenge this ranking.) Moreover, all the independent variables are statistically significant at about .05 or more. Not surprisingly, the coefficient of the seats-at-risk variable is the most significant ( $t = 4.08$ ). According to that coefficient (.63), of every two seats the president's party has up, it can expect to lose one, *ceteris paribus*. Fortunately, because all of the independent variable values can be known with certainty well in advance of the election, the generation of forecasts is an easy task. However, does the model have enough accuracy to produce good forecasts, as the high R-squared implies?

In order to assess the forecasting precision of Eq. 2, it is necessary to look beyond the goodness-of-fit measure, to the seat change predictions themselves

(provided in Table 1). First, is the model able to predict big political swings, such as the "cataclysmic" losses discussed earlier? Suppose we define a major electoral defeat for the incumbent party as a Senate seat loss exceeding twice the average seat loss (2.67) for the elections under study. Such major defeats took place in 1958 (-12), 1968 (-7), and 1980 (-12). The model predicted each of these major defeats, so defined, with an average error of only two seats (see Table 1).

Further, and more subtly, the model appears able to sort "good" years from "bad" years. As noted, on average, the incumbent party tends to experience a net loss of seats each election. Therefore, let us define a "good" election year for the incumbent party as one with no overall seat loss; (i.e.,  $S_t \geq 0$ , something that has happened seven times since 1950). In a "bad" election year, then, the incumbent party experiences net losses; (i.e.,  $S_t < 0$ ). Following this standard, the model successfully classifies 14 of the 18 election outcomes, in

**FIGURE 1**  
**Senatorial Election Predictions**



terms of a "good" year or a "bad" year (see Table 1). The model of Eq. 2 monitors the senatorial fortune of the incumbent party well, because its average absolute prediction error ( $S_t - \hat{S}_t$ ) is so low, just 1.67 seats. In Figure 1, the predicted Senate seat change ( $\hat{S}_t$ ) for the president's party is plotted against the actual change ( $S_t$ ). One observes that the model impressively tracks the real hills and valleys in Senate election results.

Despite this formidable performance, reservations must be entertained, for the predictions are all after-the-fact. How well would the model do if it were utilized before-the-fact? To explore the question, the last elections in the series were sequentially dropped, the model reestimated, and a prediction made for the omitted election. For example, the 1984 election was excluded, the model reestimated (on the sample from 1950-1982), then the 1984 election result predicted. This procedure was continued back five elections, until only eight degrees of freedom remained. The findings appear in Table 2. One observes that the model works quite well before-the-fact, even equalling its after-the-fact accuracy. Across the elections, the

R-squared remains strong ( $\cong .7$ ) and stable. Further, the average prediction error is just 1.6 seats, virtually identical to that of original Eq. 2.

Overall, the forecasting value of the Eq. 2 model seems high. Recently, Lewis-Beck (1985a) proposed some formulas to evaluate the quality of a forecasting instrument. Here is the simplest:

$$Q2 = \frac{(3A)(L)}{M} \quad \text{Eq. 3}$$

where  $Q2$  = the quality of the forecasting instrument;  $A$  = accuracy,  $L$  = lead time,  $M$  = the maximum possible score in the numerator (which gives  $Q2$  a theoretical upper bound of 1.0). Note that, according to this formulation, accuracy is the most important quality determinant (three times as important as lead). Also, observe that for high accuracy to produce a good quality score, a nontrivial lead time is necessary. (That is, the impact of  $A$  depends on the value of  $L$ , which gives the numerator its multiplicative form.) Since the proposed theoretical range of the values for the accuracy and lead variables is from a low of 0 to a high

**TABLE 2**  
**Before-the-Fact Senate Election Predictions**

Year	President's Party	Actual Seat Change for President's Party	Predicted Seat Change for President's Party <sup>a</sup>	Absolute Prediction Error	R <sup>2</sup> of Equation <sup>b</sup>	Sample of Elections	N <sup>c</sup>
1976	R	1	0	1	.69	1950-1974	13
1978	D	-3	-1	2	.70	1950-1976	14
1980	D	-12	-12	0	.67	1950-1978	15
1982	R	2	-1	3	.77	1950-1980	16
1984	R	-2	-4	2	.74	1950-1982	17

<sup>a</sup>The election forecast as predicted for the Equation 2 model estimated with the election series ending just prior.

<sup>b</sup>The R<sup>2</sup> of the equation estimated with the sample of elections indicated.

<sup>c</sup>The number of observations in the sample of elections indicated.

of 3, we select these marks for Eq. 2:  $A = 2.5$ ,  $L = 2.5$ . This yields a  $Q2 = .69$ , a quality evaluation which compares favorably to the better forecasting models for the House (see Lewis-Beck, 1985a, p. 61).

### Forecasts for 1986

Having established Eq. 2 as a forecasting tool of some quality, it is time to apply it to 1986. The key question, of course, is whether the Democrats will recapture majority control of the Senate, an event which many party insiders confidently predict. After all, the Democrats only need a net gain of four seats in order to do it. Will they? There are skeptics, even among friends. After a careful state-by-state assessment, Democratic pollster Harrison Hickman (1985, p. 14) reluctantly concluded that "it is difficult to find the four guaranteed takeovers assumed in predictions of a certain return to a Democratic Senate." What does Eq. 2 say will happen? As of this writing (fall, 1985), we are still more than six months from the election date, so all the final values of the independent variables cannot yet be plugged into the model. Nevertheless, different scenarios can be posited, and forecasts made from them.

First, two of the four independent variable scores are already known:  $D_t = 0$ , denoting a Republican president;  $R_t =$

22, the number of Republican seats up for reelection. We do not know either May presidential popularity ( $P_{t-6}$ ) or second quarter real GNP growth ( $G_{t-6}$ ), but speculation is possible. In Table 3 we generate a set of forecasts from Eq. 2, crossing three quarterly economic growth alternatives—+2 percent, 0 percent, -2 percent—with three presidential popularity alternatives—60 percent, 50 percent, 40 percent—and fixing  $D_t$  and  $R_t$  at their known values. Interestingly, none of these scenarios produces a forecast that Republicans will maintain their Senate majority. Even the most optimistic, which envisions a highly popular president (60 percent approval) and a booming economy (2 percent quarterly growth) yields a forecast of a net four seat loss for the Republicans, just enough to cost them their majority. Of course, more sober scenarios project still greater losses for the president's party. Obviously, the reader may prefer to experiment with other hypothetical values for these popularity and economy variables, or simply wait until spring 1986 and insert their actual values, in order to generate a forecast.

### Summary and Conclusions

According to past assumptions and evidence, Senate election outcomes are essentially unpredictable, in large part

**TABLE 3**  
**Different Forecasts for Republican Senate Seat Change in the 1986 Election**

Real GNP Second Quarter Growth Rate ( $G_{t-6}$ )	Presidential Popularity in May ( $P_{t-6}$ )		
	40 Percent	50 Percent	60 Percent
+2 Percent	-7	-5	-4
0 Percent	-9	-8	-6
-2 Percent	-12	-11	-9

because of the unique features of the institution. Certainly, if standard aggregate time series models, originally formulated for the House, are estimated for the Senate, powers of prediction are poor. However, with appropriate modification of the optimal House economy-popularity model, in particular inclusion of an incumbent seats-at-risk variable, accurate forecasting is possible. Such a model yields a high goodness-of-fit statistic (R-squared = .73) and a low after- and before-the-fact prediction error of about one-and-a-half seats. As well, it can foresee years of "major defeat" for the president's party in the Senate, and can guess the "good" years and the "bad" years. Moreover, the model gives forecasts with sufficient lead time, utilizing measures taken six months in advance of the election. Overall, it receives a high rating as a forecasting instrument. Finally, when it is (prematurely) applied to 1986, the suggestion is that the Republicans will almost surely lose their current Senate majority.

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## Media Coverage of the Congressional Underdog

**John Orman**

Fairfield University

The advantages of incumbency in congressional races has been an area of scholarly concern. With incumbents who have sought reelection to the House from 1956-1980 winning 92.2 percent of the

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**John Orman**

time (Jones, p. 79), scholars have tried to explain the sources of this electoral advantage. As Keefe and Ogul (1981) have observed, "The advantages of incumbency are awesome" (p. 112).

Incumbents have many electoral resources which are funded by taxpayers in annual allowances to members for personal staff salaries; travel between Washington and district; constituent communications like newsletters, questionnaires, stationery and postage; telephone and district office expenses like rent, furnishings and equipment (Cover, 1977, p. 537). House incumbents can use casework and constituent service to score political points with the electorate. The incumbent usually has an easier time of raising substantial sums of money to finance reelection and to promote name recognition (see Jacobson, 1978, 1980, 1983). These advantages take on even greater significance in light of the fact that the electorate has been increasingly relying on incumbency rather than party affiliation as a voting cue (pp. 676-677). Moreover, incumbents in the 1970s have improved their ability to tailor their "home styles" to fit characteristics of their districts (Fenno, 1978).

Yet in all of these explanations by political scientists of the incumbent advantage in House elections, little or no concern is given to the manner in which the local media covers the incumbent and the challenger. This perhaps is where the incumbent derives one of the greatest advantages over the challenger.

Local media coverage transmits the cues to the voters about who the incumbent is, what his or her record of service to constituents and district is, who is expected to win, who the challenger is and why the challenger is expected to lose the election. Local media coverage becomes the arena in which the game of election politics is played.

### **Case: 4th Congressional District Race in Connecticut, 1984**

On July 23, 1984, I received the Democratic nomination for the House of Representatives in the 4th Congressional District in Connecticut to run against Repub-



lican incumbent Stewart McKinney. As a citizen who had strong anti-nuclear views and strong anti-Reagan views, I was able to get the nomination essentially because no professional politician wanted it. McKinney had won seven straight elections since 1970 and the closest any opponent ever came in a presidential election year was to get 37 percent of the vote. I had never even thought of running for political office before since I enjoyed operating as a citizen activist on the edges of the political system, but since no opposition was developing in the "safe" district, I felt that it was a great opportunity to discuss national issues and to represent a progressive constituency.

In early July the print media for the district including the *Bridgeport Post/Telegram*, *Fairfield County Advocate* and the *Stamford Advocate* communicated the "big" story that Democrats could not find a challenger for McKinney who had raised over \$200,000 to run against nobody. There were rumors that actor Paul Newman might run, but these speculations had no basis in fact. When I received the nomination, the local print media and the two local television stations rushed to inform citizens of the 4th Congressional District about a political "newcomer" "unknown" "novice" who was "just a college professor." One paper, the *Fairpress*, put my picture on the front page next to the caption "John Who?" I was amused by this since members of the news staff had called me over the years to comment about national events in my field of American presidency and Congress.

### **The Media Campaign**

As a student of media and politics, I realized my only possible chance to communicate through the media about issues was for the media to take me seriously as a candidate. I had to be seen as a credible candidate with a chance of winning even though I did not have needed campaign resources like money, paid staff and professionals, field workers, polling, public relations services, and so on.

In fact, as a candidate running against a very popular incumbent, I received no na-

tional or state Democratic party financial support. Moreover, I received very little support from local party professionals since I was a true party outsider. I decided that the only way to run the campaign was to concentrate on so-called "free media," that is, television, radio and radio news reports and editorials on the campaign. In this way, my issue campaign—I was essentially running against the nuclear arms race and running against President Ronald Reagan's record in his first term—might be communicated to the public. Yet there were problems in this strategy, as Clarke and Evans (1983) have detailed:

Challengers mount their voter appeals on issues, on their ties with political groups, and on ideological positions. Unfortunately for them, this political strategy falls on deaf ears in the journalistic community; reporters tend to assign little weight to this information as a genuine strength or weakness. And this reportorial [judgment] finds its ultimate expression in a lack of attention in news stories. (p. 45)

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*Local media coverage transmits the cues to the voters about who the incumbent is, what his or her record of service to constituents and the district is, who is expected to win, who the challenger is and why the challenger is expected to lose the election.*

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After traveling some 6,000 miles in Connecticut's "Gold Coast" district which stretches from Bridgeport to Greenwich, and after giving 120 speeches at various appearances before groups in the district, my campaign became what the print and television media said that it was. If I called a press conference and no one showed, then it did not happen. If I tried for a pseudo-event and no one covered it, then it did not occur. Given the power of media to set the agenda in certain circumstances (Pierce, Beatty and Hagner,

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1982, pp. 110-111), my issues campaign could only be effective if print and television covered issues that I wanted covered.

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*Unlike the findings of authors who argue that lopsided races do not receive much coverage, the McKinney-Orman race received substantial coverage.*

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The Orman for Congress campaign issued 15 major press releases, 20 pages of position papers and held five major news conferences. Moreover, the campaign had three televised debates and four other joint appearances by both candidates at issue forums. I also was available for numerous radio and television interviews along the way.

The Orman for Congress Campaign issued an enormous amount of paper and positions to the media in this issues campaign. There were 24 position papers released including: Orman/McKinney Differences; Apartheid in South Africa; Civil Rights Act, 1984; Arms Control; Alternative Energy Sources; Why John Orman Opposes Trident II; Transportation; The Environment—Long Island Sound; Environment; Energy Costs; Housing; Senior Citizens; Equality; Education; Environment and Energy; Economy; Latin America; Soviet Union and Detente; The Middle East; South Africa and Apartheid; Defense; Central American Policy; Acid Rain; and Biography. There were two releases on campaign staff make-up and seven releases on political support from politicians and celebrities including Governor Bill O'Neill, Toby Moffett, Charles Tisdale, Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Chris Dodd, the Bridgeport Rainbow Coalition and Joanne Woodward. Finally, there were eight specific statements released to the press: "Why I Want to Run for Congress," July 23; "Orman Seeks Release of McKinney Letter," August 7; "Orman Blasts Republicans on ERA and National Unity," August 23; "Orman Cites McKinney In-

consistencies on ERA," August 24; "Orman Solves Letter Mystery," August 28; "Reagan is Deceptive According to Orman," October 5; "Orman Blasts Reagan's Environmental Record," October 26; and "Text of John Orman's Election Night Speech," November 5.

## Newspaper Coverage

In order to gauge the impact of the press releases and media events staged by my campaign, I evaluated the coverage in the two major papers in the 4th Congressional District. Stories about the campaign which appeared in the *Bridgeport Post/Telegram* system and in the *Stamford Advocate/Greenwich Times* system were analyzed in terms of the quantity and quality of coverage.

The *Bridgeport Post* system carried 50 stories about the campaign and the *Stamford Advocate* system carried 35 stories. One way to measure the quantity of coverage during a campaign is to look at the number of times each candidate is mentioned by name in articles dealing with the campaign. Table 1 looks at frequencies of last name mentioned in the articles on the campaign.

Table 1 indicates that in the *Post* the incumbent received 325 mentions out of 561 or about 57.8 percent whereas I received 42 percent of total name mentions. In the *Advocate* newspaper system the incumbent received 51.8 percent of total name mentions to my 48.2 percent. Thus, in terms of name mentions, the *Post* and the *Advocate* systems mentioned the name of the incumbent just a little more than they mentioned the name of the challenger. Similarly, McKinney was identified by name in the headlines in a little more than half the stories on the campaign while my name was mentioned in 35 percent of the combined headlines.

These findings agree with Clarke and Evans (1983, p. 58) who observed that in lopsided races, incumbents and challengers receive more balanced coverage in frequencies of name mentions, with the incumbent getting a slight edge. Unlike the findings of authors who argue that lopsided races do not receive much

**TABLE 1**  
**Name Mentions**  
**McKinney-Orman Congressional Race, 1984**

Month	<i>Bridgeport Post</i>		<i>Stamford Advocate</i>	
	McKinney	Orman	McKinney	Orman
July	40	12	45	38
August	56	23	35	36
September	44	37	58	53
October	134	122	112	107
November	51	42	18	15
Totals	325	236	268	249

coverage, the McKinney-Orman race received substantial coverage. The *Post* and the *Advocate* both assigned young reporters in their mid-20's to cover the race, and these reporters did their job in a competent, fair and accurate manner. Their stories did find their way into print.

With respect to the content of stories, I fully expected that covering the "horse race" stories, i.e., stories about who was winning, campaign strategy, organization, and money would dominate presentation of candidate stands on issues. This was not the case, however. In the *Post* slightly over half (28) of the 50 stories centered on issues while one-third (16) were about campaign strategy, money, organization. Similarly, in the *Advocate* about half (17) of its 35 were issue stories and almost one-third (10) were "horse race" stories.

The content of stories also varied as to which candidate received favorable treatment. According to my estimate, half (26) of the *Post*'s stories on the campaign put McKinney in a favorable light while a third (15) of the stories seemed to favor my campaign. While I fared a bit better in the *Advocate*, a similar pattern emerged as in the *Post*.

Both papers endorsed the incumbent but only the *Advocate* conducted an interview with the candidates by the editorial board. The *Post* declined to give me an editorial board review hearing before the endorsement and told the Orman for Congress Campaign, "It wouldn't make any difference anyway. We know who we support already." The *Post* ran two other editorials praising the incumbent's views

on issues during the campaign. The *Post* ran two news analysis stories that conceded the election to the incumbent, and the *Advocate* ran three news analysis stories informing readers before the election that the incumbent would win.

The *New York Times*, *Hartford Courant*, and the *Fairpress* each conducted hour-long candidate interviews and opted to support the incumbent because of his constituent service, his liberal Republican checks on the Reagan administration, and his ability to bring federal dollars back to the district. The line on the challenger was that I had conducted a good and decent campaign but I had failed to give reasons why I could do a better job than the incumbent, in terms of constituent service and federal dollars in the district.

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*The political game of televised debates might be an interesting spectator sport for some viewers, but it tends to trivialize politics and to treat candidates in an inhuman manner.*

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#### **Television Coverage**

Three television stations provided coverage of the 4th Congressional District race including Channel 49 (PBS), Channel 8 (ABC, New Haven, CT) and Cablevision

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News, Westport, Ct. Channel 49 broadcast an hour long debate statewide, Channel 8 broadcast a half hour debate in the district, and Cablevision News broadcast an hour debate. These debates were well covered by the print media, but the viewing audience was not very substantial. The PBS debate was opposite of a Monday Night Football game, and the ABC debate was shown at 8:30 a.m. on a Sunday before the election. The Cablevision debate was shown on election eve which meant that it probably had little impact.

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### *I received relatively fair coverage from the media.*

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Channel 8 (ABC) presented one story about the challenger getting the nomination on July 23, and they ran a story one week before the election that included the prediction that the challenger had virtually no chance of winning. Cablevision News ran stories about the challenger's nomination and background, about the challenger's preparation for debates, about the challenger being endorsed by the Mayor of Norwalk, Connecticut, and about McKinney and Orman discussing issues before the Chamber of Commerce in Fairfield, CT. No television station covered press conferences held by the incumbent or the challenger. Clearly, the free media provided by local television news reports in the 4th Congressional District was negligible.

As for the debates, news reporters are allowed to set the agenda of public controversy. The candidates must be ready to speak about any subject which the reporter wants him or her to speak about in short periods of time. Camera angles and shot selections become important. The political game of televised debates might be an interesting spectator sport for some viewers, but it tends to trivialize politics and to treat candidates in an inhuman manner. The only redeeming value for the three televised debates in the 4th Congressional District was the fact that the television hosts did not engage in instant analysis after the debate about who had "won" the debate.

Furthermore, the debates did not help viewers differentiate between candidates very well since challenger and incumbent agreed on the answers to most of the questions put to them by media panelists. McKinney could be labeled a liberal Republican and the challenger was a progressive Democrat. Both agreed on the problems of the Reagan administration, except that the incumbent supported Reagan for his leadership abilities. The debates provided little cues to the few undecided voters who may have watched them other than that one candidate was the incumbent and the other candidate was the challenger.

## Conclusion

Given the fact that I ran against a Republican who had spent \$316,070 and one who had won seven previous congressional elections, I received relatively fair coverage from the media. McKinney, according to some polls was the most popular politician in the 4th Congressional District and this was among Democrats! I was a citizen activist who only became a political name in the district after I had received the Democratic nomination.

I raised \$16,313 and was unable to compete in television, radio and billboard advertising so my entire citizen activist campaign had to be run via free media. In early September an in-house professional poll showed me trailing 85 percent to 15 percent, and I felt like Robert Redford in the movie *The Candidate* when his campaign manager told him he was far behind in the polls. The Redford character indicated that his manager promised him he could say anything since he was going to lose, but he never told him he was going to be humiliated. Fortunately, institutional forces like party identification—the 4th Congressional District is about evenly divided between Republican and Democratic party identifiers—and obligatory free media coverage took over, and by election day the final count turned out to be 70.4 percent to 29.6 percent. McKinney ran ahead of Reagan in the Reagan landslide.

Given my selective perceptions and biases, there were many stories in the campaign that I wished had been empha-

sized more and many which I would have covered in less detail. As a candidate, I wished reporters would just print the press releases I gave them. As a citizen in the democracy, I am glad they did not. I wish the media would have covered in much more detail: my anti-nuclear opposition, my support from Paul Newman, my citizen politician perspective, my educational qualifications, my potential representational abilities, and my views on the Reagan record. Likewise, I wish that the media would have covered in less detail: my "novice" status, my few campaign dollars, my lack of party support, and my impossible task.

With respect to my opponent, I would have had the media cover his inconsistencies, his potential conflict of interests, his minority status in the minority party, his wealth, and his "wrong" votes in much greater detail. Moreover, I would have had the media play down to a great extent his popularity, his constituent service, his ability to get federal dollars for the district, his leadership, and his sure re-election.

Of course, these pipe dreams would tilt the election decidedly in favor of the challenger. This condition would be unacceptable in a democracy since it would offer an unfair election. Yet the situation would be very similar to electoral conditions which currently make it an unfair election for most challengers.

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## Racial Representation Issues: The Role of Experts in Determining Dilution of Minority Influence

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The Summer 1985 issue of *PS* featured a minisymposium of excerpts from four political scientists' testimony in a congressional reapportionment case. The focus was on partisan gerrymandering. Recently racial concerns have dominated challenges to local representational systems such as county commissions, school boards, and city councils. Most of these cases have challenged the overall form of government (e.g., commission) or type of election system (e.g., at-large) rather than the configuration of districts. In other words, change in the political system itself is generally the issue at the local level.

Not surprisingly, normative, methodological, and empirical issues similar to those identified by Grofman (1985) as confronting expert witnesses in partisan-oriented reapportionment cases are faced by those involved in racially dominated

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local governmental representational cases and preclearances.<sup>1</sup> At the heart of challenges to local representational schemes are broad, tough questions such as: Are *all* types of at-large systems inherently discriminatory? Or, conversely,

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***Are all types of at-large systems inherently discriminatory?***

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is a single-member district election system the *only* scheme that does not dilute minority influence? Is the ultimate test of the fairness of a system proportional representation? Or, is fairness defined in terms of equal opportunity to influence the system? Should influence be measured only in terms of physical, or descriptive, representation? Or, should influence be gauged by the system's responsiveness to, and maximization of, minority influence (a more programmatic thrust)? In terms of representation, can only a minority member represent the minority community? Or can Anglos be responsive to the needs and demands of their minority constituents? Further, should the effectiveness of a system be judged in an immediate temporal framework or should its impact in the longer term also be considered?

In assessing whether an election system dilutes minority influence (*the* basic consideration under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act), the expert must develop factual responses to each of these questions. The methodological approaches used by experts in the quest for answers vary widely, in part because of their differing philosophical approaches to the questions posed above, but also because of newer sophisticated analytical techniques now available to social scientists and changing statutory and judicial criteria.

Our purposes here are similar to those of

Grofman *et al.* (1985) in the political gerrymandering symposium: (a) to make available to political scientists examples of applied research which demonstrate how normative, factual, and measurement issues are intertwined, (b) to offer information about important policy questions now before the courts, and (c) to illustrate the roles political scientists play in challenges to local representational systems.

**The Role of Experts for the Government**

It should be noted from the outset that our experiences have come from working with state and local governments sometimes, but not exclusively, as expert witnesses in court. The most valuable service rendered by social scientists to governments is often an evaluative one. It involves assessing the defensibility of a particular form of government or type of electoral system. Often, no litigation precedes this assessment. Instead the government may request help from a social scientist in designing and implementing a new electoral system for submission to the voters or to the U.S. Justice Department under Section 5 preclearance rules.

Where there is litigation, social scientists may be asked to advise the government as to what types of supportive materials are needed for a defense effort (maps, socioeconomic analyses, voting analyses, documents demonstrating the government's responsiveness to its minority constituents—hiring, board appointments, budgetary allocations, and so forth). The social scientist may be asked to conduct the initial demographic, socioeconomic, or electoral analyses for the government. Upon completion of these preliminary analyses, he/she then advises the government's attorneys as to the defensibility of their existing or proposed system. If the expert does not judge the system to be defensible, he/she may be asked to play a role in encouraging the elected officials to settle the case or in designing an alternative compromise plan. In summary, the role of a social scientist hired as a government expert to help determine whether local government structural arrangements dilute

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<sup>1</sup>Nine states (AL, AK, AZ, GA, LA, MS, SC, TX, and VA) are wholly subject to Section 5 preclearance rules, as are parts of CA, CO, CT, FL, HI, ID, MA, MI, NH, NY, NC, SC, and WY.

## Forum

minority influence is much broader than simply appearing in court.

### The Evolution of Minority Dilution Tests

In amending Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act in 1982, Congress endorsed the "results" test rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Mobile v. Bolden* (1980). (The *Mobile* ruling upheld the "intent" test.) By mandating use of the results test, Congress eased plaintiffs' burden of proving dilution of minority influence. As noted in the Senate report:

This amendment is designed to make clear that proof of discriminatory intent is not required to establish a violation of Section 2. It thereby restores the legal standards, based on the controlling Supreme Court precedents, which applied in voting discrimination claims prior to the litigation involved in *Mobile v. Bolden*.

At the same time, Congress stopped short of establishing the right of a minority to proportional representation, emphasizing instead equality of access to the political system. The new standard is whether political processes are equally open so that members of a protected racial or ethnic class have the same *opportunity* as others to participate in the political process and to elected candidates of their own choice.

Congress established a "totality of the circumstances" test to be used when assessing the results produced by an electoral system. It set forth seven major and two minor elements for the courts to consider:

#### Major Elements

1. the extent of any history of official discrimination in the state or political subdivision that touched the right of the members of the minority group to register, to vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process;
2. the extent to which voting in the elections of the state or political subdivision is racially polarized;
3. the extent to which the state or political subdivision has used unusually large election districts, majority vote

requirements, anti-single shot provisions, or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group;

4. if there is a candidate slating process, whether the members of the minority group have been denied access to that process;
5. the extent to which members of the minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process;
6. whether political campaigns have been characterized by overt or subtle racial appeals; and
7. the extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to public office in the jurisdiction.

#### Minor Elements

8. whether there is a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of the members of the minority group; and
9. whether the policy underlying the state or political subdivision's use of such voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice or procedure is tenuous.

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While the "totality of the circumstances" test has the facade of objective standards, in reality Congress once again left plaintiffs, defendants, and judges to define and interpret these standards. Congress did not prescribe precise measurement standards or criteria (e.g., what

constitutes racially polarized voting) in spite of calls for specificity from a number of experts who testified during the 1982 extension hearings. Nor did Congress delineate a weighting system for courts and experts to use in making determinations of dilution. Instead Congress simply noted that while plaintiffs

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*The issue of what constitutes dilution of minority influence under Section 2 [of the Voting Rights Act] is still cloaked in uncertainty.*

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must demonstrate the presence of some of the elements, they need not show that all or even a majority of them occur in order to win. Consequently, the issue of what constitutes dilution of minority influence under Section 2 is still cloaked in uncertainty. The ever growing mass of litigation has done little to clarify standards. In fact, judicial rulings have too often sown confusion. Judges have applied varying standards so that findings in one case contradict those in other cases. Some social science experts have contributed to the confusion by reporting findings based on questionable assumptions and techniques. In the remainder of this article, we highlight some of the techniques we have encountered and discuss some of the broader policy issues which must be dealt with in the future.

### **Measures of Racial Polarization**

Several federal judges have concluded that the critical, or most heavily weighted, element in the totality of the circumstances test is the presence of racial polarization in the electorate. In common parlance, "polarization" indicates extreme differences. However, the lack of a universally accepted operationalization of racial polarization or racial bloc voting continues to be a problem for both plaintiff and defense experts. Social scientists have suggested various standards most of which have been adopted by at least one judge.

Measures used for assessing racial voting patterns typically include at least one element that can be measured on an interval scale. Consequently, there is room for disagreement over precisely what constitutes polarization. Some experts have set absolute standards for assessing it. Others believe that since polarization is measured on an interval scale it is more appropriate to view situations as more or less polarized rather than treating it as a dichotomy. Generally plaintiffs' experts are more likely to treat polarization as dichotomous while defendants' experts more often see it as a continuous variable.

Inherent in analyses of polarization are techniques designed to determine the degree to which the bulk of the white voters support one candidate and the bulk of the minority voters support another candidate. (Of course such analyses are more difficult where there are two minority groups, such as in a number of southwestern communities.) A demanding standard used by some experts requires that 90 percent of the whites vote for a white candidate and 90 percent of the blacks vote for a black candidate before concluding that the electorate is polarized. In the same vein, but with a lower threshold, is the standard of 80 percent of the whites voting for a white candidate and 80 percent of the blacks voting for a black candidate. Obviously other cut points are possible and have, on occasion, been used. One such definition judges the electorate to be racially polarized if 51 percent of the whites favor candidate A and 51 percent of the blacks favor candidate B in a two candidate electoral contest. The notion of polarization as opposing extremes is obviously absent from this definition.

Variation in standards was less of a problem in cases immediately following passage of the Voting Rights Act. In these early cases virtually no whites voted for black candidates and black support for white candidates was also uncommon so that polarization would be found using most standards. (See for example, materials in James Loewen, 1982, pp. 258-262.) However, as litigation has extended into communities where racial crossover voting is more common, plain-



tiff and defense experts have more often disagreed on definitions.

Some other measures of polarization do little to incorporate the notion of opposing extremes. For example, under the "index of 40" standard, polarization exists when the proportion of minority voters favoring a candidate exceeds by 40 percentage points the share of white voters favoring that candidate. With this standard, polarization can occur even when a majority of both races favor the same candidate and the candidate wins!

Another standard that may have little relationship with polarity comes from reliance exclusively on Pearson product moment coefficients. In a number of cases, experts have defined polarization in terms of large correlation coefficients. One plaintiff's expert set as a threshold of racial polarization any coefficient in excess of .6 or .65. Other experts cite the probability levels associated with correlation coefficients as indicative of racially based voting.

A more complex standard for polarization was used by the judge in approving at-large voting for the Norfolk, Virginia, city council (*Collins v. Norfolk*, 1984). The standard had three parts: (1) white backlash, defined as higher white turnout when blacks were running for office in an attempt to defeat them; (2) white efforts to limit the entry of black candidates into the contest; and (3) a pattern of racial voting that has persisted across time.

In applying the totality of the circumstances test, the question has arisen as to whether there can be racial polarization without dilution? Experts on both sides have agreed that polarization can exist with no dilution. For example, in a heavily black community, black candidates may be elected, even though they receive little support from white voters because they get virtually all the votes of the black majority. Thus while several federal judges have determined that racial polarization is the key element to be proved, it still is only one element of a more complex dilution test.

### **Election of Minorities**

Another factor to be considered is the

level of minority representation on a governing body. If a minority group is represented on the governing body at about its proportionate share of the population, it may be difficult to convince the court that political influence is being diluted. Although Section 2 explicitly states that there is no requirement that minorities be represented on collegial bodies in the same proportion as their presence in the population or the electorate, jurisdictions in which minority representation is less-than-proportional are the most likely targets of dilution litigation.

This is not to say that governments have not used the proportional representation concept to their advantage in defending an existing or proposed system. For example, in Austin, Texas, plaintiffs' efforts to dismantle the at-large system by which city council members are chosen failed in part because defendants argued that changing to a single-member district system was unlikely to increase minority representation beyond the near-proportional levels reached under the at-large system. The six-member at-large system had regularly elected a black and an Hispanic. Blacks constituted 12.2 percent and Hispanics 18.8 percent of the population. Elsewhere governments have occasionally won even where there were no minorities among the elected officials while plaintiffs have won when as many as 15 percent of the elected officials were black (*Major v. Treen*, 1983).

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*The lack of a universally accepted operationalization of racial polarization . . . continues to be a problem for both plaintiff and defense experts.*

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### **Majority Vote Requirements, Staggered Terms, Other Voting Practices**

The most commonly targeted "other voting practices or procedures" examined in the course of making a determination of dilution of minority influence are staggered terms and the majority vote (run-

off) requirement. Unfortunately, there has been almost no empirical research testing the discriminatory effects of either (but see, Bullock and MacManus, 1985).

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Critics of staggered terms allege that not electing all members of a governing body at the same time handicaps minorities in two ways. First, staggered terms necessitate more frequent elections than if all members were chosen simultaneously and this may reduce minority participation rates and increase campaign costs. Second, staggered terms reduce the effect of single-shot voting in one type of electoral system. In at-large systems without post or residency requirements, minorities can enhance the likelihood that their preferred candidate will be elected by voting for only one candidate rather than for a full slate. Especially in the absence of a majority vote requirement, a minority group that votes exclusively for one candidate will have a greater likelihood of electing its favorite when the white vote is split among a large field of candidates. Staggered terms could disadvantage a minority group that practices single shot voting by reducing the number of positions filled in each election thereby reducing the likely dispersion of white votes across candidates.

Assertions that staggered terms discriminate are regularly countered by governments defending such requirements. Their witnesses attempt to refute the frequency-of-election arguments with data showing that minority turnout rates compare favorably with those for whites. They also offer evidence that black candidacy rates are not reduced because of more frequent elections, higher campaign costs, or majority vote requirements.

The alleged discriminatory effect of majority vote requirements, or runoffs, was popularized by Jesse Jackson dur-

ing his 1984 presidential campaign, although the argument has been touted by critics for some time. Runoffs require that a candidate receive a certain percentage of the vote (typically 50 percent plus one) or face the second-place finisher in a second (runoff) election. Critics of the runoff offer as evidence of its discriminatory effect instances where a black candidate polled the most votes in a primary against several white opponents but lost when forced into a runoff against a white.

The runoff requirement was struck in the context of New York City elections and a similar challenge is moving toward trial in Mississippi. These challenges come despite warnings that elimination of second primaries may advantage Republicans more than minorities (Lamis, 1984; Stanley, 1985). Jesse Jackson contends that the unwillingness of whites to vote for blacks causes blacks to lose the Democratic nomination when going one-on-one with a white. However, many whites unwilling to see a black nominated will also oppose the election of a black and therefore vote for the Republican opponent in the general election. If so, altering the runoff primary will not result in the election of more blacks.

### **Slating Groups**

Standards for what constitutes a slating group are, like polarization, murky. Is a party executive committee a slating group? If it is, then might a Republican party executive group that endorses candidates be guilty of diluting minority influence if it supports none of the black Democrats? This could be an issue in a community in which Republicans typically win.

Some experts define a slating group broadly and argue that any organization that endorses candidates, including those that back members of only one party, is a slating group. Others offer narrower definitions and limit slating groups to those that recruit candidates, support them, and have a high success rate. Thus far judges have not produced much commentary with regard to linkages between slating groups and dilution. However, it seems unlikely that the courts will find

dilution where a slating group has little success in seeing its favorites elected even if it refuses to support minority candidates.

### **Past Discrimination, Socioeconomic Indicators and Political Participation**

The extent to which past discrimination in political participation, education, employment, and health care hinders a minority group's *current* ability to participate in the political process is an integral part of dilution cases. Social scientists rely on Census publications for socioeconomic data and on voter registration officials for participatory data (registration, turnout, and candidacy rates). The quality of the analysis will depend on whether participation data are available by race, the number of precincts in a community, and the match between precincts and census units (see Bullock and MacManus, 1984).

Socioeconomic status differences between whites and minorities occur in virtually every American community.<sup>2</sup> A frequent defense strategy is to rebut the implicit linkage between past political or economic discrimination and contemporary levels of minority representation. If minority participation rates compare favorably with those of whites, then defeats of minority candidates may not be due to poverty or past disfranchisement of their ethnic group. But even where there is evidence of past discrimination, lower minority socioeconomic status, *and* lower levels of minority representation, a governmental entity may be able to show through multivariate analyses that their lower rates of electoral success are more a result of other factors (e.g., incumbency, size of council).

<sup>2</sup>For example, the cities of Newark, New Jersey, Atlanta, Georgia, and Chicago, Illinois have each elected a black as mayor. One could logically conclude that the blacks in each of these cities have significant political power and fully participate in the electoral process. However, an analysis of the 1979 income level of blacks and whites in each of those cities shows a marked and significant disparity. (Defendants' appeal brief, *McCord v. City of Ft. Lauderdale*, 1985.)

Linkages between socioeconomic characteristics of voters and their political participation rates have been used to justify newly designed systems. For example, Sarasota, Florida, took such linkages into account in designing its current mixed system (two at-large; three district). The city, with a black population of only 16.3 percent (12.6 percent voting age population), created one predominantly black district (50.1 percent of total population but only 43.3 percent of the district's registered voters). In drawing the district, the city placed whites of lower socioeconomic status with blacks thereby creating a more heterogeneous district than the rest of the city (MacManus, forthcoming 1985). This strategy was not new. Karnig and Welch (1980, p. 74) suggested that black candidates in racially heterogeneous districts have better chances of winning when the white voters are of lower socioeconomic status.

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*While plaintiffs seek to increase minority representation, there are instances in which winning the suit has actually reduced minority influence.*

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Two blacks and one white candidate (the latter a former city commissioner and mayor) filed for Sarasota's "black district" seat. Skeptics (plaintiffs who challenged the system) forecast a highly racially polarized election in which the white candidate would win when blacks split their votes between the two black candidates and white voters turned out in record numbers to bloc vote for the white candidate. The underlying assumption was that lower socioeconomic status whites were likely to be extremely racist. As it turned out, the white voting rate was lower and crossover votes for black candidates higher than predicted by plaintiff's expert witnesses. Some 47.2 percent of the blacks turned out but only 18.6 percent of the whites. The two black candidates received 85 percent of the vote with more than 55 percent of the whites voting for a black. Strong

white support for the black candidates may have been the result of personal contact between the candidates and their white constituents in the course of campaigning. Or, it might have been the result of whites living in fairly integrated neighborhoods which increased their tolerance. Whites in this area have traditionally given more support to black candidates than have whites in the rest of the city (Bullock, 1984).

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***Do minorities get better substantive representation when they have more descriptive representation?***

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In Sarasota the new system also protected the long-term influence of an increasingly dispersed black population. Maintenance of the two at-large posts ensured that minority votes "lost" in creating the minority district (votes of blacks living outside the district) could be "saved" through bloc voting or coalescing with sympathetic whites to influence the at-large seat outcomes.

**Racial Appeals**

A generation or two ago it was not uncommon for candidates to try to profit from the race issue. One or more candidates might charge that an opponent was the preference of black voters. More recently there have been instances in which a white has included in his or her advertising a picture of a black opponent thereby increasing the likelihood that voters will be aware of the black-white nature of the contest.

Experts may now be asked whether more subtle racial appeals have been used in a campaign. For example, a plaintiff's expert in a Texas case testified that opponents of a referendum used actors whom the expert judged to be Hispanic in order to trigger a negative response from Anglos.

**Responsiveness**

Although Congress indicated that re-

sponsiveness to minority concerns was of secondary importance, federal judges continue to weigh evidence on this point. Evidence on this issue may go beyond simply the share of the budget that is spent in the minority community for items such as street paving, social services, and so forth. An important question is whether minorities have contact with policymakers and can influence the policy agenda. Facets of responsiveness can include evidence of formal contacts with officials (such as holding budget hearings in minority neighborhoods) or informal ones (campaigning by officials in minority neighborhoods) and the presence of minorities on public advisory boards. While social scientists do testify on this topic, it is more common to use local officials, such as employees of the planning department for this component of a defense.

**Winning is Not Always Winning:  
Long Term Considerations**

While plaintiffs seek to increase minority representation, there are instances in which winning the suit has actually reduced minority influence. A nice example comes from litigation over Georgia's congressional districts. In 1982 the state legislature increased the proportion of blacks in the 5th district (which was represented by black Democrat Andrew Young from 1973-1977) from 51 percent to 57 percent. The adjacent 4th district would have been 28 percent black. The 5th district was represented by white liberal Democrat Wyche Fowler who consistently voted for items of concern to Atlanta blacks. While 4th district Congressman Elliot Levitas, a Democrat, was not as liberal as Fowler, he nonetheless frequently supported minority concerns.<sup>3</sup> The Justice Department objected to the state's plan contending that, although the proportion of blacks in the 5th district was increased by six percentage points, there was illegal retro-

<sup>3</sup>The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights gave Levitas an average score of 52 during his last three congresses, compared to a 94 for Fowler and a 14 for nearby Republican Newt Gingrich.

gression since it was possible to create a more heavily black district. The state unsuccessfully sought a declaratory judgment in the district court sitting in the District of Columbia.

Subsequently a special session of the General Assembly raised the proportion of blacks in the 5th district to 65 percent and in doing so had to reduce the proportion of blacks in the 4th district to 13 percent. In 1985 Wyche Fowler continues to provide representation to Atlanta blacks, having withstood challenges from black state legislators, civil rights activists, and the niece of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. In the 4th district, moderate Levitas narrowly lost to a conservative Republican in 1984. It is very unlikely that the winning challenger Pat Swindall will vote for civil rights and social welfare legislation as frequently as Levitas did. Justice's intervention did not increase black descriptive representation and actually reduced black substantive representation.

In a recently settled south Georgia case, the result has been no net increase in black descriptive representation but potentially a long-term decrease in substantive representation. In Camden County, one of the five county commissioners and one of the five school board members is black. Upon being sued, the county agreed to go from an at-large to a single-member district system. Since the county is less than one-third black, it is unlikely that blacks will win a second seat when districts are drawn. In the long run, black interests may receive less attention under single-member districting than under the at-large system. Camden County is the site of the Kings Bay nuclear submarine base and the population is expected to almost double between 1980 and 1990. Projections are that the in-migrants will be overwhelmingly white and recent years have seen a decrease in blacks. It is likely that by 1990 or at least the turn of the century, the one heavily black district will have become predominantly white. Ultimately the county may have an all-white commission with blacks having influence only in the election of one member rather than having some potential impact on the selection of all five members.

The Camden County scenario is but part of a more common problem. Do minorities get better substantive representation when they have more descriptive representation? What are the consequences of creating a district that is predominantly black or Hispanic if it means that the remaining members of the collegial body have very few minority constituents? In zero-sum situations will white commissioners, council members, or school board members be inclined to vote for issues of concern to the minority community when minorities are not a significant factor in their own elections? Under an at-large system, minorities may not succeed in having proportional representation, but their interests may be more effectively represented if most or all of the elected officials have to court minority votes.

Jefferson County, Alabama, may provide answers to the questions posed above. During much of the last decade a majority of the three white commissioners have been very responsive to black concerns. But in the face of litigation, the county agreed to change from an at-large to five districts. Some observers think the three white Democrats will be replaced by two black Democrats and three white Republicans. One wonders how often a GOP majority would need the support of the black commissioners and if the latter are excluded, will their presence have much impact on policy (see Browning, Marshall, and Tabb, 1984, for a discussion of minority incorporation into governing coalitions in ten California cities)?

### **Size of the Collegial Body**

An issue looming before the courts, but which has yet to be addressed, is whether the Voting Rights Act precludes small governing bodies. Litigation is underway in Georgia challenging single-member county commissions. Elsewhere small governing bodies of three members have also come under attack when they lack a member of minority race. The likelihood of electing a minority representative in a predominantly white community probably decreases directly with the size of the collegial body (Bullock, 1975). Does that mean that small governing

bodies are illegal? If so, how large must a governing body be?

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*Under an at-large system, minorities may not succeed in having proportional representation, but their interests may be more effectively represented if most or all of the elected officials have to court minority votes.*

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It should be noted that inconsistencies abound with regard to the size issue. For example, in one case, the ACLU contended in response to written interrogatories that there was no situation in which increasing the size of a collegial body would not be discriminatory. In another case filed at about the same time, the ACLU urged that a county commission be enlarged in order that black representation might rise above the current one seat in five.

Cases filed in Florida communities with smaller minority populations may be moving toward resolving the size issue. If one standard for assessing equity of representation is the relation between the percent minority in the population and the percent minority on the governing body—language to the 1982 Amendments prohibiting this notwithstanding—then one might conclude that where the minority population or voting age population is less than 20 percent, minorities would not be expected on a five-member or smaller collegial body. Does that mean that if no minority member is elected to a three-member or a five-member body and the proportion minority is 15 percent that the governing body must be increased to six or seven or eight members? Or if the minority percentage is only 10 percent, as in Springfield, Illinois, which is being sued, must the city council be enlarged to 10 or 12 members? If Abigail Thernstrom (1985) is correct in her assessment that the Voting Rights Act is now an affirmative action requirement, then the answer would seem to be "yes." Taken to the extreme, no matter how small the minori-

ty population, it would be possible to have enough districts that there would be a high probability that a minority member would be elected to the governing body.

The real question is whether solutions of this sort which obviously have high political and monetary costs should be imposed by the courts or left to the local voters to decide. As this article has shown, political scientists are likely to be drawn into such deliberations. We can only hope that each side examines the long-term consequences of making major structural changes in light of the unanticipated effects on minority political influence. These unanticipated effects occur all too regularly because of the failure of social scientists to engage in empirically based testing of hypothesized relationships and to recognize the unique combinations of demographic, socioeconomic, and political conditions that characterize our communities and make generalizations difficult.

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## The Recent Literature on Black Politics

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An academic field moves in relation to its literature. The literature helps to define it, to establish its parameters, to develop its concepts, theories, models, and institutions. This same literature speaks to and seeks to reconcile its conflicts about methods and about its conceptualizations and interpretations of the facts. In all this, black politics is like any other academic area.

### The Early Literature

The 1965 Voting Rights Act reduced some but not all of the systemic and institutional barriers impeding the full par-

ticipation of blacks in the American political process. This law permitted a new force, the black electorate, to transform the political behavior of the black community. As a consequence, new political realities emerged, and these soon caught the interest of academicians in several social science disciplines. From this interest came a budding literature.

Prior to the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the literature of black politics was scattered and sectional. There were studies of black politics in the North and studies of blacks' attempts to vote in the South. There were studies of isolated aspects of the black political world as a variety of events unfolded in the political arena. There were some exceptional works like Harold Gosnell's *Negro Politicians*, but much of this literature was noncumulative; the work was piecemeal, and little of it was built on or followed from the work of predecessors. But since 1965, black political forces have unleashed a new literature.

In the decades since 1965 the literature on black politics has passed through



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three phases. From 1965 to 1969 the books on black politics were readers, essentially (Walton, *et al.*, 1973). Although they brought much fugitive and scattered material of the pre-1965 era together with new articles, they did not carry the budding new field very far.

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***Black politics began when such great theories as nonviolent civil disobedience, black power, pan-Africanism, black nationalism, and black literature were in vogue and, indeed, often in conflict with one another.***

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During the second phase, 1970-1979, several major textbooks on black politics appeared, along with a small number of specialized monographs. The textbooks got the word out that there was a new kid on the block, that a new area in political science was emerging and that the discipline would have to make room for and acknowledge its potential. These textbooks synthesized much of the scattered studies dating from before 1965 and related them to many of the black political successes that followed 1965. Most importantly, they broke the back of the questionable sectional emphases. Black politics, the texts told us, occurred North and South, East and West.

The specialized studies pointed to political realities in this new field that deserved close analysis. These studies made the case that black politics involved more than voting patterns and the actions of black political leaders and elected officials. Moreover, they dramatized the fact that black politics, like any other area of political science, was rich, extensive, and significant. Yet even during this second phase, the textbooks overshadowed the specialized studies; they were more popular and marketable, and they may even have limited their growth. The specialized studies, works so crucial to the growth of a field, were pushed to the sidelines.

Today this is still a problem because black politics has had to grow without an academic journal. Unlike other subfields in the discipline, which break into view with one or more journals, black politics —after the *Black Politician* folded (it is currently being resurrected by its founder, Congressman Mervyn Dymally) —has had to rely on several black studies journals, a few historical publications, some black social science organs, a special issue here and there, and a newsletter of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. This is not to say that black politics as an academic area cannot flourish without its own journals; that is obviously not the case. But it is to say that, because the crucial specialized and monographic studies are scattered, they are difficult to find, and scholars at small colleges find it nearly impossible to keep up with all of the literature. The discipline is the loser, as synthesis becomes harder, facts and ideas are overlooked, and many repetitions occur.

The third and current phase in the literature on black politics, 1980-1985, consists of scattered and limited specialized studies plus a few textbooks. These form the backbone of the data resources available to the students and the scholars in the field (Walton, 1973, pp. 1-14). It is appropriate to ask what literature the work in black politics of the last five years has produced. But merely assessing the literature, comparing it with earlier work, would provide little more than

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***The black social and political movement began to roll slowly to a stop. . . .  
The great possibilities began to slip away.***

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an overview of the books and some notion about their continuity. For more meaningful insight, it is better to view the current literature not only in relation to past work but also in relation to the events taking place both in academic political science and in black politics. Such an approach permits a holistic view, one that suggests where future research and writing should be directed.



## **The Factors Shaping Black Politics**

When the new wave of studies in black politics got underway after the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the discipline of political science, if we date it from the launching of the *American Political Science Review*, was almost sixty years old. Indeed, most of the older subfields in the discipline were quite old. Political science already had a panoply of models, theories, methods, leaders, and values. Competition among these led to conflicts and sometimes heated debate in the discipline. Black politics emerged in the midst of the enormous debates and conflicts engendered by the behavioral movement, when concepts like pluralism and elitism were competing for dominance, during the time when community studies had passed their prime, and when electoral studies based on surveys had captured the attention of the discipline. It also came along when concepts like political socialization and culture promised to revolutionize political knowledge. Black politics also emerged shortly after the debates over Vietnam aroused rebellions within the discipline, revolts that were expressed in challenges to the leaders of the profession about the relevance of political science to modern problems of war, peace, and civil rights.

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***A preoccupation with political leadership is evident in the recent writings on black politics.***

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In short, the new subfield was trying to take root during a time of great upheaval in the discipline and in American society. Much can be said about the ways these forces affected the literature of black politics; suffice it to say that many of the producers of this scattered literature in the 1960s and early 1970s used data from the black political scene to test theories, spin concepts, challenge power holders, and exhort values that they said had important implications for policy. Many political scientists had come of age during the Depression and World War II and had great concern for stability, equi-

librium, and elitist democracy. These concerns passed directly into the early literature of black political science, and some of it made for quite curious reading.

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***White scholars who run the African Studies Association have taken control of the major funding agencies.***

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Black politics came at a time in the black community when movement and protest politics were giving way to electoral politics. In fact, 1965 is the turning point, the year in which the shift, if only legally, got underway. Black politics began when such great theories as nonviolent civil disobedience, black power, pan-Africanism, black nationalism, and black literature were in vogue and, indeed, often in conflict with one another. They had achieved varying degrees of success and promised more to come. The black social and political revolution was transforming the black community. And there was one further major problem—economic liberation. It was a time of great possibilities.

External to the black struggle but attached to it was the struggle for independence and liberation in Africa and other Third World nations. The darker nations were on the move. Africa and Third World leaders were talking about a new world order—a new beginning—one that challenged the very essence of the western civilization. Again, there were great possibilities.

Then it came. The powers that be had been caught off guard by the movement; now they reconstituted themselves and began to fight back. The black social and political movement began to roll slowly to a stop. Popular leaders like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., were assassinated. White liberals focused on new concerns, and the federal government shifted priorities, ultimately moving toward conservatism. The great possibilities began to slip away.

Emerging at this time were many black scholars who had to define the nature, scope, and significance of this new field

of black politics. They had to conceptualize and structure a methodology for an area that many hoped would become the cutting edge of a rejuvenated civil rights movement. Others hoped that it would finish the unfinished task. Still others had even greater hopes—for a new day, a new society, a new world order, that would come of age when they did. They all knew that the very discipline of which they were a part had not escaped the racism and oppression of this society. The protest politics of black and Third World people worldwide provided an alternative, an agenda, a new epistemology, and a chance for a new political science.

The impact of the times was profound and the ramifications will be felt for some time to come. Why? Simply because it is well known "that criticism and interpretation, the arts of explanation and understanding, have a deep and complex relation with politics, the structure of power and social value that organize human life" (Mitchell, 1982, p. 1). It can be put another way: "Who writes? For whom is the writing being done? In what circumstance? These, it seems to me, are the questions whose answers provide us with the ingredients making for a politics of interpretation" (Said, 1982, p. 7).

The recent literature of black politics will be analyzed here against the backdrop of the conflicts, tensions, and relations that black politics has with its fellow disciplines and with social realities. These explain the interplay of facts and ideas in the new field, and the more we know about these realities, the better we will grasp the sociology of knowledge and the academic and intellectual processes marking the rise of a new field.

### The Recent Literature

The recent books (1980-1985) on black politics fall readily into nine categories (Table 1).<sup>1</sup> The largest number by far are devoted to black political leaders (34.4 percent). If this category is combined

with the category on black mayors, the two groups account for 43.8 percent of all the works under consideration. A preoccupation with political leadership is evident in the recent writings on black politics.

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*[Hardy] Frye reveals why reliance on the black vote is not sufficient: the party system is not always fair and equitable in dealing with people of color.*

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Two other large categories are those concerned with public policy and the black electorate. The first area is a major interest in political science as a whole; it is a major growth area where a significant portion of the discipline is devoting its talents. Like behavioralism was several years ago, public policy is certainly in vogue in the discipline.

On the other hand, studies of the black electorate and black voting behavior have always been numerous; the obstacles faced by the black electorate and the way that blacks vote have always drawn scholarly and journalistic attention. Election studies are glamorous and continuous; those who study black voting populations find themselves not only in step with the disciplinary trend but enjoying high visibility in political science as a whole.

The information in Table 1 reveals several surprises. The methodological and African categories have only one book each. In a new area like black politics, so self-conscious about its identity and uniqueness and desirous of creating the *proper* perspective, one would expect numerous studies in methodology. As for Africa, the new black nation-states promised much, providing the chance to experiment with alternative social, economic, and political systems. Moreover, their liberation struggles and movements were seen by many as informing the unfinished black movements in America and South Africa. But alas, the work by black political scientists in this area has been in very short supply. If one reads the un-

<sup>1</sup>See the reference list, at end, for full bibliographical information about each of these books.

**TABLE 1**  
**The Categories of the Recent Literature on Black Politics\***

Category	Authors	Percentage of Whole
Textbooks	Barker & McCorry; Preston, Henderson, & Puryear	6.3
Methodology	Tryman	3.1
Ideology	Robinson; Bayes; Angela Davis	9.4
Electoral Studies	Ball; Davidson; Bush; Frye	12.5
Leadership Studies	Smith; Jack; Foner; Levinsohn; Editorial Collective (a & b); Rozier; Garrow; Wolfenstein; Allison Davis; Wilkins	34.4
Black Mayoral Studies	Greer; Eisinger; Woody	9.4
Policy Studies	Welch & Karing; Bullock; Jones; Clausen & Bermingham; Rice & Jones	15.6
Current Events	Sowell; Dunbar	6.3
African Politics	Robinson & Skinner	3.1

\*The author would like to thank Professor Mack Jones for assisting him in trying to locate the following work: Ernest Quimby, *Black Political Dependency in Bedford Stuyvesant*. Monthly Review Press announced the book in their catalog but told the author that said book was out of print. However, further search by the author and Professor Jones revealed that this work never saw print.

paralleled essays of Pearl Robinson and Elliot Skinner (1983) along with the judicious comments of Hershelle Chancellor, then it is not hard to see why. They show in great detail how the white scholars who run the African Studies Association have taken control of the major funding agencies and have not permitted black scholars with Afro-centric perspectives to study the country.

### Textbooks

To turn to the works themselves, we will begin with the textbooks. The Barker and McCorry (1980) text is a good, solid synthesis of the socioeconomic and demographic realities of black America. It provides the reader with an understanding of the dimension of the problem and of black political resources; it also assesses how well those resources might be able to resolve the massive problems facing the black community.

The Preston, Henderson, and Puryear (1982) text, on the other hand, is a collection of case studies. The Barker and McCorry book provides a broad sweep, whereas this book provides the details about urban, national, and participatory politics. A unique feature of the work is

its coverage of electoral bias and racial gerrymandering, a subject only lightly discussed in earlier works. This reader, no mere collection of reprints, presents original essays that make significant contributions to scholarship in black politics.

### Methodology

The Tryman (1982) work on methodology raises the paramount question: What can this new field borrow from the old discipline and yet start afresh?; how can it remain true to both traditional political science and to black political imperatives? Tryman answers by arguing that the developmental and modernization theories of comparative politics can be redefined and then productively applied to black politics. Although Tryman does not himself apply the modified theory to black politics, he strongly advocates its potentials, and he provides one of the best summaries of the strengths and weaknesses of modernization theory to be found anywhere in political science literature. This section alone is worth the price of the book.

In general, Tryman argues that many of the traditional theories, frameworks, and models of political science cannot work

in this new area of black politics. His reasoning suggests an argument advanced by Mack Jones that the control and anticipation needs of the white community are completely different from those of the black community. Hence, the intellectual techniques and procedures to address these needs must come from the black experience itself. Thus, the older models are not quite useful.

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*Electoral efforts by blacks  
have rigid upper limits.*

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**Ideology**

Three works on ideology have appeared. Cedric Robinson's (1983) pioneering work on black Marxism addresses a basic issue in black politics: could a different political economy eliminate the problems that beset the black community? Robinson shows that the Marxists draw their pertinent insights from the European class structure and social experience without allowing for other mass-based ideologies like racism. In Robinson's view, the Marxist notion that class consciousness is primary, race consciousness secondary, is thus inevitable. He goes on to show how black radicalism as articulated by W. E. B. Dubois, C. L. R. James, and Richard Wright has had to modify Euro-Marxism to use it. What Robinson does for black politics is to show that if black radicals wish to use Marxism to find solutions for black problems, they must resolve both methodological and conceptual difficulties before they can even get to the vast operational ones.

Bayes' (1982) book is merely a descriptive recounting of the possible ideological bases of black politics. It is neither comprehensive nor systematic, and it provides no fresh or useful insights into the problems of the field.

Angela Davis's work (1981) is just the opposite of Robinson's; it not only embraces Marxism as a solution, it tries to show how feminism, racism and classism end up being the triple sources of oppression and argues that a classless society is

the only answer for liberation and freedom. For the political scientist who accepts Marxism, the Davis book provides support and new arguments.

**Electoral Studies**

The participatory features of any political system lie at the very core of the political process. Electoral studies of blacks and the American political process take the reader away from the abstraction of method and ideology to the concrete facts of involvement. Can blacks really participate in the electoral process without difficulty, as any white citizen can, or are they limited by the color of their skin? To this question, Ball *et al.* (1982) and Davidson (1984) answer pessimistically. For them the color of a person's skin determines the level of participation in this system. Ball's book is an important survey of the ways the federal government has enforced the 1965 Voting Rights Act and its subsequent renewals. Ball and his coauthors show that the Justice Department has failed to fully enforce the law and that at best the government had compromised its enforcement policy. Davidson's work is a detailed study of the ways regional forces seek to short circuit the electoral process and subvert black voting rights, even at times with the help of the federal government, either because of its negligence or a failure to enforce existing law. This book tells a sad and frustrating story of a people who have faith in governmental action and of a government that makes promises it fails to deliver.

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*The federal government's  
implementation of civil  
rights policies have been  
uneven, poorly coordinated,  
and limited.*

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Ball, *et al.* and Davidson have written books that complement each other and that should be read together because of what they reveal to a discipline all too prone to say complacently that full participation is a fundamental characteristic of this society, that those who want to can vote and participate. These books

show how inaccurate such assumptions are. They challenge the discipline to reassess its findings, models, and theories about voting behavior—particularly about the causes of voting.

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*Only public policies which first correct the "gross social and economic disparities" can ever lead to true equality and real cultural pluralism in the country.*

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In fact, the persistence of obstacles for people of color that seem inherent in the political process, even 200 years after the founding of the country, fuels the next two books. The volume Rod Bush (1984) has edited, another case study using essentially a class-based analysis, suggests that electoral politics cannot deliver to the black community enough power to solve its problem. Bush, like the others who have done electoral studies, shows that electoral politics is not enough, despite success stories like Harold Washington's in Chicago.

Frye (1980) reveals why reliance on the black vote is not sufficient: the party system is not always fair and equitable in dealing with people of color. This book is a case study of the National Democratic Party of Alabama, a black political party. It tells the story of innovative and creative efforts by racial minorities to attain political freedom and social and economic liberation in George Wallace's Alabama of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Frye concludes, as do Ball, Davidson, and Bush, that electoral efforts by blacks have rigid upper limits.

### **Leadership**

Yet, despite their limitations, black electoral efforts do produce black political leaders and black elected officials. Smith's (1982) excellent monograph provides a methodological framework for the political study of black leadership. Smith subjects all the various typologies that have been developed to study black

political leadership to a tough, rigorous analysis and shows that they are ineffectual. This work proposes a new way to study black political leadership that is interesting and provocative.

Jack's (1982) book, on the other hand, is a solid political autobiography, the personal story of a black elected official in New York. As such, it provides some insights that academic, scholarly studies usually miss and that need to be included in their methodological constructs for better analysis.

Foner's (1983) edited volume begins with a spirited introduction by black congressman Ronald Dellums, who argues that socialism has a long and distinguished history in the black community and that this tradition is rooted in part in one of the basic institutions of the black community, the church. Dellums claims that socialism is the answer to current black problems; however, the author of an important historical work on communism in Harlem in the 1930s disagrees, arguing that the ideology of socialism and the leadership of a few spokespersons are not enough to resolve the black plight (Naison, 1983).

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*[Thomas] Sowell rejects civil rights policies and suggests that such policies are not in black people's best interests. To advocate such a thesis . . . is not only illogical but a peculiar form of propaganda.*

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Levinsohn's (1983) political biography of Harold Washington is the work of a former classmate of the politician. She writes: "I make no pretense of impartiality. I voted for him as student council president at Roosevelt College in 1948, for mayor of Chicago in 1977, again in February 1983 and in April 1983. . . . Having said that, I hasten to add that, though not impartial, I have tried to be objective, to explore and expose his warts along with his beauty marks."

Hers is an in-depth study that illuminates a black political leader who fashioned a bold political victory for blacks and elevated the black political struggle to a new plateau. Along with this work, one should read two source books of the Editorial Collective: *Black Power in Chicago: A Documentary Survey* (1983), a comprehensive collection of clippings that covers every aspect of the 1983 historic election, and *Black Power in Chicago: A Selective Bibliography* (1983), which lists all the books and papers written on blacks in the city of Chicago from early days to the present.<sup>2</sup> These publications, the first of their kind, add immeasurably to scholarly resources for study of the Chicago political scene. These three works together explore a unique black political event—the election of the first black mayor of Chicago.

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*[Leslie] Dunbar sees President Reagan and the conservative movement as destroyers of minority rights and progress in the country.*

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Rozier (1982), in contrast, writes critically of a black political leader in the South, in a black belt county (Hancock County) in Georgia. He recounts the story of a black activist, John McGowan, who came to Hancock and tried to empower blacks, who were in the majority in the county, by combining protest demonstrations, funding from private foundations, and economic cooperatives. Although McGowan lost his life and many of his economic efforts failed, blacks did take over the county politically. Today, of the twenty black majoritarian counties in the state, Hancock is the only one under black control. Yet

Rozier paints McGowan as a failure in all of his endeavors, even in his personal life (see Bartley, 1982). The book is a negative portrayal of black leaders; most important, it indicts black leaders like McGowan for even trying and even suggests that it is white leaders who will ultimately set things right. To date, in Georgia's black belt, they have not. Rozier's critique of black leadership is suspect: he is a native of Hancock County whose family and friends were swept out of power because of the black political revolution there.

One book that falls into the middle position is that by David Garrow (1981). He looks at the ways one governmental institution, the FBI, sought to circumscribe the effectiveness of Martin Luther King, Jr., without the specific approval of the president or Congress. Because the director of the agency, J. Edgar Hoover, personally disliked the black leader, he tried to discredit and destroy him. The book's shortcoming is its attempt to explain the suppression of black leaders by federal agencies as being typically the result of one individual's power within the organization or, more amorphously, of a conservative climate in the United States. Garrow simply reveals an extremely limited knowledge of black history and the black political experience. The suppression or neutralization of black leadership and of opposition to racism have been at times officially or semi-officially sanctioned and maintained by federal agencies. Garrow is wrong when he attributes such action to the work of a single individual or to the effect of the general political climate.

A new technique for evaluating political leaders, psychoanalysis, has found its way into the study of black leadership, and two of the new books use such an approach to reach an understanding of black leaders.<sup>3</sup> Wolfenstein's (1981) work offers a psychoanalytic analysis of Malcolm X, combining that method with a Marxist approach. All of Malcolm's

<sup>2</sup>For a new historical work, see Paul Kleppner, *Chicago Divided: The Making of a Black Mayor* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985). See also, Melvin Holli and Paul Green (eds.), *The Making of the Mayor of Chicago: 1983* (Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983).

<sup>3</sup>See the papers by Earl E. Thorpe and Gossie Hudson, black historians, for examples of pioneering work in black psycho-history.

activities are explained either on the basis of childhood experiences or from the standpoint of economic class struggle. But the great problem is that Malcolm was not an economic ideologue as much as a religious one, and his religious transformation cannot be explained satisfactorily by the use of such a paradigm.

Allison Davis's (1983) book on leadership uses psychoanalysis to explain the motivations of Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Jr., W. E. B. Dubois, and Richard Wright. The suggestion is that psychological forces caused each man to take a different approach to solving the race problem. But the effects of the times and the environment are omitted.

Roy Wilkins (1982), in his autobiography, describes how he ran the NAACP and recounts the organization's achievements in race relations over the period of his leadership. Wilkins does not believe that much was accomplished by other black leaders besides himself.

Among all the books on black political leaders, biography and psycho-history dominate; there is little in these works that is new or original theoretically, besides the Smith monograph.

### **Black Mayors**

Much in the same tradition are the works that focus on black elected leaders, the black mayors. Greer's (1979) is a study of Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana. Greer, a Marxist scholar and a one-time Hatcher aide, analyzes the Hatcher mayoralty from the standpoint of class. Greer concludes that life in Gary today is significantly worse than it was a decade ago, before a black mayor came to power. Greer believes that political reform has failed and is not possible in the existing system. The black mayoralty in Gary, in his view, has been more of a failure than he had anticipated.

If one compares the Greer with the Woody (1982) book, sharp differences become apparent. Woody uses the conventional methods of political science and urban political analysis to reveal how black mayors have fared in managing crisis cities. She looks at Detroit, New Orleans, Los Angeles, and in great detail

at Newark, New Jersey. Woody argues that there have been both successes and failures. Many reforms have been instituted, and new implications for a national urban policy have been emerging. The likelihood is that we will see many achievements as well as failures in these crisis cities. Woody, unlike Greer, feels that black urban politics offers promise, not inevitable failure.

Eisinger (1980) adds another perspective, looking not only at the great difficulty that black mayors face in managing these crisis cities but at the enormous problems they must overcome in acquiring power in the first place. The book analyzes black attempts to capture the mayor's office in Atlanta, Boston, and Detroit and the problem black mayors face after they attain power.

The three books in this category probe a new phenomenon in black politics, the increasing number of black mayors in American local politics. Taken together, they provide promising insights for the future.

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*Transformation and Resiliency in Africa not only stands alone as a major advance in the analysis of African politics, but it re-directs the field of black political science toward the intellectualism sought in its early years. It is a major breakthrough.*

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### **Public Policy**

The literature of black politics does not focus exclusively on individuals; it looks at public policy as well. The Welch and Karing (1980) volume is an attempt to assess how increased black representation has affected urban policy. With black mayors and other black local elected officials, have things for blacks in the big cities changed? The conclusion of this book is that black representation has resulted in greater expenditures for social

welfare programs and related initiatives.

But, moving from local to national policy, the case studies of the volume Bullock (1982) has edited show that the federal government's implementation of civil rights policies have been uneven, poorly coordinated, and limited. The best record is in voting rights, but the authors see less success in other areas.

Jones (1982), who looks at the same issues but in only three federal agencies, disagrees with the idea that even in the area of voting rights the federal government has done a creditable job. He shows that federal enforcement is not much more than simple voluntary compliance. Rarely has the federal government used all of its powers to achieve full implementation of the law.

Clausen and Bermingham's (1981) work forwards the same thesis but emphasizes the rise of racism and the impact of pluralism on the American political process. They take a critical look at public policies supposedly designed to help achieve cultural pluralism, arguing that such policies as presently constituted mean the abandonment of the ethnic or racial, social and economic roots and the acceptance of the values and customs of white Americans. Only public policies which first correct the "gross social and economic disparities" can ever lead to true equality and real cultural pluralism in the country (Clausen and Bermingham, 1981, p. xiii).

In the volume edited by Rice and Jones (1984) an entirely new and unique approach is attempted; this collection of case studies probes the impact of contemporary public policies on blacks and examines their problems in the areas of the "urban crisis, public employment, minority business enterprise, energy, the military, the police, affirmative action, economics, health, the future and ethics" (Rice and Jones, 1984, p. 9). National, state, and local policies are not always shaped with the problems of minorities in mind, and the Rice and Jones volume reveals not only the shortcomings of many policies but their potential consequences. This area, heretofore, has been untouched.

## Current Events

Sowell (1984) rejects civil rights policies and suggests that such policies are not in black people's best interests. The idea was articulated in the Fairmont Papers, produced by a conference of black conservatives (Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1981) and in all of Sowell's books. But to advocate such a thesis and take such a position in a country which *prides* itself on the civil liberties that it bestows upon its citizenry and sees political participation as the keystone of its democracy, is not only illogical but a peculiar form of propaganda. The last black leader to articulate such a policy was Booker T. Washington and he did so, the historians tell us, because he wanted to appease whites and win their approval. The Washington Era, 1895-1915, in America has come to be called the "Nadir"—the lowest period in American history for black Americans. Washington's advocacy of the primacy of economic advancement ended up costing blacks both their civil rights and liberties and economic progress. Although it (his policy) did not work then, we now have Sowell's word for it and the other white conservatives who are presently in power that it will work *now*. They must think (and Sowell in particular) that blacks learned nothing from the first experience.

Dunbar's (1984) work attacks the Sowellian thesis and the current Reagan Administration as it attempts to dismantle the implementation of civil rights efforts and eliminate social programs. Dunbar sees President Reagan and the conservative movement as destroyers of minority rights and progress in the country. Indeed, this new wave of conservatism among blacks and in government, led by the Reagan administration, is now stimulating several studies in this area of black politics. Most of the present studies are critical and portend much more work like it in the future.

## African Politics

Among books on black African politics, particularly those written by black politi-



cal scientists, there is the unique work edited by Robinson and Skinner (1983). They use an Afro-centric perspective, not a Euro-centric approach. *Transformation and Resiliency in Africa* provides a new portrait of African politics, and it brings together all those contradictions, realities, and hopes of the 1960s and early 1970s. This work resolves many of the contradictions by developing a new approach, applying it to the political realities in five new African nation states. This book not only stands alone as a major advance in the analysis of African politics, but it redirects the field of black political science toward the intellectualism sought in its early years. It is a major breakthrough.

## Conclusion

Overall, the recent literature of black politics reflects the dominant trends in the profession, most notably in its studies of black voting behavior and public policy. It has responded to new developments in black political life—the rise of black political leaders and black mayors—and to the new psychoanalytic approaches and methods. Likewise, it reflects the concern of some scholars about the best political economy for black liberation. But finally, our overview of the recent literature suggests that some areas—methodology, African politics—and ideology have not received the serious attention they should have, and that other areas—black interest groups,<sup>4</sup> constitutional law,<sup>5</sup> political theory and

philosophy have received no attention whatever.

Despite the gaps, though, the literature is healthy and sound. Its perspectives are fairly diverse, which is as it should be in a new, emerging field.

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## Administrative Risk and Sexual Harassment: Legal and Ethical Responsibilities on Campus

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If you chair a university department in the mid-1980s, the odds are that someone has come to you with a complaint about one of your faculty—a charge that he is guilty of sexual harassment. It is the rare administrator that is prepared to handle this issue comfortably, let alone promptly and fairly. We have virtually no experience in our institutions to draw on. The issue is sensitive, potentially creating a poisonous intellectual climate that can be destructive to careers of female students, female faculty, and male faculty who have been accused of malfeasance. Administrators, who have labored to develop collegial relations among a very disparate group of faculty, see their effort crumbling in the face of any investigation, no matter how quietly and sensitively it takes place.

It is also true that sexual harassment is not a new phenomenon. Women on campus have always risked being the object of sexual demands. In a prior era many women have changed majors or dropped out of programs as their sole option in avoiding a persistent professor. Women have been denied tenure and have had promotions slowed or blocked. What has changed in the mid-1980s is that women are seeing more options. Instead of retreating silently, sure their testimony

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\*The authors wish to thank Professor Patricia Huckle of San Diego State University and Patricia Ohlendorf and Priscilla Machado of the University of Texas for their assistance. We have attached guidelines for two of the many institutions that have ruled on sexual harassment.



**Betty Nesvold**

would not carry authority, they are now beginning to come out of that "closet." The women's movement has encouraged many to expect group support, and the federal courts have begun ruling that sexual harassment is a form of sexual discrimination outlawed by Title VII and extended to education by Title IX.

A discussion about sexual harassment at recent meetings of the Western regional chairs of political science departments revealed several trends. One view expressed was that sexual harassment is more widespread than most chairs realize. It was pointed out that the law holds employers liable if they know or should have known of acts of sexual harassment. Other chairs were concerned with protecting students. Some expressed their fear of false charges and the jeopardy of careers. This exchange only

begins to "scratch the surface" of what clearly appears to be a responsibility and problem for chairpersons.

Research by those in universities who have worked on this topic affirms that 20 to 30 percent of women students report they have been sexually harassed by male faculty during their college years (Dzeich and Weiner, 1984). Even if that were a gross exaggeration, and we believe it is not, the numbers are appalling. There are over six million women enrolled in American colleges and universities, and if only one percent experienced sexual harassment, there would be almost 64,000 victims this year alone.

The interchange among department chairs at the Western regional meetings this spring convinced us that department chairs are deeply concerned, but do not know how to handle such situations and do not fully understand their legal responsibilities in the matter. The misconceptions that we observed rest on a lack of knowledge of what federal government regulations imply for administrators at the department level. Our experience is that the lack of knowledge is extensive.



**Charles Cnudde**

Department chairs often do not know of employer responsibility under federal law when agents (e.g., faculty) of employers engage in sexual harassment. In many cases they are not aware that employers are liable *irrespective* of whether the employer knew or could have known under these conditions. They often seem unaware of employer liability even when acts of harassment expressly were forbidden. Department chairs frequently do not know of employer responsibility when non-employees commit sexual harassment against employees. They usually do not know of employer implication in harassment when they fail to take immediate and corrective action. In many cases chairs do not know that the definition of sexual harassment may include purely verbal conduct and that it extends to situations that merely interfere with work performance.

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*Research . . . affirms that 20 to 30 percent of women students report they have been sexually harassed by male faculty during their college years.*

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There are at least two dangers inherent in this lack of information. One is that an uninformed department chair may inadvertently deal with a sexual harassment charge in ways that will increase the chances that his or her institution will be sued. Informed action by the chair can reduce the legal liability of the institution. The second danger is a result of the first. Courts may not act in ways to protect the goals of educational institutions. As Dziech and Weiner (1984) have pointed out

Because of recent media attention to sexual harassment, the legal liabilities of institutions, and the increased litigiousness of students and employees, higher education must police itself. If it does not, it risks being policed by other institutions and forces with less sensitivity and understanding of the academic environment and mission.

The authors, as members of the main APSA committee representing the chairs

of the discipline, feel that it is necessary to document court rulings, federal regulations and other findings and what they imply as the responsibility of departmental administrators in this area. This paper attempts to lay out reasonable interpretations of the department chair's responsibility in sexual harassment cases, under the law. It draws policy inferences from those interpretations on how chairs may operate more effectively.

### Federal Law

It turns out that the law is much more explicit than the typical department chair believes. As a result of these regulations, if not as a result of more human considerations, the department chair has no choice but to take immediate and corrective action at the first instance of reports of sexual harassment.

As employers, academic institutions are bound by state and federal anti-discrimination laws. The current law in this area is grounded in Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex discrimination in education. Many of the rules adopted by the office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education to enforce Title IX have been based on the Title VII guidelines of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

The early court cases, before the existence of federal guidelines, spelled out employer responsibility in sexual harassment. (The following discussion relies on the court cases and MacKinnon, 1979; Neugarten and Shafritz, 1980; and Bureau of National Affairs, 1981.) These early cases usually focused on the issue of retaliation. That is, the employee had to be at risk financially before the courts would find that the employer was liable. Even with their restricted focus these cases surprised many people with their implications.

In a 1976 case the judge said that job retaliation toward a female employee who turned down sexual advances was sexual discrimination (*Williams v. Saxbe*).

The case interpreted Title VII of the Civil Rights Act as applying to sexual harassment. It did so by holding that the activity in question erected "... an artificial barrier to employment (for) one gender and not the other (while Title VII) makes all discrimination affecting employment based on gender (illegal)."

Three other early cases helped to clarify administrative responsibility. In one a Circuit Court of Appeals held that an employer was legally liable even though sexual harassment was argued to be inconsistent with employer policy (*Garber v. Saxon Business Products*). The court seemed to read "acquiescence" by the employer into the situation of sexual harassment. In the Eastern District of Michigan the court said that failure to investigate charges of sexual harassment "... gives tacit support to the discriminator because the absence of sanctions encourages abusive behavior" (*Munford v. James T. Barnes Co.*). Finally a 1977 case underlined the *Williams* case holding that "... it is much too late in the day to contend that Title VII does not outlaw terms of employment for women which differ appreciably from those set for men and which are not genuinely and reasonably related to performance on the job. [For example saying that] retention of [a woman's] job was conditioned upon submission to sexual relations—an exaction which the supervisor would not have sought from any male" (*Barnes v. Castle*).

A court in 1977 seemed to broaden the scope of activities considered illegal and to weaken the requirement of a demonstrated threat of retaliation. It said "... the power inherent in a position of authority is necessarily coercive (and) every sexual advance made by a supervisor would be made under the ... cloak of that authority" (*Tomkins v. Public Service Electric and Gas Co.*). In this case the court also discussed "constructive" as opposed to actual harassment on the part of the employer. It laid the ground for the need of adequate reactions by employers in saying that Title VII is violated in part when the "... employer does not take prompt and appropriate remedial action after acquiring. . ." knowledge of sexual harassment.

## EEOC Guidelines

The EEOC guidelines grew out of these prior cases. Many aspects of the EEOC definition of sexual harassment are well-known but we list them here to provide a

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*The department chair has no choice but to take immediate and corrective action at the first instance of reports of sexual harassment.*

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more complete background for discussion. Harassment<sup>1</sup> includes: Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when:

- 1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment.
- 2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or
- 3) such conduct has the purposes or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. (11(a))

The EEOC guidelines further indicate that the employer (and as a representative of the institution, department chair) is responsible under the following conditions:<sup>2</sup>

1. The employer is liable if the supervisor (e.g., department chair) or the agent of the supervisor commits sexual har-

<sup>1</sup>The EEOC definition of sexual harassment occurs in the federal Equal Employment Opportunity provisions published as amendments to Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex (29 CFR Part 1604.11.45 FR 25024) in the *Federal Register*, November 10, 1980.

<sup>2</sup>These statements rely on 29 CFR Chapter XIV, Part 1604.

assment irrespective of whether the employer knew or should have known.

2. The decision of whether sexual harassment has taken place or not ultimately is up to the courts and will be determined on a case by case basis.
3. An employer is liable if sexual harassment takes place among fellow employees unless it can show that it took immediate and appropriate action.

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*If sexual harassment does occur, it constitutes sex discrimination prohibited under Title IX.*

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4. Acts of an employer or agents or supervisory employees result in employer responsibility regardless of whether the acts were authorized or forbidden or whether they were known or should have been known of by the employer.
5. Employers are to take steps to prevent sexual harassment such as by affirmatively raising the subject, expressing strong disapproval, developing sanctions, and informing employees of their rights in cases of this sort.
6. Employers (or their agents or supervisory personnel) are liable if non-employees harass employees.
7. Finally, practices in which advancement or other advantage is granted because of sexual favor can lead to actions by others discriminated against by such unlawful preference.

**Subsequent Cases**

Later cases not only upheld these EEOC provisions but extended the underlying logic. (The following discussion depends upon the cases and on BNA, 1981.) In *Brown v. City of Guthrie and Guthrie Police Department* the Court for the Western District of Oklahoma found illegal an intimidating and sexually offensive working environment which causes a woman to resign. In *Bundy v. Jackson* a district court held that sexual harassment itself is illegal; proof that the employee

was directly penalized or suffered tangible harm is not necessary. The court said sexual propositions constituted an "illegal poisoning" of the work environment.

A 1984 settlement (*California DFEH v. Safeway Stores, Carpenteria*) in favor of the complainant resulted from a case brought against the store manager when another man, the complainant's supervisor, engaged in sexual harassment. Other early and mid-80s cases and decisions by state administrative boards have implemented the EEOC rules and related codes (*Toscano v. Nimmo, Priest v. Rotary, California DFEH v. Jack's Restaurant*). In one (*California DFEH v. Bee Hive Answering Service*) a co-owner of a business was held liable for the actions of a partner who sexually harassed an employee. The decision held that the non-harassing partner was an agent of the other under federal law.

The cases previously cited have been determined under Title VII which prohibits sexual discrimination as a form of violation of individual civil rights. One of the early cases brought under Title IX, directly addressing rights of students, is *Alexander v. Yale University*. The case was filed in 1977 when an undergraduate woman brought charges against several faculty members. While the court decided against the student, the case is significant in maintaining that if sexual harassment does occur, it constitutes sex discrimination prohibited under Title IX. The ruling stated:

It is perfectly reasonable to maintain the academic advancement conditioned upon submission to sexual demands constitutes sex discrimination in education, just as questions of jobs retention or promotion tied to sexual demands from supervisors have become increasingly recognized as potential violations of Title VII's ban against sex discrimination in employment. (*Alexander v. Yale University*, 459 F. Supp. 1, D. Conn., 1977)

The litigant was joined by four other students and a male professor who alleged that tolerance of sexual pressures on students is unconducive to teaching and learning because of the poisoned campus environment that sexual harassment cre-

ates. We find that many male faculty are expressing outrage against sexual harassment with increasing frequency. It was both eye opening and reassuring to hear many such comments at the aforementioned meeting of chairs in the Western region.

### **How Should Administrators Respond?**

Whether or not a sexual harassment charge will lead to a court case is an uncertain decision. Such ad hoc decisions make academic administrators nervous. These decisions look too much like games of chance. When faced with "lotteries" of this kind most administrators want to reduce risks. The institutions tend under any circumstances to operate as if they were risk averse. Before examining the specifics, it is of some theoretical interest to explore why administrators might reasonably be risk averse under these conditions.

The disadvantage to administrators of going to trial involves more than the potential disadvantage of losing the case. It also involves the problem of the adverse publicity of the case itself. This publicity affects the administrator's reputation for operating a "tight ship." Merely going to trial presents a problem of this sort, even if the institution wins the case. If the institution has any potential of losing the case, the disadvantages are compounded. The bad publicity interacts with the financial or other difficulties, such as those of losing the case, to produce a "synergistic" set of problems. These problems are "synergistic" in that they go beyond the disadvantages of losing or of the bad publicity measured separately and totaled. These problems interact because they affect the administrator's reputation.

These considerations predict a curve for institutions like that in Figure 1. The solid, non-linear curve depicts a downward sloping valuation depending on how administrators look at the possibility of going to trial. It assumes that they prefer not going to trial over going to trial. Arbitrarily we place the value of a positive 1.0 at not going and negative 1.0 at going to trial. We further assume that a coverup has a 50-50 chance of succeed-

ing (In the real world it would be much less in our judgment) while an appropriate and immediate response has the certain effect of landing the institution midway between going and not going to trial. Not only is the curve downward sloping but it does so at an exponential rate given the "synergistic" effect.

The shape of this curve is typical of curves that describe risk aversion (Shepsley, 1972; Page, 1976; Riker and Ordeshook, 1973; and Friedman and Savage, 1948). It shows that the typical administrator would prefer to be at point P over a lottery in which the chances are that half of the time a trial would not take place and in the other half it would. If the most important thing to an administrator is to avoid court trials, such a choice would be easy: don't risk a cover-up.

The current state of the law in the area of sexual harassment provides guidance for academic institutions. In many institutions steps have been taken to conform to the law by developing procedures that are extra-departmental. For example, many universities have issued policy statements that prohibit sexual harassment. Many have set up well-defined processes for dealing with complaints of sexual harassment and they have publicized these processes. Finally, it is common to see instructions to administrators, faculty, staff and students designed to educate on this topic.

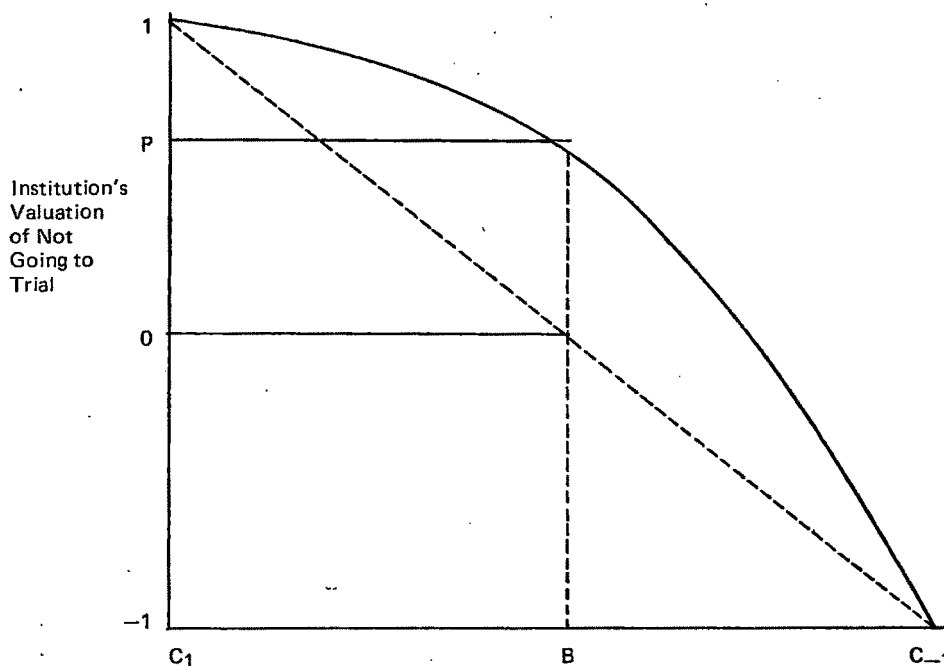
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*Department chairs should understand that recent court decisions have held institutions legally responsible when transgressions occur.*

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Initial complaints, however, typically occur at the departmental level. Thus, the department chair will be the first person to whom a victim of sexual harassment will bring her complaint. This is an uneasy situation for her as well as for the department chair. Myths of the victim "inviting the relationship" are so pervasive that she expects a skeptical reac-

**FIGURE 1**  
**Will Department Chair's Decision Lead to a Harassment Suit?**



**ASSUMPTIONS:**

B = Immediate and appropriate response.

C = Cover-up, probability of going to trial and not are equal at 1/2.

Thus,  $E(C) = 1/2(1) + 1/2(-1) = 0$ .

tion to her charges. Dzeich and Weiner (1984) call attention to some of these:

(1) *The Beauty Myth*: College women are so sexually compelling and youthfully beautiful that men cannot resist them. . . . The attempt to establish the women's beauty as a cause of sexual harassment diverts attention from the real power issue . . . a standard way of discounting the professor's responsibility and shifting blame to the victim.

(2) *The Clothing Myth*: A corollary [to the beauty myth] . . . the belief that college women dress in ways that invite and provoke sexual advances. . . . The problem for women is that some people have trouble distinguishing seductive attire from that which simply emphasizes beauty and self-esteem.

(3) *The Consenting Adult Myth*: Few students are ever, in the strictest

sense, consenting adults. A student can never be a genuine equal of a professor insofar as his professional position gives him power over her. . . . Whether the student consents to the involvement or whether the professor ever intends to use his power against her is not the point. The issue is that the power and role disparity always exist, making it virtually impossible for the student to act as freely as she would with a male peer.

These and other common myths act to divert responsibility from the professor in situations of sexual harassment and may often act to cause the victim to feel that somehow she is responsible for the situation. To be sure, there are aggressive female students and junior faculty, but the power differential makes it all the more important for the male faculty



member to be seriously concerned with professional ethics and his responsibility. Department chairs should understand that recent court decisions have held institutions legally responsible when transgressions occur.

It is unquestionably true that a false charge of sexual harassment may be made. We all know of "trumped-up" charges in other areas and this may be no different. This possibility makes it all the more important for the chair to investigate immediately and thoroughly. We are sensitive to the fact that a chair is put in a very uncomfortable situation in an investigation of a colleague's ethical standards. But if administrators do not move immediately upon the receipt of charges of sexual harassment, they put their institutions in legal jeopardy. In such circumstances the best defense would seem to be evidence of immediate and appropriate action taken at the operating level, i.e., by the department chair. This would also seem to be in the best interest of the professor who has been charged with harassment.

The costs of sexual harassment to the university when it occurs go well beyond the legal liability we have emphasized here. Departments may lose majors, students may have career aspirations destroyed, female faculty may be forced to leave institutions, and the climate of learning may become poisoned. We have discussed actual cases. However, those who work with victims of sexual harassment caution us that the problem is far more widespread than these cases alone. They also caution us that female victims are beginning to rebel and may be much more likely than in the past to register a formal complaint. University administrators need to be prepared to handle these complaints promptly, appropriately, and thoroughly. Such action not only has the best chance of avoiding litigation, it also contributes to a healthier scholarly environment.

#### **Appendix 1. Policy Statement University of Minnesota**

The following policy statement, adopted by the University of Minnesota University Senate, is an example of an institutional

statement that helps define the issue for the campus community.

#### **Policy Statement on Sexual Harassment**

Sexual harassment in any situation is reprehensible. It subverts the mission of the University, and threatens the careers of students, faculty, and staff. For the purposes of this policy, sexual harassment is defined as follows:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment or academic advancement, (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions or academic decisions affecting such individual, or (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work or academic performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working or academic environment.

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*If administrators do not  
move immediately upon  
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Sexual harassment is especially serious when it threatens the relationship between student and teacher or the relationship between a supervisor and his or her subordinates. Through grades, wage increases, recommendations for graduate study, promotion, and the like, a teacher or a supervisor can have a decisive influence on a student's or staff member's success and future career at the University and beyond.

When a person is subjected to unwanted sexual attention, a situation is created that may have devastating implications for individual students and staff, and for the academic community as a whole. Through fear of reprisal, a student, staff, or faculty member may submit to unwanted sexual attention at the price of debilitating personal anguish or may withdraw from a course or position and thus be forced to change plans for a life's work.

Conversely, a teacher or supervisor may be inhibited from developing a close and profes-

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sionally appropriate relationship through fear of initiating a misunderstanding as to sexual harassment. In some cases a person against whom a complaint is directed may be unaware that his or her behavior is inappropriate or coercive, or a person's actions or words may be misinterpreted by another. Such misunderstandings, if not resolved, can interfere with the educational and administrative process even when no actual harassment has taken place.

While sexual harassment most often takes place in a situation of power differential between the persons involved, this policy recognizes also that sexual harassment may occur between persons of the same University status, i.e., student-student; faculty-faculty; staff-staff.

Thus, in both obvious and subtle ways, the very possibility of sexual harassment may be deeply destructive to individual students and staff. Academic and career relationships may be poisoned by the subtle and destructive overtones of this problem. For all these reasons, the students, staff, and faculty of the University of Minnesota believe that reaffirmation of a firm stand against sexual harassment and the establishment of procedures specifically designed to resolve complaints of sexual harassment are critically important for this institution.

### Appendix 2. University of Texas at Austin Provisions on Sexual Harassment of Students

It is the policy of the University of Texas at Austin to maintain an educational environment free from sexual harassment and intimidation. Sexual harassment is expressly prohibited and offenders are subject to disciplinary action.

Sexual harassment is defined as unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when (1) submission by a student to such conduct is made explicitly or implicitly a condition for academic opportunity or advancement, or (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by a student is used as the basis for academic decisions affecting that student.

[The] Assistant Dean of Students has been given the primary responsibility for responding to questions about sexual harassment of students. Students who believe they have been subjected to sexual harassment may consult [the assistant dean]. They may also address their complaints directly to the Department Chairperson. In such cases, the Chairperson

shall advise [the Assistant Dean] of the complaints.

Formal investigation or action on a specific complaint of sexual harassment will be initiated upon submission of a written and signed statement by the student. Investigation and resolution of such formal complaints will be handled according to the usual procedures for academic related grievances; initial review by the Chairperson with subsequent appeals to the Dean, Vice President for Academic Affairs and Research, and final decision by the President. [The Assistant Dean] will be available to assist during this process.

Complaints by University employees of sexual harassment in the work place will continue to be referred to the University's Equal Employment Opportunity Office, in accord with Section 7.25, Handbook of Operating Procedures.

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## **The Challenge of Recruiting Women and Minority Faculty Members in Political Science: A Case Study in Methods**

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 University of Utah

### **Introduction**

When recruiting faculty, many political science departments find it difficult to attract well-qualified women and minority applicants. This essay discusses one recruitment effort at the University of Utah. It began with conventional methods which yielded very slim results in terms of affirmative action aims. Subsequent adoption of a more strenuous and systematic approach resulted in a considerably different outcome. A description of the steps taken and an analysis of their effectiveness may be of some general interest.

### **The Department in Recent Historical Perspective**

The Political Science Department at the University of Utah acquired its first woman faculty member in 1972 and its first ethnic minority faculty member in 1974. In each category since, turnover has been high. Two of the four women appointed thus far have left for positions



Dalmas Nelson, Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, and Robert Benedict (l to r).

elsewhere after serving a few years here. The same has been true of the two minority members appointed—both Hispanics. Thus, the proportion of women and minority members has been small, despite substantial recruitment efforts over the past decade on the part of the department. As of Autumn 1984, the department had two women faculty members and no one from an ethnic minority.

### **Recruiting in Public Law and American Government: Phase I: The Conventional Approach**

The department renewed its recruitment effort in October 1984, with this announcement appearing in the *APSA Personnel Service Newsletter*:

American Government/Constitutional Law 12-40

One tenure track position at the Assistant Professor level will be filled by the strongest candidate in one of the following areas: (1) American government/politics. The position is focused on national and political institutions and processes. Those with major interests in the Presidency are particularly encouraged to apply; (2) Public Law. For

this position a secondary interest should be in American government and politics. The position would begin in September 1985, and the salary is competitive. . . . Closing date is January 30, 1985, or until position is filled. An EO/AA Employer.

In addition to the advertisement, about a dozen phone calls were made to prominent scholars in public law and the presidency to solicit nominations of possible candidates. By March 1, 1985, these methods had produced 27 male and three female applicants, most of whom were specialists in public law.

In evaluating the files the recruitment committee was struck by three factors: the declining number of total applicants compared to past recruiting experiences, the extremely small number of women, and the apparent absence of minority candidates applying for the position. Moreover, after the deadline for applications had passed, it was clear the university administration shared the disappointment of the recruitment committee and the department. Statements by administration officials concerning the need for expanded efforts in affirmative action recruiting and observed difficulties encountered by two departments in the college in obtaining administration approval for their chosen candidates, contributed to a changed perception among department faculty as to what constituted sufficient affirmative action efforts. By this new standard, the department's conventional recruitment effort could be judged insufficient. The implication was that not only would new methods have to be designed, but contacts by phone or mail would need to be thoroughly documented.<sup>1</sup>

In the recruiting effort it was realized that, like other universities, the University of Utah has both advantages and disadvantages from the perspective of

potential faculty members. One disadvantage is that the state has a very small non-white population. Another is that the department had to recruit on the basis of the "strongest candidate" in *either* public law *or* the presidency. Nonetheless, the department believed that the advantageous aspects of the position vastly outweighed any possible drawbacks. In fulfilling affirmative action commitments, we concluded that the problem was not with the position but with the methods of recruitment.

## Phase II: Going the Extra Mile

In February of 1985 the department approved a new recruitment effort. Candidates who had previously applied would remain in the pool, but emphasis would be given to expanding the pool by developing a master list of potential women and minorities in the two areas who had not applied for the position, but who might respond to direct approaches. The master list would be developed from four sources:

(1) APSA's *Membership Directory* for 1983 and 1985. The directories afforded additional names through their lists of areas of specialization, as well as women, black, and Hispanic members. The directories also provided many of the addresses and telephone numbers needed. Emphasis was given to identifying those women and minority members whose *primary* area was either of the specialties listed in the advertisement. A cutoff point was then selected; those with Ph.D.s granted after 1979 would be contacted as potential candidates, while the remainder could serve as resource persons to provide additional names to be contacted.

(2) APSA's *Guide to Graduate Study in Political Science*, 1984. It was realized that the benefits of membership in APSA are not universally recognized by political scientists. Therefore the *Guide* could provide additional names through its listing of faculty members of departments with graduate programs. In addition, the volume provides each faculty member's specialization, highest degree, and where the degree was awarded.

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that concurrent with this recruitment project, another committee in the department was recruiting to fill a position that would be half-time in Ethnic Studies and half in Political Science. This did attract minority applicants, but this effort is not discussed here.

(3) APSA's "List of Doctoral Dissertations Completed and in Progress." The list appears in the fall volume of *PS* and it is useful in identifying new or emerging scholars who may not appear in either of the previous sources. The recruitment committee concentrated on the list beginning with the year 1981. The list does include a separate section for those in the area of public law and judicial process, while likely candidates in the presidency had to be identified by thesis title in the American government section.

(4) Mailing to chairpersons of graduate degree granting institutions. A letter explaining the nature of the position and requesting help in locating suitable candidates is a conventional technique used in past recruitment efforts.

A work-study student was employed to assist with the development of the master list. Her task was to select the names and, as far as possible, to locate the present positions, addresses, and telephone numbers of the individuals identified by the four methods listed above. This proved to be a tedious, time-consuming task, involving a substantial number of telephone calls.

As the master list was being compiled, the department concluded that to obtain the best qualified person and to give additional emphasis to affirmative action considerations it would have to be willing to hire at the associate as well as assistant professor level. In compiling the master list the work-study student was told to include any case which was questionable, as final screening of the list would be done by the recruitment committee.

Upon completion of the screening, a packet was sent to each potential candidate. In addition to a letter describing the position and encouraging that person to apply, materials describing the social, cultural and recreational opportunities of the Salt Lake region, the benefits package for university employees, the background of department members, and a description of all courses offered by the department was included. After a suitable interim, recruitment committee members attempted to contact potential applicants. In several instances, it was learned that the letter had not been

received because of a recent change in address. This entailed some second mailings and additional phone calls. If a person expressed a lack of interest in applying, that person was asked to suggest names of other possible candidates. In order to increase the likelihood of making contact and to keep down telephoning costs, wherever possible calls were made before 8:00 a.m. or after 5:00 p.m. local time and to personal residences rather than departmental offices.

As telephoning was taking place over several weeks in March 1985, the department decided to extend the search period to November 1, 1985. The extension was based on several factors: it would allow time for personal contacts to produce results; faculty members could be dispatched to the spring Western regional convention, as well as to the fall APSA convention; and consideration could be given to applicants who by spring had made commitments for the 1985-86 academic year, but might be available for 1986-87. The job description was modified to include the possibility of hiring at the associate level and was rerun not only in the *APSA Personnel Service Newsletter*, but also in the *Newsletter* of the Women's Caucus for Political Science.

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The results of the master list of potential women and minority candidates are contained in Table 1. All contacts generated through the more conventional means of recruiting at conventions have been excluded from the table. A substantial increase in both the pool of potential women candidates and the number ap-

**TABLE 1**  
**Results of the Master List of**  
**Potential Women and Minority Candidates\***

	American Government/ Presidency	Public Law
Total of those indicating they did <i>not wish to apply</i> :	7 (50.0%)	30 (47.6%)
Total of those who <i>have applied</i> :	2 (14.3%)	7 (11.1%)
Total of those who have indicated they <i>plan to apply</i> :	1 (7.2%)	1 (1.6%)
Total of those who indicated they <i>may apply</i> :	0	2 (3.2%)
Total of those <i>not located or contacted</i> by the time of this writing:	4 (28.5%)	23 (36.5%)
Total in the master list:	14 (100.0%)	63 (100.0%)
Candidates with identifiable minority status:		
Female	0	3
Male	0	0

\* As of 9/1/85.

plying for the position can be discerned from the table. Moreover, the recruitment committee has been very impressed with the credentials of the candidates garnered in its second phase of the recruitment process. The lack of minority applicants continues to be a disappointment.

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***With regard to attracting  
minority applicants, the  
effort was not successful.***

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In addition, approximately one-half of the candidates in the master list in both areas did not wish to apply for the position. Among the reasons cited were satisfaction with their current position and the difficulties of moving. Because of geographical mobility and the limitations of institutional record keeping concerning graduates, the recruitment committee was unable to reach approximately one-third of the potential applicants.

**Conclusions and  
Possible Implications**

The experience of this recruiting project suggests several things to those who engaged in it: (1) In terms of the methods utilized, compiling a Master List from APSA's membership directories, *Guide to Graduate Study in Political Science*,

and "List of Doctoral Dissertations" provided the bulk of the potential candidates. (2) In terms of generating a pool of women candidates, the expanded effort in this case seems to have been successful. Not only have the numbers substantially increased, but also the qualifications of most of the women seem reasonably strong. (3) With regard to attracting minority applicants, the effort was not successful. (4) At least in the fields of public law and the presidency, the number of women scholars is quite limited and the number of minority scholars very limited. (5) For many universities traditional recruiting methods probably will not generate substantial numbers of women and minority applicants. If affirmative action goals are to be pursued, extraordinary efforts seem to be essential. For example, a personally addressed letter to a potential candidate tends not to be adequate, whereas phone calls can play a very significant role in generating applications. (6) Affirmative action may be receiving more systematic attention from some university administrations.

(7) The methods employed in this case have significant limitations. Dissertation listings seem to be incomplete—especially concerning those that are pending rather than finished. Many political scientists do not appear to belong to APSA, and consequently are not accessible through its membership listing. Because of geographical mobility and the limita-

tions of institutional record keeping concerning graduates, many people cannot be reached without the expenditure of extraordinary resources. Special methods, of course, entail the investment of extra time and money. In this case, it is felt that the change in outcome is well worth the costs incurred.

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***Traditional recruiting methods probably will not generate substantial numbers of women and minority applicants.***

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(8) If the techniques used in this search become widely employed by other universities, it is not certain the overall effect would assist affirmative action goals. Courting current faculty has aspects of a zero-sum game. On the other hand, such patterns might well extend the visibility of women and minority professionals and enhance their marketability and earnings potential. In turn, this may attract more of them into graduate degree programs and into academic careers. To the extent that this pattern does occur, it would surely be consistent with affirmative action aims. □

## **Letters of Reference for Faculty Personnel Decisions**

**Randall B. Ripley**  
The Ohio State University

As university and college professionals responsible for making a variety of decisions about the careers of our colleagues, from time to time we need assessments of those colleagues by professionals at universities and colleges other than our own. Our own need for outside assessments is often underscored or expanded by policies announced by provosts, deans, and other hierarchs in institutions of higher education.

The following brief comments stem from a discussion by eleven Committee on

Institutional Cooperation (the Big Ten universities and the University of Chicago) political science chairpersons last autumn about the desirability of developing discipline-wide guidelines relating to outside letters used in making faculty personnel decisions. As a result of that discussion I wrote the APSA on behalf of the eleven of us at the meeting asking that the APSA consider developing such guidelines. At its spring 1985 meeting the APSA Council agreed to do so and later this year the Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms will begin work on this task. The points made in this article address the topics we discussed in the C.I.C. meeting, but I also add a few points. The views expressed here are only my own and not necessarily those of my colleagues from the C.I.C. meeting. The purpose of this piece is to help stimulate discussion prior to the detailed work of the APSA Committee and Council in this area.

In general, there are two basic situations in which letters are requested. The first involves letters after a department has already made a decision and is simply

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***What guidelines would make sense in relation to outside letters for "standard" promotion and tenure cases?***

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looking for justification and support for what it is going to do anyway. In such cases the department asks for *post-decision letters*. The second basic situation is that in which a department needs outside assessments as additional data for making a decision. In these cases a department asks for *pre-decision letters*. These two situations should, in my view, be treated differently. I think common sense and personal negotiation between the person requesting post-decision letters and the potential referee should govern post-decision letters. It is in the area of pre-decision letters that the APSA should labor to develop some discipline-wide guidelines. I will comment briefly on the post-decision cases and then in a bit more detail on the pre-decision cases.

## Post-Decision Letters

There are three general situations in which a department may seek outside letters of "assessment" after it has already arrived at a positive personnel decision. The first involves the attempt to hire a senior faculty member from another location. Let's assume a department wants to hire John Locke. They don't really need outside letters to assess Locke. They already know his eminence, his reputation, and can make up their own minds about how he can help their own program. However, when the department is ready to extend an offer they may well need letters from other scholars at other universities to say that Locke is, in fact, quite good. These letters are, in effect, addressed principally to deans, provosts, and other central decisionmakers within the hiring institution who must approve the offer. And these people may well be chemical engineers or agronomists or specialists in something that gives them no reason to know anything about any political scientist.

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*It seems to me that a minimum of three months should be allowed between the posing of the initial question about willingness to review and the deadline for a finished letter.*

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The second post-decision case involves universities that have fixed salary scales. In such cases departments that want to reward a distinguished senior colleague with an unusually high salary are required to promote him or her to some "above scale" designation. This will, no doubt, require outside letters to convince university officials that such a decision is warranted.

Requests for post-decision letters in both of the above two situations seem quite reasonable to me. Departments can surely make the basic hiring decision required in each case without the benefit of out-

side assessments. But, in order to get a positive decision accepted by the rest of the institution, they face the bureaucratic necessity of getting some outside assessments.

Personally, I am not as tolerant of the third situation in which post-decision letters are requested: cases of regular promotion to associate professor or—more usually—to professor in which the department has made a positive judgment *before* requesting letters. However, some departments follow this scenario at least some of the time and so, as a discipline, we need to be aware of this type of request.

It seems to me that all post-decision requests are unusual and should be handled on a personal basis. Either by phone or by letter (or both) the chairperson making the request for such letters should tell the potential referees that the departmental decision has been made but that, as a favor to the department reflecting bureaucratic necessity, a letter is being requested. For a chairperson to pretend that the decision has not been made and that the letter will help the department make up its mind is simply dishonest. Many of us write post-decision letters and those of us who are chairpersons have occasion to request them, but they need to be clearly identified for what they are during the solicitation process. The fact that the deadline for completed letters is likely to be quite short is another reason for chairpersons to treat post-decision requests on a very personal basis.

## Pre-Decision Letters

Pre-decision letters are more numerous than post-decision letters. This is also the area in which the APSA needs to develop some guidelines.

Pre-decision letters may involve competitive recruiting at any rank or—the area of most concern here—they may involve promotion from within the ranks of the department to associate professor or to professor. Tenure goes along with promotion to associate professor in most departments although in a few the tenure decision is made on a separate schedule



and that decision also necessitates outside letters.

Letters involving competitive recruiting need not detain us long. Nor does the APSA need to develop guidelines for such letters. The placement process takes care of letters for beginning instructors or assistant professors. When letters are solicited for candidates whose careers have already begun, chairpersons (or search committee chairpersons) requesting such letters should do so as far ahead of a decision point as possible and supply at least a vita to potential reviewers. Personal contact on the phone between requester and requestee is often a good idea.

Finally, we arrive at the most numerous type of outside letters and the area in which APSA guidelines would be useful. What guidelines would make sense in relation to outside letters for "standard" promotion and tenure cases? Let me propose the following for discussion:

1. *The Solicitation Process.* It is presumptuous for the requester simply to assume that the requestee will undertake the review. In some form—and I don't think the mechanics matter—the requester should ask the potential referee if he or she is willing to undertake the review and should allow for the possibility of a negative response. The question can come in a phone call, in a short letter sent prior to the letter requesting the review, or in a first paragraph of the letter requesting the review. In any form, however, this must clearly be a question, not an assumption.

2. *Time.* I suspect that many of us have gotten letters "requesting" ("demanding" is a more accurate word) that we respond with a review in one or two weeks. I have even had a few "requests" that have set a deadline for a finished review that actually fell a few days before various university mail services and the U.S. Postal Service finally got the letter of request to me! Short deadlines strike me as ridiculous. Except in highly unusual circumstances (such as an out-of-season promotion to fend off an outside offer) a department can see months (and even years) ahead in terms of its timetable for promotion decisions. It

seems to me that a minimum of three months should be allowed between the posing of the initial question about willingness to review and the deadline for a finished letter. A minimum of two months to ten weeks should be allowed between the mailing of the formal request for review and accompanying materials and the deadline for the finished product. If such reasonable time is allowed then the person agreeing to do the review has an obligation to meet the deadline. By the same token, if a reviewer agrees to review and generous time is provided, then the requesting chairperson has every reason to expect on-time performance and should not be shy about bugging tardy reviewers.

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*Some universities have lost their minds on the question of the appropriate number of outside letters.*

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3. *Written Material.* The department requesting a review has an obligation to provide appropriate material for review. Letters saying "would you review Gwendolyn Cranch or Murgatroyd Z. Smythe..." with no accompanying material are stupid. Naturally, an up-to-date vita must be provided. In addition, I would propose that at least three or four recent papers and articles deemed to be a fair representation of the work of Cranch or Smythe should accompany the request. And, equally important, the requesting department should make an offer (and stand ready to deliver on it) to provide anything else the person has written, up to and including everything the reviewee has written.

4. *Number of Letters.* Some universities have lost their minds on the question of the appropriate number of outside letters. I know of at least two cases in which standard practice in promotion cases is to require 15 outside letters! I hasten to add that these were cases of central administrations going gaga, not departments of political science. At some point, of course, departments have to succumb to

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the requirements from central administrations or unfairly jeopardize their colleagues. However, departments can also argue forcefully for reasonable university practices. And APSA advice about a reasonable number of outside letters might be helpful (especially if professional associations for other disciplines also develop guidelines in this area) if some departmental David confronts some central administration Goliath.

Let me simply propose that six letters should be more than enough in any case I can think of and that three or four might well suffice in most cases. (I will let the Platonists among you debate the mystic powers of various specific numbers.)

**5. Confidentiality.** University rules, state laws, court decisions and (probably) federal law are, no doubt, incomprehensible on questions of confidentiality if all are read together. However, to the extent possible, departments should specify the status of confidentiality and use to which the letter will be put for the benefit of the outside referees. Who will be granted access to the letter—all department members, a promotion committee only, the dean, the provost? Has the candidate access to the letter at all? If the candidate has access will the letter writer be anonymous? Since, as a society, we have not taken the advice of Dick the Butcher in the second part of *Henry VI*, we need to be clear about such legalistic points.

**6. Fees.** A few universities offer a modest honorarium for an outside review. Most do not. Some faculty members argue that a fee should always be offered. Others argue that a fee should never be involved. Others are quite willing simply to live with what exists—some variation in practice but with the normal practice involving no fee. Personally, I do not think fees should be offered. Clearly, to advise all departments that they should offer a fee would work a financial hardship on many of them. (Although I admit that such a practice might restrain goofy central administrators who think they cannot proceed without 15 letters!) Clearly, departments will approach a relatively small subset of the discipline again and again for outside letters. But it seems to me that those in the discipline who elect to publish a great deal and are successful in doing so and whose work is well regarded simultaneously develop a professional obligation to provide such assessments. And if sensible guidelines about solicitation, time, written material, and number of letters are adopted by the APSA and observed by departments, then meeting this obligation should become more orderly and, therefore, a bit easier.

*Editorial Note: APSA's Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms cordially invites responses to this article.*

## Association News

### Reports on the Annual Meeting

#### Annual Meeting In New Orleans Well Attended

A total of 2,842 people attended APSA's annual meeting in New Orleans, August 29-September 1, despite a hurricane threat and a few cancelled airplane flights. This figure compares well with the 1983 meeting in Chicago and is more than 500 above the 1973 New Orleans meeting, as shown in Table 1.

Joseph Cooper of Rice University chaired the Program Committee for the 1985 conference which was responsible for organizing 267 of the over 450 panels at the meeting. APSA's nine Organized Sections assembled 69 panels, an increase

**TABLE 1**  
**Annual Meeting Registration,**  
**1967-85\***

1967	2473 (Chicago)
1968	3723 (Washington, D.C.)
1969	4142 (New York)
1970	2397 (Los Angeles)
1971	2732 (Chicago)
1972	3380 (Washington, D.C.)
1973	2312 (New Orleans)
1974	2773 (Chicago)
1975	2478 (San Francisco)
1976	2295 (Chicago)
1977	2624 (Washington, D.C.)
1978	2373 (New York)
1979	2687 (Washington, D.C.)
1980	2745 (Washington, D.C.)
1981	2887 (New York)
1982	2205 (Denver)
1983	2859 (Chicago)
1984	3391 (Washington, D.C.)
1985	2842 (New Orleans)

\*1972-85 figures include exhibitors registered at the meeting, since their fee for booth rental includes the cost of their registration.

**TABLE 2**  
**1985 Annual Meeting**  
**APSA Organized Section Panels**

Section	Number of Panels
Conflict Processes	11
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	9
Law, Courts and Judicial Process	4
Legislative Studies	6
Policy Studies	15
Political Organizations and Parties	2
Presidency Research	3
Public Administration	14
Representation and Electoral Systems	5
Total	69

over 1984 by one-third due to the growth in the number of Organized Sections since last year.

The average attendance at panels organized by the Program Committee was 20. The Sections with the highest average attendance were Electoral Behavior and Popular Control (whose average attendance was 31); Legislative Processes and Politics (30); Political Thought and Philosophy; Historical Approaches (27); the Practice of Political Science (27); and Political Executives and the Presidency (26).

Among the Organized Sections the groups with the highest average attendance was Political Organizations and Parties (28) which fielded only two panels; Law, Courts and Judicial Process (27); and Conflict Processes (23). The average attendance at Organized Section panels was 18. There was a negative correlation between the number of panels offered by an Organized Section

and the average attendance at that Section's panels.

### **Best Attended Panels**

The best attended day-time panel at the convention was Political Knowledge for What? Two New Books on the State of the Discipline, with 116 people in attendance. The Roundtable on the Reagan Presidency was the next most popular with 93 in attendance, followed by the Presidential Election of 1984 with an audience of 76.

The fourth best-attended panel with 67 was the Roundtable on Area Studies and Theory Building, followed by the Roundtable on *In Search of France* (66) and the Roundtable on Congressional Committee Research to honor Richard F. Fenno, Jr. (65).

### **Plenary Sessions**

The three plenary sessions, held on each of the three evenings of the conference, drew large audiences. At the first plenary session Program Chair Cooper presided as APSA's awards were presented to outstanding scholars, and Richard F. Fenno, Jr. delivered the Presidential Address, which will appear in an upcoming issue of the *American Political Science Review*. It was estimated that 375 people attended this session.

Fred I. Greenstein of Princeton University chaired the second plenary session on Reform of the American Political System with approximately 175 people in attendance. On the third evening I. M. Destler of the Institute for International Economics presided over a packed house (350 people) to hear Robert S. McNamara, James R. Schlesinger and Brent Scowcroft discuss the problems of and prospects for arms control.

*Editor's Note: Full reports of the plenary sessions, Reform of the American Political System and Arms Control: Problems and Prospects, appear below.* □

## **Prospects for Arms Control**

### **Carol Nechemias**

Pennsylvania State University,  
Capitol Campus

I. M. Destler, a Senior Fellow at the Institute of International Economics and moderator for the plenary session on "Arms Control: Problems and Prospects," described the panel participants as "doers and thinkers," individuals with high-level governmental experience who now are actively engaged in the enterprise of analyzing current arms control dilemmas. The speakers were indeed illustrious. They included Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and President of the World Bank from 1968-81; James R. Schlesinger, who has held such diverse positions as Chair of the Atomic Energy Commission (1971-73), Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (1973), Secretary of Defense (1973-75), and Secretary of the Department of Energy (1977-79); and Lt. General Brent Scowcroft (USAF, ret.), a former assistant to the President for national security affairs (1975-1977), member of the President's General Advisory Committee on Arms Control (1977-80), and, more recently, chair of a commission established by President Reagan on the MX issue.

All three panelists painted a gloomy picture of the prospects for arms control. Schlesinger argued that public expectations about what arms control can accomplish are exaggerated. In his view arms negotiations do not lead to cuts in defense expenditures, except in a marginal way, or eliminate the threat of nuclear devastation. Moreover, the public seems to believe that the United States alone can, if it wants, achieve progress in managing the arms race; but negotiations involve dialogue between two sovereign powers, the codification of decisions made by independent powers.

What, then, would successful arms talks entail? For Schlesinger, realistic goals consist of stabilizing the military balance between the two superpowers and in-



President Richard F. Fenno, Jr. (right) at the annual meeting with Executive Director Thomas Mann (left) and Michael Preston, Chair of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession.

creasing the probability that worthless weapons systems would not be deployed —goals that may fall short of public expectations.

But major obstacles block the achievement of even these more modest aims. Schlesinger singled out several impediments, including a lack of simultaneity in the degree of interest in arms control exhibited by the USA and the USSR in the past 40 years. In the 1970s, for example, the United States was prepared to accept a stand-off under the rubric of detente but the USSR deployed large numbers of missiles with heavy throw-weight. American willingness to accept restraint was not reciprocated. In the 1980s, on the other hand, the Soviet side may be prepared to exercise restraint but the United States appears unprepared for this at the moment. The moods of the two superpowers simply do not coincide.

Another barrier to arms negotiations in-

volves the Reagan administration's reluctance to accept American vulnerability as inevitable. The administration does not want U.S. survival to depend on Soviet forbearance. Schlesinger noted that Western European countries, as well as the USSR, believe in their own vulnerability; only the American historical experience generates this seeming inability to come to terms with this unpleasant reality.

Unable to accept such vulnerability for the U.S., President Reagan hopes to force the USSR to settle with us by engaging in an arms race that the USSR cannot afford to run. But Schlesinger dismissed this approach as an illusion, arguing that Congress has reached the "end of the road" with respect to defense spending; cuts in defense expenditures indicate that we are in no position to run a strategic arms race. Indeed, by drawing down expenditures on conventional weapons the United States is losing part



Robert S. McNamara, former Secretary of Defense, addresses the plenary session on arms control.

of its deterrent. In Schlesinger's view, the fond belief on the right that America can remake the Soviet defense posture in our preferred image is an illusion.

For Schlesinger, the acceptance of mutual vulnerability constitutes a prerequisite for arms control, the bedrock for the arms talks that took place in the 1970s. The former Defense Secretary argued that Star Wars, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) has shaken that foundation. SDI reflects a characteristic American attitude that there must be a technocratic solution to our vulnerability, but Schlesinger saw a number of dangers inherent in this approach.

Although the Reagan administration now advertises and defends SDI as a research effort, largely in response to the reactions of our European allies, Schlesinger characterized this approach as "mighty odd" since it reverses the normal process of conducting technological research and then choosing weapons systems. Policy has preceded technology.

Moreover, SDI has the unique capacity to evoke seemingly conflicting fears in our European allies: the fear of cooptation

into a conflict in which they have no role *and* the fear of abandonment by the United States. With respect to the latter issue, Schlesinger compared SDI to the French Maginot line, which sent a signal that France had no interest in Eastern Europe. In addition, SDI might undermine the British and French independent strategic deterrents. These two countries have an interest in keeping defensive systems at low levels so that their relatively small independent nuclear forces would retain effectiveness. In Schlesinger's view, European governments simply will not support deployment.

He also pointed out that SDI undermines existing strategy, which calls for selective nuclear strikes if the Soviets move westward, an option that becomes impossible if the USSR and the USA have SDI. Ironically, only a massive strike could penetrate the shield of strategic defenses; and we arrive back where we started—with mutual assured destruction (MAD).

The return to Geneva is, in Schlesinger's words, "an unalloyed blessing for the Soviet Union." After two years of Soviet

difficulties in the foreign policy realm, with the downing of the Korean airliner, the walkout at Geneva, heavy-handed involvement in Western European politics, and questions raised about a Soviet role in the attempted assassination of the pope, the USSR now faces the opportunity either to restrain American technology or, more likely, to exploit allied reservations over strategic defense.

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***Schlesinger argued that public expectations about what arms control can accomplish are exaggerated.***

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Schlesinger sees little hope of a serious, substantial arms agreement. One possible scenario would involve using SDI as a bargaining chip. While a high price could be extracted from the Soviets, the administration would have to give up hope of American invulnerability. Instead, the United States goes to Geneva with the administration unwilling to use SDI as a carrot and the Congress unwilling to use MX as a stick. As a consequence, the Soviet Union has no incentive to compromise.

Schlesinger argued that the SDI proposal as put forth by the administration fails to address a central contradiction: how offensive weapons can first be drawn down and then SDI deployed, since SDI increases the premium on the numbers and throw-weight of offensive weapons. In other words, if the Soviet Union believes that we are turning toward a generic defense, they will counter that step with a build-up of offensive weapons.

Scowcroft, like Schlesinger, placed considerable emphasis on the problem of inflated public expectations concerning what we can expect to accomplish through arms talks. In his view, the primary aim of negotiations is to "reduce chances that characteristics of the weapons systems will help transform crisis into conflict." What Scowcroft termed "strategic crisis stability" is undermined by the increasing accuracy of missiles and the known location of major targets. While neither side wants a

"bolt from the blue scenario," the problem is that with such weapons a crisis could develop rapidly and make a first strike more plausible.

Scowcroft criticized the freeze movement for its "simplistic" assumption that all change in strategic forces is bad and charged that both liberals and conservatives question the continued utility of deterrence. In Scowcroft's judgment, there are no single, simple solutions to arms control; but there are strategic force structures that would offer less military incentive to attack than the current structure of forces.

With respect to SDI, McNamara said that except for the president and perhaps the secretary of defense no one in government believed the SDI could eliminate our strategic vulnerability. Other SDI advocates had very different notions of its purpose. In fact, Scowcroft wondered what it was, noting that at least five versions of SDI with different goals in mind have received attention from the Reagan administration. Scowcroft thought that the administration had not yet sorted out where it is going; and, while he recognized that a combination of weak offensive systems and strong defensive systems would be stable, he questioned, as had Schlesinger, whether there was "any way to get there from here."

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***In [Schlesinger's] view negotiations do not lead to cuts in defense expenditures . . . or eliminate the threat of nuclear devastation.***

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But Scowcroft disagreed with Schlesinger about the meaning of the ABM treaty, arguing that it had not enshrined mutual vulnerability as a principle, but, instead, had represented a tactical decision that the defensive systems that could be developed at that time were not worth deploying. But Soviet research has not stopped in this area, and Scowcroft suggested that the Soviet Union has exhibited considerable enthusiasm for strategic defensive activities—that their

public comments on this subject do not reflect their true views.

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*[One] barrier to arms negotiations involves the Reagan administration's reluctance to accept American vulnerability as inevitable.*

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McNamara emphasized that both the United States and the USSR are driven by deep-seated fears that the other side seeks to achieve a first-strike capacity. The majority of American experts envision a scenario that calls for the Soviet Union launching an attack that would eliminate our Minuteman missiles; the only viable American response, retaliation against Soviet cities, would not be carried out; and the result would be capitulation to Soviet demands.

According to McNamara, this analysis assumes that Soviet leaders are detached from reality. Their actions would be predicated on two shaky premises: (1) that the United States would not launch its missiles when an attack is detected; and (2) that a well-coordinated and massive Soviet attack would work, despite the uncertainties attached to this essentially "untested" enterprise. In McNamara's words, "only a madman would opt for such a gamble, and whatever you think of the Soviets they aren't mad."

Nonetheless, McNamara noted that all arms negotiations must be based on the assumption that the other side seeks to achieve a first-strike capacity. Each side does engage in the vigorous deployment of new weapons systems that threaten the other side's land-based missiles. In the American case, the D-5s now being deployed on our new submarines can destroy Soviet missile silos.

McNamara particularly stressed his concern over SDI's implications, contending that it would stimulate an offensive arms buildup and lead to an American abrogation of the ABM Treaty, an important symbol of detente, within the decade.

All three panel participants had advice to tender to President Reagan. At Geneva, McNamara would use SDI as an opportunity to reduce and reshape strategic forces: the numbers of accurate Soviet land-based missiles to our Minuteman silos would be cut; and the United States would adjust the numbers of D-5 forces yet to be deployed. SDI would be clearly established as a research program, with development prohibited, pending discussion of its strategic implications. In McNamara's view, this approach would allow both sides to emerge as winners.

Schlesinger similarly called on President Reagan to use SDI as a bargaining chip. The Soviet Union would need to provide us with restraint on offense; in return, the United States would exercise restraint on defense. In exchange for rough equality, the United States would reaffirm the ABM Treaty. There would be no visible development and deployment of SDI.

Scowcroft took a somewhat different view. While basically echoing the positions of the other speakers with respect to the need to restructure strategic forces, he was not so pessimistic about the prospects for defensive systems, arguing that the way the administration has proposed moving toward SDI will not work; but that other ways of "getting there from here" might be devised. Scowcroft suggested the introduction of limited defense for certain areas in order to build up confidence between the two superpowers and perhaps pave the way for the adoption of further measures in the future.

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*McNamara emphasized that both the United States and the USSR are driven by deep-seated fears that the other side seeks to achieve a first-strike capacity.*

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McNamara noted a peculiar mirror image between the present bargaining situation at Geneva and discussions between



Premier Aleksei Kosygin and President Lyndon Johnson in 1967. At that time the Soviet Union was deploying an ABM system around Moscow and the United States did not know whether Soviet intentions involved deployment across the USSR. In June of 1967, when Kosygin and Johnson met at Glassboro, NJ, Johnson warned the Soviets that America would respond with more offense in order to penetrate Soviet defenses and to maintain deterrence. Kosygin grew angry at the American objections, asserting that defense is moral and offense is immoral. Now the United States is using Kosygin's arguments.

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*All three panel participants had advice to tender to President Reagan.*

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Finally, the subject of nuclear proliferation was raised. Schlesinger predicted that if nuclear weapons are used in the next 50 to 100 years, the most likely place will be the third world; hardly a happy prospect, but not the end of human survival. McNamara commented that although nuclear proliferation has been slowed, it cannot be stopped and that the United States and the Soviet Union must discuss how they would react to the use of nuclear weapons by a third party. Scowcroft added that the two superpowers largely agree on attitudes toward nuclear proliferation. □

## **Reforming the American Political System**

### **Carol Nechemias**

Pennsylvania State University,  
Capitol Campus

Is change needed in American political structures? The plenary session on

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Carol Nechemias reports regularly for *PS* on the plenary sessions of APSA's annual meetings.



Thomas Cronin of Colorado College responds to a question from the audience at the plenary session on political reform.

"Reform of the American Political System" brought together a panel of experts well suited to tackling this issue. The speakers included Lloyd N. Cutler, a member of the Washington, D.C. Bar since 1946 and former counsel to President Carter; Barber B. Conable, a former member of the House of Representatives, who served with distinction on the Ways and Means Committee and as Chair of the House Republican Policy Committee; and Colorado College Professor Thomas Cronin, a noted specialist on the American presidency. Presidential scholar Fred I. Greenstein of Princeton University served as moderator.



Former Member of the House Barber Conable (R-NY) warns reform advocates that underlying realities make party government in the U.S. highly improbable.

While all of the participants acknowledged that American history, beginning with the debate over the creation of the Constitution itself, has witnessed the continuous emergence of reform issues, there was sharp disagreement concerning the need for a current restructuring of the American political system.

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*Contending that candidates are more independent from party support and party discipline than at any time in American history, Cutler depicted electoral politicians as pulled and hauled by interest groups upon which they depend for money and votes.*

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Cutler set the stage for the debate by asserting that the reform issue of the 1980s centers on government deadlock or paralysis, as well as difficulties of holding government accountable. In Cutler's view American government is failing to perform its most basic functions—formulation of the budget and national security. To illustrate these points, Cutler focused on the mounting budget deficits and U.S. policy toward Nicaragua. Citing the assessment of the former head of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), David Stockman, Cutler emphasized that attempts to resolve the problem of huge government deficits are virtually impossible due to the condition that surrounds it: in Stockman's terms, an "outbreak of government paralysis." Although convinced that the deficit problem will lead to economic ruin, Stockman, faced with the diffusion of power, could only ask, "where will the political consensus and political will come from?"

With respect to American policy toward Nicaragua, Cutler contended that the United States has embraced two distinct approaches—the "Titoizing" posture of Congress and the interventionist position of the Reagan Administration. The result is a policy that is neither fish nor fowl,

that lacks coherence and purposefulness.

Cutler attributed these failures in policy-making to the decline in party cohesion at all levels. Contending that candidates are more independent from party support and party discipline than at any time in American history, Cutler depicted electoral politicians as pulled and hauled by interest groups upon which they depend for money and votes. Members of Congress running for reelection enjoy stunningly high success rates. With the sharp upswing in the occurrence of split-ticket voting, it has become less and less common, especially since World War II, for one party to secure the White House and both houses of Congress. The result, as Cutler noted, is that Benjamin Franklin's quote that "We must all hang together or we shall hang separately" does not apply to Congress.

For Cutler, single-party control of key policymaking institutions (Congress and the presidency) is essential for the proper functioning of government. The rise of divided-party control undermines a president's chances for success in securing the passage of legislative programs. Cutler asserted that steps to enhance party cohesion would represent a return to the first 150 years of our history rather than a shift to a parliamentary system; he claimed to be calling for change at the margins rather than for fundamental changes in the separation of powers.

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*Would, for example, young conservatives in Congress favor the line-item veto if Walter Mondale were in the White House handling the defense budget?*

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To refute the charges often leveled at the party government model, Cutler suggested that Congress would retain, as it did in the Teapot Dome scandal, the capacity to check presidential power. He emphasized that the dread results that people predict today if we went to a party government system have not occurred in those American states and par-

liamentary democracies where the model currently holds sway; nor did disaster ensue in the first 150 years of American history, when, according to Cutler, the United States had party government.

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***Policy changes do occur in our political system, with executive leadership and impending crises playing an important role in generating action, according to Conable.***

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Conable responded by emphasizing the barriers and impediments to reform which are the underlying realities that may prove insurmountable to party government advocates. He took a critical view of proposals to lengthen the terms of House members, noting that holding fewer elections would not narrow the gap between officials and the electorate. Moreover, he stressed that the "Senate will never vote for an amendment that would allow . . . [House members] to run against them without jeopardizing their seats." Nor would any reforms that require small states to give up their advantages in the electoral system secure passage. From Conable's perspective, party government advocates "can't get there from here."

Nor was Conable convinced that substantial reforms are desirable or necessary. He noted that some changes probably will be adopted to "save ourselves from ourselves." Congress would prefer to work out certain proposals itself, for example, a balanced budget amendment, than open the way for what Conable termed a "devil's workshop"—a Constitutional convention, where it's "hard to identify the Jeffersons and Madisons waiting to come." Overall, however, Conable argued that structural changes, like those flowing from the Budget Reform Act, zero-base budgeting, or sunset laws, are less important than effective leadership. In his view skilled leaders will secure positive results from a flawed structure, but poor leaders cannot do the

same even when faced with well-tuned institutions.

In examining reform proposals, Conable suggested that advocates ask whether they would be in favor of the reforms if the conditions were different. Would, for example, young conservatives in Congress favor the line-item veto if Walter Mondale were in the White House handling the defense budget?

Conable listed a number of alleged flaws of the American political structure: the inability to replace a failed president; the fragmentation of the legislative process and the development of iron triangles; the problems associated with fixed elections; the weakening of political parties; and the overglorification of the people as omniscient. He questioned whether efficiency should be the highest goal of democratic government and whether deadlock and paralysis in fact reign.

Even so, policy changes do occur in our political system, with executive leadership and impending crises playing an important role in generating action, according to Conable. In his view, any alternative from the diffusion of power so characteristic of the American political structure would generate greater polarization.

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***Overall, Conable characterized the American people as a conservative people with a great deal to conserve, a people who prefer the current system.***

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Conable further noted that advocates of party government fail to mention that the parliamentary system is not without its flaws: the manipulation of election timing; leaving people with a modest amount of time for electoral campaigns (Conable expressed satisfaction with our long campaign periods); the development of even stronger bureaucracies in parliamentary settings where experts cannot be drawn into the executive; and the downgrading of the people's role to the sole task of creating a majority. With

respect to this last issue, Conable sees the people—not just interest groups—as a continuing presence in the lives of members of Congress.

Conable summarized his position by suggesting that the American people prefer personal accountability to party accountability. Nor are they drawn to ideology: party dialogue is accommodative, with our system designed to moderation. Overall, Conable characterized the American people as a conservative people with a great deal to conserve, a people who prefer the current system.

Although noting that previous generations of reformers have contributed much to what this country stands for, including the Bill of Rights and women's suffrage, Cronin nonetheless pronounced himself generally opposed to the reforms associated with Cutler and the Committee on the Constitutional System (CCS) which Cutler heads. He attacked the basic premises of the CCS reforms, asserting that the idea that "The party is no longer the instrument that selects our presidents" is overstated. And he wondered what was so terrible about a president settling for a half loaf.

Cronin especially took issue with the notion that the president must speak for us all in foreign policy, because other countries judge our resolve by the degree to which the country backs up presidential policies. Indeed, Cronin expressed his gratitude that we have internal debate on Central America and South Africa, "that what Ronald Reagan says is not the end all and be all of American foreign policy."

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*"What Ronald Reagan says is not the end all and be all of American foreign policy."* — Tom Cronin

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In addition, Cronin defended delay, suggesting that a leadership that is sure of what it wants to do must educate the rest of us. The Constitution works well, allowing a Franklin Roosevelt to enact the New Deal but blocking his attempt to pack the Supreme Court, he said.

According to Cronin, whatever deficiencies

existed in the Carter administration stemmed more from a backlash to Watergate and from the president's lack of political experience and skills than from flaws in the American political system. Carter, after all, was able to work with Congress and, even though the times were tough for a president, accomplish some major objectives, such as the Panama Canal Treaty, the establishment of formal relations with China, and the Camp David accords.

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*Reagan has opted for current popularity over a place in history by choosing not to exercise his power—his capacity for leadership—on the issue of deficit spending during the past year.*

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Cronin did favor certain reforms: same-day registration; modification of the electoral college; changes in franking privileges for members of Congress; a two-day period for voting; and free prime time on television for political parties. But he dismissed the line-item veto as a diversion and the six-year term for a president as a major mistake, for it "would give us two more years of an ineffective president and two less of an effective president."

Another CCS reform, having members of Congress serve in the cabinet, was viewed as unnecessary, since informal practice already allows for this, with Senators Laxalt and Baker closer to Ronald Reagan than Donovan and other cabinet officials. As far as ending split-ticket voting and forcing the election of a team ticket goes, Cronin contended that this approach would divide the nation into chunks, with some single-party areas disenfranchised.

Cutler responded to these critiques by reiterating his position that it is virtually impossible to work with the present system, that everyone in Congress has a plan to tackle the deficit but no one has the job to agree on any of them. He compared the situation to a group of doctors

in a terrible argument about what to do while the patient sits by, unhelped. He argued that the goal of creating a more efficient and more powerful government led to the Constitutional convention and that restoring some of the patterns of party government and party cohesion that existed most of the time up to World War II hardly constitutes a call for radical restructuring of the political system.

A dialogue between members of the audience and the panel generated a number of interesting points. James MacGregor Burns of Williams College drew a distinction between the constitutional restructuring called for by Cutler and the minor reforms suggested by Cronin. Larry Berman of the University of California, Davis, asked how President Reagan could be expected to govern with a liberal-moderate Democratic House and a moderate Republican Senate. Forty-nine states may have sent Reagan to the White House, but who should the American public hold accountable?

James David Barber of Duke University argued in agreement with Cronin and Conable that Reagan has opted for current popularity over a place in history by choosing not to exercise his power—his capacity for leadership—on the issue of deficit spending during the past year. Cronin similarly argued that Reagan has the power, that he could veto appropriations bills or send a balanced budget to Congress; but that he prefers to live with the deficits, satisfied with having won victories in other areas, like the weakening of environmental and job safety regulation and the lowering of taxes.

Conable also agreed that the deficit problem could be solved, but thinks that action will be postponed until the government becomes crisis-activated. The 1984 presidential election, after all, involved a president who had submitted increasingly unbalanced budgets; the American people simply remain unconvinced that the deficit is a problem right now. Cutler, however, argued that the deficits represent a growing cancer and that any of the plans under consideration would be better than no plan. From his perspective, by the time the deficit issue is perceived as a crisis-laden situation, the problem will be incurable.

Discussion also centered on the advisability of establishing limits on the terms of representatives and senators. Conable supported the idea, while Cutler argued that members of Congress get better, more able to resist interest groups, the longer they are in office. Cutler further suggested that the presidential election be held two-to-four weeks ahead of the congressional election, so the public could weigh whether to respond to a presidential appeal for support. Cronin, however, responded that the public is likely to vote the other way, given popular cynicism toward politicians and the desire to establish informal checks.

Greenstein probably echoed the musings of many political scientists interested in reform issues, when he noted that "the Almighty should have cloned the political system so we could run experiments." □

*Editor's note: The following five reports on roundtables held at the annual meeting were written by the chairpersons of each panel at the request of PS so that non-specialists in these particular subject areas can get a glimpse of developments in parts of the discipline other than their own. In addition, we are attempting to cover more of the substance of the annual meeting especially in those panels where no papers were presented and where there is otherwise no lasting record of the ideas discussed. PS is grateful to the five scholars who accepted the invitation to report on their roundtables, especially given the time constraints posed by an insistent deadline.*

## **The North-South Roundtable**

**Robert L. Rothstein**  
Colgate University

Not much more than a decade ago the North-South relationship was widely heralded as a major competitor, or at least a strong supplement, of the East-West relationship as the "relationship of major tension" in the international system. Disagreement with this argument by



Annual Meeting Program Chair Joseph Cooper of Rice University presides at the Thursday evening plenary session.

realists, conservatives, and a few others was generally dismissed as shortsighted or "ideological." In addition, initially there was a good deal of optimism that new concepts or approaches (for example, interdependence or political economy research) would facilitate understanding and explanation of what seemed to be or might be a major shift in the configuration of power—and perhaps even wealth.

One hardly needs to note that both hopes have been badly disappointed. For a variety of reasons, the North-South relationship did not reflect or generate a power shift, its significance did not come to rival the East-West divide, and the prevailing or emerging concepts and approaches in international relations did not provide much understanding of what happened. Indeed, there is now some feeling that the North-South relationship is not only moribund because of current economic difficulties and ideological hostilities but also is or was a passing aberration of a unique and transitory set of developments. In any case, these arguments and uncertainties suggested the need for a period of stocktaking and reconsideration for those concerned with North-South relations. A distinguished panel was asked to comment about what had happened either in terms of the failed power shift or the failed conceptual apparatus. The panelists were David Baldwin of

Columbia, Jeffrey Hart of Indiana, James Rosenau of Southern California, and Ann Tickner of Holy Cross.

That the panel ended inconclusively and without consensus on the questions to be asked, the concepts to employ, or the policies to advocate should not be surprising. The field is vast, perspectives vary, and instructions from the panel chairman about what to focus on were deliberately loose and indicative. Nevertheless, even with these constraints, it must be said that the lack of agreement among the panelists was quite striking. This was especially true not only in the sense that there was conflict over certain concepts and ideas (for example, the meaning of "structural change") but also in the sense that the panelists frequently seemed to be in entirely different disciplines. In short, one panelist's statement of the problem (or *problematique*) could very well seem to another as not merely wrong but also irrelevant or a misreading of what our panel was "really" about. One might also note that for this observer, who found all of the presentations interesting if disconnected, what was not said was as interesting as what was said.

Rosenau's comments (and a paper that he provided) focused on what he described as a global authority crisis, an empirical concept reflecting degrees of compliance with authoritative directives. This attempt to move away from the nation-state perspective and to place the problems of the North and the South—and North-South—within a common and very general conceptual framework was interesting and provocative. Even if one disagreed with the argument, there was some virtue in being forced to explain why. Thus it seemed to me that, apart from the inevitable ambiguities in attempting to define and apply so macroscopic a perspective, Rosenau had missed two key developments within North-South: first, increasing differentiation within the South, which implicitly suggests the need to explain variations in behavior rather than commonalities; second, while many or most authority structures may be eroding, it is also clear that some such structures—for example, the authority of International Monetary

Fund (IMF) policy packages or the pressures from the United States and the World Bank to adopt an export orientation—are becoming more powerful and more salient for poor and weak states.

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*The lack of agreement among the panelists was quite striking.*

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Baldwin in his comments did not attempt to provide a new conceptualization of the North-South relationship but he did provide a provocative and controversial analysis of the conceptual and cognitive "half-truths" (his term) of the past. Some of his points seemed debatable or doubtful to me (for example, about how much leverage the debt problem gives to the Third World; in fact only a limited number can really exercise the power of weakness), but other points were important. Thus his emphasis on the ambiguities of the idea of structural change was well taken, especially because it has become so fashionable to use the term for even conventional shifts in the international division of labor. In addition, Baldwin quite rightly emphasized the extent to which normative predispositions have affected interpretations of the North-South arena—a point that was evident in the panel discussions. It has also been evident, unfortunately, in a reluctance to criticize the Third World or some of the Third World's proposals in the New International Economic Order (NIEO), although this is both patronizing and counterproductive.

Hart in his presentation largely discussed problems of North-North trade, on the assumption that we can learn from this arena something about the problems of North-South relations. In subsequent remarks he criticized the normative implications of the application of neo-Realism to the North-South relationship (especially the notion that the distribution of power favors the North and *should* continue to do so). He also disagreed with Rosenau's argument that authority structures had disintegrated, arguing that the disappearance of the NIEO and the dominance of the world capitalist system had

in fact increased coherence—if with some unfortunate effects.

Tickner concentrated on the revival of Realism in the international system, attributing it to the Reagan Administration, rising levels of conflict, and the failure of Southern demands. She also argued that, if Realism were indeed a "real" theory, it should be applicable to North-South relations. She then indicated various ways in which Realism failed as an explanation and interpretation of the North-South arena—despite the somewhat contradictory fact that it was becoming more fashionable in Third World foreign policy behavior. This is an interesting argument, although it raises a number of difficult questions. One very important question is whether Realism is indeed an accurate description of Third World policymaking behavior since such behavior has been largely determined by internal factors and in some cases merely reflects *saue qui peut* policies by desperate elites. Still, while the argument that Realism is an increasingly inappropriate conceptual model has been made before, Tickner's discussion of it in current terms was interesting and provocative—eliciting much controversy in the ensuing discussion.

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*The international system is offering developing countries fewer and more complex alternatives. . . . Dealing with this environment will require much greater domestic policy skills.*

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The panel covered a wide range of issues from a wide variety of perspectives. In this sense it reflected the uncertainties and tensions that currently trouble the North-South relationship. To this observer, however, there seemed to be several important issues that were either ignored or discussed only in passing. For example, one might argue that insufficient attention was paid to the domestic dimensions of North-South relations.

North-South obviously involves something more than the structure of the international system. It seems especially important to emphasize this issue at this time, if only because the international system is offering developing countries fewer and more complex alternatives: less aid, more restrictive access to capital and trading markets, a more constraining ideological environment. Dealing with this environment will require much greater domestic policy skills and would of course also diminish the weight of the criticism that problems are primarily due to deficient domestic policy choices.

More attention might also have been devoted by the panel to the changes occurring within the Third World coalition that make unity in the future so problematic. What are the conditions for success of a coalition of the weak? Can they ever be met? Tentative answers might have provided some insight into the question of whether the Third World challenge was merely premature, and thus likely to reemerge again, or whether the challenge was a misguided attempt, reflecting the transitory turbulence of adjusting to the OPEC "shock" and its aftermath, that is unlikely to recur. If the latter, North-South will persist in the decades ahead, but it will likely be a very different kind of North-South relationship. Finally, it might have been useful to speculate about the evolution of the international political economy and its implications for domestic development choices. Put differently, the dialectic between external and internal policy choices is entering a new phase and how to deal with these interacting changes is unclear but crucial. □

## **Area Studies and Theory-Building in Comparative Politics: A Stocktaking**

**James A. Bill**

University of Texas at Austin

I introduced the roundtable by summarizing two interrelated debates that currently mark much of the discourse about the

state of the field of comparative politics. In the more general debate, one position argues that comparative politics is a field in a state of stagnancy. According to this argument, the field would seem to have lost much of the excitement and momentum that marked its heyday in the 1960s and early 1970s. Important methodological and theoretical work has ground to a halt. The other position challenges this interpretation by indicating that comparative politics is now in the position of institutionalizing its contributions and that new and sophisticated methods and approaches continue to be introduced.

Closely intertwined with this debate is one that focuses upon the role of area studies within the field of comparative theory-building. One side of this controversy has argued that area studies are descriptive, monocontextual, and, as such, have seriously inhibited theory-building. The other position states that area studies are an essential ingredient of the theory-building process since it is here where the reservoir of data about politics is in fact found. The panelists at the roundtable were selected on the basis both of their area experience and their sensitivity to methodology and empirical theory-building. They were also chosen to provide a broad geographic expertise with scholars of Europe, Latin America, Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and the United States serving as panelists. The six discussants collectively represented over 65 research trips to 45 different countries during careers that spanned an average of 25 years.

Gabriel Almond of Stanford University set the tone for the roundtable by presenting a general overview of where comparative political analysis had come during the past few decades. He analyzed the capacity of concepts to travel across areas and the importance of their formulation and reformulation as they encounter different cultural and political contexts. He used as examples what he termed the interest group, patron-client, and political culture-political participation models. Almond argued that much important theoretical work takes place in the "groping and grubbing" that goes on in the early stages of theory-building. In conclusion, he stated that the field of



comparative politics is very much alive today and that it is marked by increasing sophistication and rigor. Professor Almond sharply questioned the position that comparative politics is in a state of malaise.

James Malloy of the University of Pittsburgh discussed the special importance of the field of Latin America within the general field of comparative politics. He indicated that Latin America was perhaps the most productive area in generating concepts and theoretical approaches. In his terms, Latin American scholarship has not only been consuming theory but it has been producing theory as well. As evidence, he used the *dependencia* literature, the role of the state and corporatism, and, most recently, the work being done on regime types and the return to the basic infrastructure of politics. Malloy made the important point that one major reason for this success was the role played by Latin American political scientists themselves who over the years have made critically important contributions both to our understanding of Latin American political processes and to the introduction of new conceptual frameworks and theoretical approaches to the field more generally.

Victor LeVine of Washington University stressed the high hopes that had marked early studies of African political systems. Africanists emphasized studies focusing on the state and state-building. Two decades later, accompanied by the death of optimism surrounding the African political experience, political scientists shifted their emphasis away from the state and toward problems of political crises and conflict. Studies of state-building shifted to the analysis of political disintegration. Today, the field of the comparative politics of Africa is placing more emphasis upon politics at the local level and upon the need to understand "the tree from the roots up." Concern about the processes of "deinstitutionalization" and "departicipation" has slowly moved to one about local politics where the basic building blocks of the political future of Africa seem to be embedded.

James Scott of Yale University began his presentation by calling attention to the increasing need to emphasize problems

and issues that cut across national boundaries. He cited as a case in point the issue of the peasantry in politics. Important problems transcend geographical regions and serve to relate the work of area specialists and comparative theoreticians. Scott argued that an important reason for the advances made by Latin Americanists rested in the existence of a community of discourse in that part of the world. In Southeast Asia, on the other hand, such a community is absent. Eight different major language groups and quite distinct historical experiences have hindered such study. As a result, concepts developed for the analysis of Southeast Asian systems did not travel very well. Scott indicated that the concept "legitimacy" had little relevance in Southeast Asia where the state is usually seen as predatory and the locus for "legalized banditry." Part of the essence of studying comparative politics in Southeast Asia, therefore, requires analysis of society's capacity to resist the will of the state. The repertoire of resistance of the peoples of Southeast Asia to their governments is a rich and subtle one.

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*Many of the theoreticians have lost the capacity to bring into focus the important fine-grained detail while some area specialists only seem to have the capacity to focus narrowly and myopically upon that detail.*

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Lee Sigelman of the University of Kentucky reported that an in-depth survey of material produced in journals of comparative politics indicated that much of the same work being done in the 1940s and 1950s is still being done today. Parochialism, for example, is still prevalent in the field. Some excitement seems to have been lost. On the other hand, important new work is being done, and there is little doubt that today's comparative political analysts are much more rigorous and scientifically sophisticated than their

earlier counterparts. The basic problem is that many of the theoreticians have lost the capacity to bring into focus the important fine-grained detail while some area specialists only seem to have the capacity to focus narrowly and myopically upon that detail. The future seems to require the development of approaches which proceed coherently and rigorously with the comparison of limited numbers of political systems. In the process, the American political system must be seen as an important and integral case within the laboratory of study of comparativists.

In the end, the consensus of the participants (and audience) attending this roundtable was that comparative politics is alive and well. Led by those who study Latin America, new concepts and ap-

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*The consensus of the participants (and audience) attending this roundtable was that comparative politics is alive and well.*

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proaches are constantly being born. The revolution that marked the field in the 1950s and 1960s has quietly institutionalized itself. An important reason for the relatively negative image of comparative politics in the discipline in recent years rests in the self-criticism engaged in by scholars of comparative politics themselves. This self-criticism is in fact a healthy sign and one that promises continuing breakthroughs and transformations in the field in the years ahead.

Area studies and comparative political analysis are inextricably intertwined with one another. The experiences of nation-states across the world provide the material and substance for analysis. Methodological tools and theoretical approaches must have data to organize and interpret. This is the stuff of the area specialist. Increasingly, the tools of the area specialist and the theoretician are found in the kits of the leading scholars of comparative politics. And these scholars must be in continuing communication with one another across countries, cultures, areas, and methodological approaches. □

## **Internal vs. External Factors in Political Development: An Evaluation of Recent Historical Research**

**Ronald Rogowski**

University of California, Los Angeles

Has recent historical research left any role for *domestic* causation in political development? That subversive question was addressed, and answered, rather differently by David Abraham of Princeton University, Gabriel Almond of Stanford University, David Collier of the University of California, Berkeley, and Peter Katzenstein of Cornell University in a Saturday morning roundtable.

The historiography at issue, I suggested at the outset, seemed to fall into three broad categories: (a) the *dependency* debate and its echoes (including world-systems theory and the bureaucratic-authoritarian model); (b) investigations of the rise, form, and strength of the *modern nation-states*, including those by Tilly, North and Thomas, Skocpol, Anderson, and now Rasler and Thompson; and (c) work on the impact of *trade*, which comprises not only the contributions of Keohane, Krasner, Cameron, Gourevitch, and Katzenstein, but of a small army of recent historians of Imperial and Weimar Germany: Wehler, Winkler, Boehme, Feldman, Eley, Maier, and Abraham. Within these literatures, moreover, the question of external influence in five broad areas of development has emerged as crucial: (1) state strength; (2) (geographical) state size; (3) the strength and intransigence of Right; (4) styles of social and political decision; and (5) susceptibility to authoritarianism.

Almond, summarizing the draft of a large review essay that he had circulated well in advance of the session, denied that the new work represented any radical departure. Such earlier historians and social scientists as Seeley, Hintze, Gershenkson, Hirschman, Rosenau, Eckstein, and Lijphart—not to mention Almond, Flanagan, and Mundt had amply recognized the importance of external factors, often in a clearer and more convincing way (and here Hintze's work deserved par-

ticular praise) than in some of more recent contributions. At the same time, one must allow that the recent efforts—e.g., those of Tilly, Gourevitch, Katzenstein, Tony Smith, Kahler, and Gereffi—represent “a record of substantial accomplishment, and even greater promise.”

Collier maintained that the popularity of external explanation has peaked, at least so far as Latin American research was concerned. It has now been demonstrated, for example, that the tendency toward “populist” regimes antedated the trade crisis and the growth of import-substituting industry in the 1930s. Dependency theory can hardly explain U.S. development, with its escape from dependency. Whatever inclination toward monocausal external causation might previously have prevailed—and he emphasized that O’Donnell’s work in particular had been far subtler than that—it has now yielded to a more nuanced approach, in which external factors are seen as intervening variables of uncertain weight.

To Katzenstein, the answer to the question of “internal vs. external causation” was obvious: “It is both.” International vulnerability, or more accurately leaders’ *perceptions* of vulnerability, is a variable that can not be ignored; but demonstrably states’ responses to those perceptions has differed, depending on such internal factors as the strength of the traditional Right and the quality of domestic leadership. To him this issue is part of a much larger one, namely that of determinism vs. voluntarism.

Abraham proposed to confine himself to a single, if plainly central, issue of the debate: whether the liberal, capitalist, democratic form of rule can survive only in a congenial international environment. Recent historiography on Imperial and Weimar Germany suggested overwhelmingly that the answer was “yes,” but Abraham has increasingly entertained doubts. Some of the crucial intervening factors can be linked only tenuously to the international environment; and it is hard to distinguish Weimar convincingly from the small-state cases that Peter Katzenstein had studied in the same period.

Why, for example, had a “Red-Green” coalition proven impossible in Germany, particularly in the 1930s? That had to do with workers’ having historically defined themselves as consumers, with the unions’ links to progressive capital, with the continuing strength of the Right and with the Right’s dominance of agriculture; yet none of those factors had really been determined by external events. (Even the strength of the Right, we now see, was no automatic consequence of the tariff decision of 1879.) Similarly, the implacable hostility of the German *petite bourgeoisie* to labor was crucial, but crucially affected by the split between SPD and KPD and by the strength of Communism in Germany—again, something that no student has been able to tie convincingly even to structural variables, let alone to international factors.

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*The students of the state  
are “not a school but a  
church.”*

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Finally, was Weimar Germany’s external situation so very different from that painted by Katzenstein for the smaller European states in the 1920s? Surely Weimar’s leaders all saw the Republic as vulnerable internationally; and the economy depended extremely on trade, exporting fully one-third of industrial production. Why then had the outcome differed so tragically?

In the course of these discussions two important subsidiary issues surfaced. Almond doubted the wisdom of (in Skocpol’s phrase) “bringing the state back in.” Surely a major service of the newer historiography has been to disaggregate the “black box” of the state, to see its actions as products of external and internal factors. Why did some adherents of the newer school want now to re-introduce this “opaque, almost metaphysical entity”? Katzenstein responded that the students of the state are “not a school but a church,” albeit quite a broad one; state-centric analysis is only “a way of framing a question.”

Katzenstein and Abraham both ad-

dressed political scientists' use of history. For Katzenstein, the lessons of his own research were frankly (a) to bastardize history recklessly, even as Gerschenkron confessedly did; and (b) at all costs to avoid the "dirty work" of the historians, especially archival investigation, and to rely on secondary sources. Abraham found precisely this "bastardization" problematic; he saw in Katzenstein's new book a functionalism that might be difficult to reconcile with the broader European evidence.

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### *Dependency theory is "dead in the water."*

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Richard Sklar of the University of California, Los Angeles, from the floor, wondered where all of this left us. Dependency theory is "dead in the water"; but what remained? What precise connections between the external and the internal can be specified? I pushed the question further; can anything still be assigned unambiguously to domestic causes? Almond, responding, largely concurred in the negative assessment of dependency theory. That he did not regard internal causation as unimportant can be inferred from other sections of his paper in which he discussed recent work on the domestic sources of foreign policy. But the precise weights to be assigned to internal and external forces are a matter for further historical, and above all for comparative, inquiry. □

## **Social Protest Movements: What Sociology Can Teach Us**

**David J. Garrow**

City University of New York

The social protest movements roundtable provided an opportunity for a cross-disciplinary exchange between political scientists and sociologists sharing similar research interests. Although the political science literature of the 1968-1978 period witnessed a lively and productive

use of the E. E. Schattschneider tradition of examining nonelectoral forms of political activism and protest, in more recent years sociology has generated a richer and more extensive literature concerning protest movements. As I noted in two preliminary memos to interested colleagues and as several panel members reiterated at the session, the scholarly literatures in the two disciplines have to date developed in relative isolation from each other.

The New Orleans roundtable opened with University of Missouri sociologist J. Craig Jenkins providing an excellent overview of the theoretical and conceptual developments that have occurred in sociology's social movements literature since the early 1970s. A new paradigm, generally known as "resource mobilization" theory, was introduced in 1973 through the works of Anthony Oberschall and John McCarthy and Mayer Zald. Resource mobilization challenged the previously prevailing assumption that protest movements could be explained simply by reference to the psychological needs and "discontent" of mass participants. Instead, "RM" theory presumed that protesters were rational rather than irrational actors, and focused upon the organizations and resources available to potential protest participants. In succeeding years, "RM" theory increasingly split into two competing perspectives, one of which maintained an organizational focus and the other developing what is sometimes called a "political process" emphasis. The first approach increasingly focused on the appearance of "professional social movement organizations," or "SMOs," groups that had fulltime, paid staffs, cultivated "conscience constituencies," possessed largely "paper" memberships, and concentrated upon manipulating the mass media so as to influence public opinion and hopefully generate elite responses and policy changes.

Jenkins, author of the newly published *Politics of Insurgency* (Columbia University Press), explained that the "political process" approach has given primacy to indigenous protest mobilization while also acknowledging the importance of reactive external support from movement

patrons, and said that increasing attention now is being paid to the presence or absence of national political coalitions supportive of movement goals. He stressed that "professional SMOs" deserve more intense study, especially with regard to how this institutionalized social movement industry, like other interest groups, may be fundamentally weakening the roles of political parties. Jenkins also noted that the potential social control effects of external patronage from ostensible movement supporters such as foundations also will receive increased attention from interested sociologists.

University of Washington sociologist Paul Burstein, author of the newly published *Discrimination, Jobs, and Politics: The Struggle for Equal Employment Opportunity in the U.S. Since the New Deal* (University of Chicago Press), described how his studies of congressional consideration of equal employment legislation had highlighted the importance of multiple components within the American civil rights movement. While direct action protests were essential to convincing the American public that anti-discrimination laws were an important issue, passage of such legislation depended upon the prior crafting of draft statutes and the expertise of the movement's Washington lobbyists. Burstein emphasized that public opinion data indicate that the cumulative effect of the civil rights movement was not to make the American public any more liberal on policy questions involving race, rather that the movement succeeded in convincing the country that long-standing problems had to be moved to the front of the political agenda and acted upon in some fashion.

Political scientist Paul Schumaker of the University of Kansas took polite issue with the suggestions from Jenkins and me that sociology in recent years had generated more and better scholarship on social protest movements than had political science. Schumaker noted the recent work of Clarence Stone and Rufus Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David Tabb, and argued that the long tradition of "community power" studies offered a theoretical and conceptual rich-

ness equal to any recent developments. He contended that political science has been a more evaluative discipline than sociology, with a greater interest in analyzing the distribution of power in society and the differential policy responses to citizen participation. The conditions for responsiveness, as distinct from the conditions for citizen mobilization, have more productively been the province of political science, Schumaker argued.

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*While sociology has displayed far too little interest in the social roles of traditional political institutions, political science has been equally remiss in failing to devote sufficient attention to grass roots political activism and non-traditional forms of participation and mobilization.*

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University of Michigan political scientist Jack L. Walker described how over the past two decades the study of social movements and race relations topics increasingly has belonged to sociology rather than political science. Walker noted how rare it was for relevant, major articles in one discipline, such as his own earlier work with Joel Aberbach, to be cited by scholars in the other discipline, and how political science in recent years has had far fewer young scholars interested in such subjects than has sociology. Walker expressed regret that political scientists generally "have a very static view of the world" and "don't understand change well," or "the roots of change" either. The discipline has suffered from too heavy a focus on institutions alone and from generally looking at too few variables. Political science and sociology "need each other desperately" for analytical progress and improvement, and ought greatly to increase their cross-disciplinary dialogue, Walker stressed.

Political scientist James Button of the University of Florida agreed with Walker that political science has lagged behind sociology with regard to developing theoretical frameworks that can be used for analyzing the development of protest movements and especially for studying the impact and outcomes of such movements. Button's research on community-level changes in small Southern towns has contrasted the effects of traditional and nontraditional strategies of political participation, and he indicated he had found better theoretical insights in recent social movements studies by sociologists than in the existing political science literature.

Audience members suggested that political science's best recent work on protest had taken place in the comparative field rather than in the American politics literature, but both Button and Walker responded that even in that broader context, political science had concentrated its energy too narrowly on studying traditional but not less traditional political action, and had focused too exclusively on studying some forms of participation—e.g., voting—while neglecting the study of nonparticipation, even non-voting. Panel members noted that the Schattschneider tradition, like much sociological literature but unlike much political science, focused more on conflict than on consensus, and sociologist Jenkins pointed out that many scholars of social movements in his discipline do not accept the liberal democratic ideal that many see as a pervasive presence in much political science scholarship. Paul Burstein noted that sociologists generally disdain the study of political institutions, such as Congress, and Jenkins agreed, noting the widespread lack of interest in that discipline with the role of political parties. Roundtable participants all agreed that while sociology has displayed far too little interest in the social roles of traditional political institutions, political science has been equally remiss in failing to devote sufficient attention to grassroots political activism and nontraditional forms of participation and mobilization.

Both audience members and the roundtable participants agreed that the session, which easily and productively could

have gone on for another hour or more, represented a valuable opportunity for just the sort of cross-disciplinary exchange of views that all would like to increase. Several participants expressed particular hope that further similar sessions could be arranged in the future, and interest was expressed in seeking the funds and institutional support necessary for convening a special multi-disciplinary conference on social protest movements at which several dozen or so scholars would be able to expand upon the dialogue that was begun in New Orleans. □

## **The Future of the Congressional Budget Process**

**James A. Thurber**  
American University

Are we better off today than we were before passage of the Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974? How do we judge success and failure of the budget process? What can ten years of budgeting under the act tell us about the future of the congressional budget process? Each of the roundtable participants on "The Future of the Congressional Budget Process," John Ellwood of Dartmouth College, Louis Fisher of the Library of Congress Congressional Research Service, Allen Schick of the American Enterprise Institute and the University of Maryland, College Park, and Aaron Wildavsky of the University of California at Berkeley offered varying perspectives on these questions.

Ten years after the Budget Act's implementation, few of its original objectives have been met. Budget and appropriations deadlines have been missed. Continuing resolutions and supplemental appropriations are commonplace. There is little control over budget deficits with the country facing a \$200 billion federal deficit and pushing a \$2 trillion debt limit in the next fiscal year. Spending has risen to an all-time high percentage of the Gross National Product. There is more "backdoor" spending (spending that skirts the Appropriations committees)

today than a decade ago. The budget process seems to be too complex and to dominate the congressional calendar to the detriment of authorizations and oversight. In ten years of implementation, no two years of the process created by the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 have been the same.

Taking all of this evidence into account, Louis Fisher argued that the Budget Act "has been an abject failure." John Ellwood, Allen Schick, and Aaron Wildavsky presented arguments to the contrary. Even given the record of missed deadlines, large deficits, backdoors, deadlock, continuing resolutions and so on, they asserted that the Budget Act has succeeded, although not as the authors of the Act had envisioned. A good budget process should allow Congress to control, manage, and plan public spending and taxation, should it want to do so, and according to Ellwood and Schick it has.

Fisher questioned the defenders of the Budget Act and argued to "let us avoid defending a statute without reference to its benefits and record of performance." Fisher asserted that it is not necessary, or possible, to place the whole blame on the Budget Act. Nor is it necessary to absolve the Budget Act of all responsibility. The Budget Act did make a difference. Initially it did speed up appropriations bills. Absolving the Budget Act leads to contradictory results, according to Fisher. Some try to have it both ways: arguing (1) that the Budget Act is not responsible for the deficits, late appropriations, and other problems because those consequences flow from forces outside the Budget Act, and (2) do not repeal or change the Budget Act because that will jeopardize the single best hope for budget control.

The authors and promoters of the Budget Act had a vast number of goals: to complete appropriations and budget decisions in a timely fashion, to control budget deficits, to limit the growth of federal spending, to improve the way priorities get set among different types of spending, to set congressional fiscal policy, to improve the information and knowledge for budget decisions, to establish a procedure to overcome presidential impoundments, and to compete

more effectively with the president and executive branch in the budget arena. It is hard to claim that the process has been a total success using these objectives as measures of success. However, Ellwood suggested that we judge success and failure of the act using three more realistic and neutral measures: (1) has it allowed or even helped the Congress work its will?; (2) does it provide public officials with enough information so that they know the probable consequences of their decisions?; and (3) does it provide citizens with enough information so that they can hold their representatives accountable should they choose to do so? Ellwood and Schick answered yes to all three questions.

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*Ten years after the Budget Act's implementation, few of its original objectives have been met.*

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The provisions of the Budget Act have not prevented the Congress from working its will, although it has not always worked as originally designed. According to Ellwood, "the Act's 'elastic clause' has allowed the process to meet new situations and demands. Thus, when Congress sought to reduce domestic spending it became obvious that a mechanism for each chamber to gain control over committees with jurisdiction over entitlements, appropriated entitlements, and permanents would be required. The 'elastic clause' facilitated the shift of the reconciliation process from the second to the first resolution to take care of this problem."

All of the roundtable participants agreed that the Act provides good information. A major virtue of the Act was that it created the Congressional Budget Office, the Budget Committees, and procedures that provide decisionmakers with enough information so that they know the consequences of their actions. For example, the requirement that members vote on budget spending and revenue aggregates, five-year cost estimates and tax expenditures, and other multi-year projections all contribute to better knowl-

edge about the probable consequences of their decisions. The process also provides information for voters. "If voters have not reacted to this information by throwing the rascals out," according to Ellwood, "it could be because, while objecting to deficits in principal, they support existing and even increased funding levels on a program basis so long as their taxes do not have to be raised. Moreover they appear willing to live with \$200 billion deficits as long as they can not associate those deficits with a poor economic performance in the short run."

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***"I think the public wants results, not procedures and mechanisms that obscure accountability."***

***—Louis Fisher***

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Fisher addressed the question of the potential consequences of the failure to pass a budget resolution, "members fear that a failure to pass a budget resolution would be interpreted by the public as an abdication of congressional responsibility and control. I think this wildly overstates the public's knowledge of or interest in the passage of budget resolutions—and by that I mean the 'elite' public. I think the public wants results, not procedures and mechanisms that obscure accountability."

Schick argued that the Budget Act has responded remarkably to the major changes in the congressional environment since 1974. The Act has not been amended since 1974, but Schick asserted that in practice, "the Budget Act has been amended, reamended, and reamended in every year since 1975." He suggested that "a budget process is a way of organizing work. It does not lead to any particular decisions. When you have a summit conference with your spouse and you decide to have a budget process, you are simply establishing a way of running something called a household or establishing a relationship between the two of you. If you get divorced, the budget process will respond to that trauma in your household and the new relationship between the

two of you. That is all a budget process is." Schick declared that, "nothing has to stop, if the budget process stops. If a budget resolution is not enacted, Congress can still proceed forward with taxes, authorizations, and spending bills." Schick suggested that the budget process has been different each of its ten years of implementation because Congress has a self-correcting capacity. "Next year we will have a different version of the process and the year after another, and another after that. Self-correction means that we are not at the end of the line for the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act." He urged political scientists to study congressional self-correction in the budget process.

Have we learned something from the past ten years so that future years will be better? Fisher answered with a question, "How many years can we continue saying: Well, the results this year are not acceptable, but we'll tackle things in a big way next year. Next year never comes. By sustaining \$200 billion deficits in relatively good times, what will we do in an economic slowdown or downturn? Raise taxes? Cut social welfare programs? We are exhausting our options for countercyclical policy."

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***"A budget process is a way of organizing work. It does not lead to any particular decisions."***

***—Allen Schick***

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The roundtable participants questioned the quick fixes to the budget process. Fisher argued that, "as we continue to play make-believe about the virtues of the Budget Act, it will be more and more tempting to adopt 'reforms' that I think most of us would regard as offering little relief: biennial budgeting, balanced-budget requirements, and the item veto." Wildavsky questioned the utility of the item veto, "in European social democracies the executive has much stronger weapons than the item veto. Today they spend more than we do. All the item veto will do is raise the size of



the logroll. If you have a spending president, he will use the item veto to increase spending. If you have a cutting president, Congress will simply increase the size of the roll to overcome the veto." Wildavsky supported balanced budget spending limits as a way to decrease the deficit and presented a defense of President Reagan's ability to bring about fundamental change in the budget.

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***"All the item veto will do is raise the size of the logroll." —Aaron Wildavsky***

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Fisher concluded that we cannot begin to discover a solution to the problems of the budget process until we admit it has failed. "While it does no good to say that the problem is the problem, admitting that the present solution is not a solution is a necessary first step in developing better controls," Fisher noted. Is it irresponsible to criticize the existing process without having an alternative in mind? Fisher suggested that, "we did not think that way in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The system existing at that time was considered fundamentally flawed and in need of change. We did not look for excuses, justifications, or rationalizations, which has been our habit in recent years."

The roundtable closed with a brief discussion about whether we are better off going back to the pre-1974 decentralized budgeting process. Most of the participants argued that we are better off with the Act. Wildavsky reminded the audience that "to agree on everything is going to cause delay, heartburn, hostility, anger, contempt and all the other things that are written about in today's papers about the budget process. My understanding is this: in the past quarter of a century and with increasing speed, we have witnessed the polarization of political elites in this country and to a lesser degree, a polarization of political attitudes in the country as a whole." This polarization causes disruption and delay in the budgetary process. The roundtable concluded with the fact that it is the fundamental change in Congress and in

American politics as a whole that is the major challenge to the future of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act, not flaws in the Act itself. □

## **R. Taylor Cole Honored on 80th Birthday**

Colleagues and former students gathered at a dinner honoring R. Taylor Cole, President of the Association in 1959, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, on Friday evening during the annual meeting in New Orleans.

Allan Kornberg, chair of the political science department at Duke University, which sponsored the dinner, presided over the dinner ceremonies. Among those attending were Gabriel Almond (APSA President in 1966), Samuel Barnes, Lucian Pye, and Emmette S. Redford (APSA President in 1961).

Thomas E. Mann, Executive Director of APSA, read a resolution of recognition that was unanimously passed by the APSA Council:

### **Message to Professor R. Taylor Cole**

Dear Taylor:

The officers and Council of the American Political Science Association send you our



R. Taylor Cole at the dinner in his honor at the annual meeting.

## Association News

warmest congratulations on the occasion of your 80th birthday. Your active participation in the life of the Association, particularly as editor of the *Review* and as our 54th president, helped steer us through a critical time of transition and expansion in the 1950s. You took bold steps to establish peer review as editorial policy for the *APSR*, and to initiate thoughtful discussions of methodology and social science research in its pages. You were the first Association president elected from a southern university. We salute you for these and other milestones in your distinguished career as scholar, educator, and colleague. We thank you for strengthening the profession of political science as well as its national Association. And we wish you a happy evening among the many friends who have gathered to honor you here in New Orleans.

Sincerely,

Richard F. Fenno  
President

Thomas E. Mann  
Executive Director



E. Wally Miles of San Diego State University was honored by the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession at the annual meeting.



Jewel L. Prestage of Southern University congratulates Twiley W. Barker, Jr., of the University of Illinois, Chicago, as Charles O. Jones looks on. Barker was honored by the Committee on the Status of Blacks for his contributions to the discipline.

### Twiley Barker and Wally Miles Honored by APSA Committee

Twiley W. Barker, Jr. of the University of Illinois, Chicago, and E. Wally Miles of San Diego State University were honored by the APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession at the APSA's Annual Meeting in New Orleans. Plaques were bestowed on these two scholars at a reception on Friday, August 30, at the New Orleans Hilton.

Barker and Miles were recognized for their contributions to the discipline of political science and their efforts to improve the status of black Americans in the profession. The committee began honoring political scientists seven years ago. The purpose of this honor is to commend those who have advanced the interests of black political scientists and have distinguished themselves as scholars and teachers. Michael Preston, University of Illinois, is the present chair of the Committee.

Twiley Barker is a professor of political science at the University of Illinois, Chicago. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in 1955. He has also taught at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and Southern University.

Barker was a member of the Council of

the APSA from 1982-84, as well as a member of the Administrative Committee during that time. Other APSA activities include: member of the Program Committee (Public Law & Judiciary Section); member of the first Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession; and member of the Edward S. Corwin Awards Committee. He has also served on a number of panels at annual meetings.

Barker's published books include *Freedoms, Courts, Politics: Studies in Civil Liberties and Civil Liberties and the Constitution: Cases and Commentaries*, both co-authored with Lucius J. Barker. Articles he has published have appeared in *PS*, *National Civic Review*, *Illinois Democratic Forum*, and *The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes*, to name just a few.

Barker's awards and honors include: the General Education Board Fellowship, the Silver Circle Award for Teaching Excellence, and the Danforth Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching.

E. Wally Miles, the other honoree, is currently a professor of political science at San Diego State University. After earning his Ph.D. in government from Indiana University in 1962, Miles continued his studies at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, where he focused on the behavioral approach to the study of law and politics.

Miles' involvement in the profession has been extensive. He has served on the APSA Executive Council and several of the Association's standing and special committees. APSA committee assignments have included the following: Administrative, Executive Director Search, Task Force on the Future of the Profession, and two terms as chair of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession. Miles has also been a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Politics* and the *Western Political Quarterly*, and served as Public Law and Judicial Politics Chair for the 1984 APSA meeting.

Miles co-authored *Vital Issues of the Constitution* and has contributed sections to other books. He has also written a number of scholarly papers and articles

on law-related subjects; and has done research in the areas of federal court staffing and civil rights at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas.

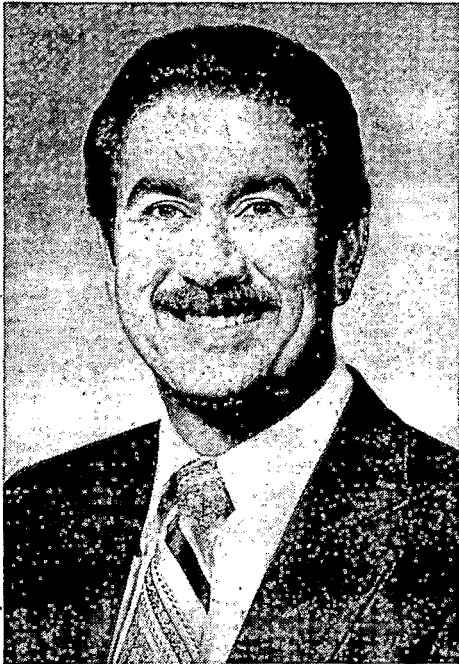
Miles is currently Board Chairman of the San Diego Urban League. Under his leadership, the San Diego Urban League recently opened a multi-million-dollar computer training facility in its continuing effort to improve employment opportunities for disadvantaged minorities and poor people of all races.

This year's honorees will join the ranks of other prominent political scientists recognized by the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession: Charles V. Hamilton, Columbia University; Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University; Samuel Cook, Dillard University; Charles Harris, Howard University; Robert Martin, Howard University; Clarence Mitchell, former chief lobbyist for the NAACP; Evron Kirkpatrick, former APSA Executive Director; Lucius Barker, Washington University; Matthew Holden, University of Virginia; and Earl M. Lewis, Trinity University. □

## **F. Chris Garcia Commended at Annual Meeting**

F. Chris Garcia of the University of New Mexico was noted by the APSA Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession at the APSA's Annual Meeting in New Orleans. He received a plaque at a reception on Thursday, August 29, at the New Orleans Hilton. Garcia was honored for his contributions to the discipline of political science and for his efforts to improve the status of Chicanos in the profession. The purpose of this honor is to commend persons who have advanced the interests of Chicano political scientists and have distinguished themselves as scholars and teachers.

Presently, in addition to being Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Garcia is also a professor of political science at the University of New Mexico. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Davis, in 1972. He has also taught at California State University,



F. Chris Garcia received special commendation at the annual meeting from the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession.

Indiana University, and the University of California, Davis.

Garcia is presently serving on the APSA Executive Council. He has also been a member of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education and a member of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession. He has served as Vice-President and President of the Western Political Science Association. Garcia is also a member of the International Political Science Association, Phi Kappa Phi, Pi Sigma Alpha, and the Council of Colleges of Arts and Sciences (where he serves on the Board of Directors and was chair of the Recruitment and Membership Committee from 1983-85).

Garcia's published books include: *New Mexico Government* with co-editor Paul Hain, and *The Chicano Political Experience* with co-author Rudolph de la Garza. In addition he has published many articles and book reviews, which have appeared in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, *Electoral Studies: An International Jour-*

*nal*, the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Teacher Education*, and the *Journal of Politics*. Garcia's awards and honors include: the New Mexico Humanities Council Newspaper Project Award, the Outstanding Alumni Award from Valley High School in Albuquerque and the Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship.

This is the first year that the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession has honored an outstanding colleague. However, according to the chair of the committee, this will become a yearly activity at the annual meeting. Isidro Ortiz, University of California-Santa Barbara, is the present chair of the committee. □

### **Wolin, Sundquist, Wood Receive APSA Awards**

Sheldon Wolin of Princeton University, James L. Sundquist of the Brookings Institution, Robert C. Wood of Wesleyan University, and Jim Lehrer and Robert MacNeil of the MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour were among those honored at APSA's 81st annual meeting.

Wolin received the Benjamin E. Lippincott Award for his *Politics and Vision*. The Lippincott Award was established to



Barry R. Posen of Princeton University is congratulated by Barbara Hinckley of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, as he receives the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award for the best book published in the U.S. during 1984 on government, politics or international affairs.



Fred R. Dallmayr of the University of Notre Dame presents the Benjamin E. Lippincott Award to Sheldon Wolin (right) of Princeton University for his book *Politics and Vision*.

recognize a work of exceptional quality by a living political theorist that is "still considered significant after a time span of at least fifteen years since the original date of publication." In reading the citation on behalf of the selection committee, Fred R. Dallmayr of the University of Notre Dame said that Wolin is an "epical" theorist. His book, said Dallmayr, "offered a beacon of light to students of politics disaffected with the scientism of modernity, yet unwilling or unable to abandon modern aspirations in favor of a celebration of antiquity."

Virginia Gray of the University of Minnesota presented the Charles E. Merriam



James L. Sundquist (right) of the Brookings Institution is awarded the Charles E. Merriam Award by Virginia Gray of the University of Minnesota for his significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research.



Alan Rosenthal of the Eagleton Institute of Politics presents the Hubert H. Humphrey Award for notable public service by a political scientist to Robert C. Wood (left) of Wesleyan University.

Award to James Sundquist "whose published work and career represents a significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research." On behalf of the selection committee Gray said that Sundquist "exemplifies the hope of Charles Merriam that we combine the scientific study of politics with a prudent concern for public policy and the practice of democratic government."

The Hubert H. Humphrey Award was presented to Robert Wood in recognition of "notable public service by a political scientist." Alan Rosenthal of the Eagleton Institute of Politics of Rutgers University in presenting the award noted that "not only does Robert Wood richly



Dale Rogers Marshall of the University of California, Davis, and David H. Tabb (center) and Rufus P. Browning of San Francisco State University were awarded both the Gladys M. Kammerer Award and the Ralph J. Bunche Award for their book *Protest Is Not Enough*.



Jim Lehrer (left) and Robert MacNeil received the Carey McWilliams Award, which is presented each year to honor a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics.

deserve this award, but his career serves as an example for all of us." Rosenthal said that Wood "has a keen sense" of what the public interest is and "a real feeling for what it requires."

Jim Lehrer and Robert MacNeil were honored for their MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour with the Carey McWilliams Award, which is presented each year to honor "a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics." Michael Malbin of the American Enterprise Institute read the citation on behalf of the committee, noting that "MacNeil and Lehrer have transformed our ideas about what good journalism can do, enriching . . . our understanding of the political world around us." For political scientists "watching the show is like taking a daily field trip."



Bruce W. Jentleson of the University of California, Davis, chats with his dissertation advisor Peter Katzenstein of Cornell University at the annual meeting where Jentleson was awarded the Harold D. Lasswell Award for the best dissertation in 1983 or 1984 in the field of policy studies.

For the first time two APSA awards were accorded to the same scholars. Rufus P. Browning and David H. Tabb of San Francisco State University and Dale Rogers Marshall of the University of California, Davis, were given the Ralph J. Bunche Award and the Gladys M. Kammerer Award for their book *Protest Is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics* (University of California Press). The Kammerer Award recognized the best political science publication in 1984 in the field of U.S. national policy, while the Bunche Award identified the best scholarly work in political science published in 1983 or 1984 "which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism."

Other award winners were:

Barry R. Posen, Princeton University, was accorded the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award, for the best book published in the U.S. during 1984 on government, politics or international affairs, for *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*, Cornell University Press.

Jack L. Walker, University of Michigan, and Michael Wallerstein, University of California, Los Angeles, shared the Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award, for the best paper presented at the 1984 Annual Meeting. Walker won for his paper "Three Modes of Political Mobilization" and Wallerstein for "The Micro-Foundations of Corporatism: Formal Theory and Comparative Analysis."

Other dissertation award winners were:

David Pion-Berlin, Ohio State University, the Gabriel A. Almond Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 or 1984 in the field of comparative politics, for *Ideas as Predictors: A Comparative Study of Coercion in Peru and Argentina*, submitted by the University of Denver; dissertation chair, John F. McCamant.

Kim Lane Scheppele, University of Michigan, the Edward S. Corwin Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 and 1984 in the field of public law, for *Legal Secrets: Common-Law Rules and the*

*Social Distribution of Knowledge*, submitted by the University of Chicago; dissertation chair, James Coleman.

Bruce W. Jentleson, University of Chicago, Davis, the Harold D. Lasswell Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 and 1984 in the field of policy studies, for *Pipeline Politics: The Alliance and Domestic Politics of American Economic Coercion Against the Soviet Union*, submitted by Cornell University; dissertation chair, Peter Katzenstein.

Wayne A. Edisis, the Helen Dwight Reid Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 and 1984 in the field of international relations, law and politics, for *The Hidden Agenda: Negotiations for the Generalized System of Preferences*, submitted by Brandeis University; dissertation chair, Robert O. Keohane.

John Zaller, Princeton University, the E. E. Schattschneider Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 and 1984 in the field of American government, for *The Role of Elites in Shaping Public Opinion*, submitted by the University of California, Berkeley; dissertation chair, Nelson W. Polsby.

Ruth Grant, University of Chicago, and Ian Shapiro, Yale University, the Leo Strauss Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 and 1984 in the field of political philosophy. Grant won for her thesis *John Locke's Liberalism*, submitted by the University of Chicago; dissertation chair, Joseph Cropsey. Shapiro won for *Individual Rights in Modern Liberal Thought: A Realist Account*, submitted by Yale University, dissertation chair, Douglas W. Rae.

Donald W. Chisholm, University of California, Berkeley, the Leonard D. White Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 and 1984 in the field of public administration, including broadly related problems of policy formation and administrative theory, for *Informal Organization and the Problem of Coordination*, submitted by the University of California, Berkeley; dissertation chair, Martin Landau. □

## **Bert Rockman Wins Neustadt Book Award**

Bert A. Rockman is the winner of the Presidency Research Section's first Richard E. Neustadt Book Award. Rockman was honored at the section's business meeting at APSA's annual meeting for his work, *The Leadership Question: The Presidency and the American System* (Praeger, 1984).

The Neustadt Book Award Committee was composed of Martha J. Kumar of Towson State University, Norman C. Thomas of the University of Cincinnati, and Thomas E. Cronin (Chair) of Colorado College. In selecting Rockman's work as the best book about the American presidency published in 1984, the committee surveyed over 30 works written on the presidency and unanimously agreed that Rockman's was the superior contribution. □

## **Job Picture Brightest in Ten Years**

The ratio of the number of jobs listed at the annual meeting placement service to the number of applicants seeking positions was the highest in a decade. There were 179 jobs listed at the annual meeting and 300 applications for positions (see Table 1).

In contrast, in 1977, the low point of the decade, there were only 142 openings for 570 applicants. Thus, one's chances of obtaining a position in 1985 were almost three times greater than in 1977. Because the placement service caters primarily to new Ph.D.s and listings are mainly for junior appointments, these figures reflect the job prospects primarily for those entering the profession. Sixty-four percent of the job classifications were for assistant professors, 20% for associate professors, 5% for professors, 4% for instructors, 1% for chairs and 6% for non-teaching jobs.

**TABLE 1**  
**Annual Meeting Job Placement Service**  
**Number of Applications, Employers and Jobs, 1975-1985**

Year	Location	No. of Applications	No. of Employers	No. of Jobs
1985	New Orleans, LA	300	116	179
1984	Washington, DC	465	84	127
1983	Chicago, IL	350	79	120
1982	Denver, CO	229	76	121
1981	New York, NY	340	96	131
1980	Washington, DC	326	86	112
1979	Washington, DC	427	106	134
1978	New York, NY	450	96	124
1977	Washington, DC	570	107	142
1976	Chicago, IL	518	95	154
1975	San Francisco, CA	512	91	142

**TABLE 2**  
**Demand and Supply of Applicants and Jobs,**  
**by Percent and by Category**

Applicants	Categories	Jobs
27%	American Government and Politics	26%
12	Public Policy	11
7	Public Administration and Organizational Behavior	17
4	Methodology	6
14	Political Theory	4
18	International Relations	15
18	Comparative Politics	16
—	Non-teaching (jobs only)	5

Table 2 shows that there was a fairly even match between applicants and jobs by field with certain notable exceptions. For example, whereas 17% of the jobs listed were in the field of public administration, only 7% of the applicants listed that field. In the political theory field, on the other hand, there were 14% applicants and only 4% of jobs listed in that field. □

## Participation by Women Dropped in 1985

**Martin Gruberg**

University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

Another year, another convention, one having a theme of political change. The

change for women was not, however, one for the better at this year's political science convention. Though there was a record number and percentage of women as section heads, the rates of female chairpersons, papergivers and discussants all declined (Table 1).

As usual, when women served as section heads or chairpersons, other women were more likely to be selected as program participants. However, this was not always true. Nor was it always the case that male gatekeepers passed over women for participation roles. The section on Political Thought: Analytical and Critical Approaches, for example, headed by a male, had one of the best male-female ratios.

As indicated in my 1984 report, my annual assessments will have to include



**TABLE 1**

	Total	Women	%		Total	Women	%
<b>Section Heads</b>				<b>Chairpersons</b>			
1985	23	8	34.8	1985	260	51	19.6
1984	20	6	30.0	1984	215	44	20.5
1983	24	7	29.2	1983	196	35	17.9
1982	19	5	26.3	1982	163	22	13.5
1981	16	3	18.8	1981	137	16	11.7
1980	18	3	16.7	1980	139	29	20.9
<b>Paper Givers</b>				<b>Discussants</b>			
1985	966	149	15.4	1985	320	52	16.3
1984	804	142	17.7	1984	294	58	19.7
1983	730	120	17.4	1983	272	50	18.4
1982	557	109	19.6	1982	184	28	15.2
1981	520	98	18.8	1981	161	28	17.4
1980	453	99	21.9	1980	160	19	11.9

from now on, not only the sections organized by the Program Committee, but also the panels sponsored by the APSA organized sections and committees. Except for the panels sponsored by

the Committee on the Status of Women, the latter sets of panels, all organized by males, had fewer female participants than did the Program Committee's panels (Table 2).

**TABLE 2**

		Total	Women	%
<b>Chairpersons</b>				
Organized Sections and Committees	1984	47	10	21.3
	1985	73	15	20.5
Grand Total	1984	262	54	20.6
	1985	333	66	19.8
<b>Paper Givers</b>				
Organized Sections	1984	158	24	15.2
	1985	255	37	14.5
Committees	1984	21	8	39.0
	1985	45	11	24.4
Grand Total	1984	983	174	17.7
	1985	1266	197	15.6
<b>Discussants</b>				
Organized Sections	1984	46	6	13.0
	1985	56	12	21.4
Committees	1984	7	0	0
	1985	7	1	14.3
Grand Total	1984	347	64	18.4
	1985	383	65	17.0

The eight sections organized by women had women as 34.1% of the chairpersons (30 of 88), 17.4% of the paper givers (58 of 334), and 15.0% of the discussants (21 of 140). (That is, 38.9% of the women paper givers in the Convention's Program-Committee-organized panels were found in the sections organized by women as were 40.4% of the female discussants. In women-chaired panels were to be found 37.0% of the female paper givers at the meeting and 19.2% of the female discussants. Women-chaired panels had 29.0% female paper givers and 16.4% female discussants.)

There were no women on the panels of the two evening plenary sessions. The six speakers and both chairs were males.

The sections with the strongest female representation were: Political Thought: Historical Approaches; Political Thought: Analytical and Critical Approaches; Public Opinion and Political Psychology; Political Participation, Political Power, and the Politics of Disadvantaged Groups; Public Administration and Organization Theory; Policy Studies; Legislative Studies; and the Status of Women in the Profession.

The sections with the weakest female representation were those on Positive Political Theory; Empirical Theory and Research Methods; Electoral Behavior and Popular Control; Legislative Process and Politics; International Relations: Conflict Analysis and National Security; International Relations: Hierarchy and Dependence in the International System; The Practice of Political Science; Conflict Processes; and Law, Courts, and Judicial Process.

1985's lopsided stag panels included those on Approval Voting; Macro and Micro Perspectives; Political Crises, Violence and Terrorism; Party Realignment and Partisan Change; Processes of Partisan Transformation; Political Ambition and Electoral Politics; the Roundtable on Social Protest Movements; the Roundtable in Honor of Charles Hyneman; Studies in the Institutionalized Presidency; the Roundtable on the Reagan Presidency; the Roundtable on Humanities Teaching and Research by Political

Scientists; Formal Models of War; Executive Branch Influences and Constraints Upon the Federal Courts; Marketplace Strategies in Public Policy; Environmental and Energy Policy Problems; Intergovernmental Relations and Public Policy; and Urban Political Culture Under Fiscal Austerity. (The latter had a female chair but seven male paper givers and two male discussants.)

Panels overwhelmingly female included Political Participation of Women in the Third World; State Theories, Development and Women; Gender and Political Orientations; The Interdependence of Gender, Race and Class in American Politics; A Global Look at the Political and Economic Roles of Women; Reconsidering Some Myths of Public Administration; and Subtle and Not So Subtle Discrimination Against Women in Academic Institutions.

I recommend that the Association's Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession undertake a study of why the participation rate for women at the New Orleans meeting declined from that manifested in recent years. □

### **Council Reaffirms Commitment to Sullivan Principles**

At its August 28 meeting APSA's governing body reaffirmed its commitment to the Sullivan principles. APSA's policy is not to invest in any company doing business in South Africa unless that company adheres to the Sullivan principles. Under these principles companies must not engage in racial discrimination in their employment practices and must work to end apartheid in South Africa.

The question arose at the Council meeting during a review of APSA investments that include mutual funds whose portfolios may include companies that do business in South Africa. Samuel P. Huntington, Nannerl Keohane and Donna E. Shalala prepared the following resolution,

which was approved unanimously by the Council:

The APSA Council deplores the *apartheid* politics of the government of South Africa, and requests the Board of Trustees of the Trust and Development Fund as a matter of urgency to review the investment policies of our currently held mutual funds.

In light of the long-standing APSA policy concerning the Sullivan Principles we recommend that this review be carried forward with an eye towards moving out of any fund that includes in its portfolio companies that do not adhere to these Principles, or firms that do business directly with the government of South Africa. We urge the Board to seek out alternative high-performance funds that meet these criteria.

### Small Grant Program

In other action the Council increased the annual budget of the Small Grant Program to \$12,000 from \$10,000 and added an additional representative from a small college to the Research Support Committee which distributes the grants. President-elect Aaron Wildavsky announced that his appointee would be Huey Perry of Southern University.

Under the program grants up to \$1,500 are awarded to APSA members from non-Ph.D.-granting institutions as well as to those not affiliated with an academic institution for the purpose of assisting research. Fundable activities include such activities as travel to archives or to conduct interviews, purchase of datasets, and administration and coding of interviews. In 1985, the first year of the program, a total of ten grants were made. (See *PS*, Summer 1985, pp. 623-624.)

*Editor's Note: See the Appendix of this issue of PS for complete Council minutes.* □

### Samuel Huntington Elected President-Elect

Samuel P. Huntington, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government and director of the Center for International Affairs

at Harvard University, has been elected to serve as president-elect of APSA for 1985-86 and will assume the office of president in 1986-87.

Huntington was elected by acclamation at the Annual Business Meeting on August 31 in New Orleans along with the other nominees selected by the Nominating Committee for APSA offices and Council positions.

Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University, Dale Rogers Marshall, University of California, Davis, and Donald R. Matthews, University of Washington, were elected vice-presidents of APSA for 1985-86. Myron Weiner, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was elected secretary for 1985-86 and Helen Ingram, University of Arizona, was elected treasurer for the two-year term, 1985-87.

The eight new members of the 16-member Council elected to serve a two-year term (1985-86) are: John W. Kingdon, University of Michigan; Stephen D. Krasner, Stanford University; Paula D. McClain, Arizona State University; Karen O'Connor, Emory University; Carole Pateman, University of Sydney; G. Bingham Powell, Jr., University of Rochester; Kenneth Shepsle, Washington University; and Nancy H. Zingale, College of St. Thomas. *Thomas, of IAA will serve a second year as* □

*Continuing their 85-87 terms*  
**Nominating Committee are:**

### Seeks Suggestions

The Nominating Committee, headed by Nelson W. Polsby of the University of California, Berkeley, seeks suggestions for nominees to APSA offices.

The Committee will make nominations for eight Council positions, as well as the offices of secretary, vice presidents (three positions) and president-elect.

The members of the nominating committee are:

James A. Caporaso, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80209.

Charles Hamilton, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027.

John Kessel, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH 43210.

Kathleen McGinnis, Department of Political Science, Trinity College, Washington, DC 20017.

Nelson W. Polsby, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 202 Junipero Serra Blvd., Stanford, CA 94305.

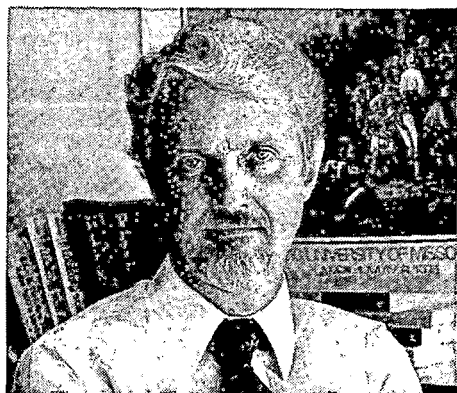
Barbara Sinclair, Department of Political Science, University of California, Riverside, Riverside, CA 92521. □

### Journal Discounts Offered to APSA Members

Members of APSA should watch the mails for their listing of journals offered at discounted rates. The listing, with subscription coupons, will be mailed to all individual members in late September. □

### Salisbury Named Book Review Editor of the *APSR*

Samuel C. Patterson, incoming managing editor of the *American Political Science Review*, has named Robert H. Salisbury book review editor.



Robert Salisbury of Washington University in St. Louis is new book review editor of the *APSR*.

Salisbury is Sydney W. Souers Professor of American Government at Washington University in St. Louis where he has spent most of his career and has served as chairman of the Department of Political Science and director of the Center for the Study of Public Affairs. He has been a visiting lecturer at 27 universities in the United States and abroad.

In addition to the eight books he has published, Salisbury has written numerous articles for the major journals in the profession. His most recent publication for the March 1984 issue of *APSR*, "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions," extended his path breaking work on interest groups. He has also written on the politics of education, urban politics, public policy analysis, governmental reorganization, elections, political parties, and Congress.

Salisbury is a former vice president of APSA and has served on its Council. He has been both president and program chair of the Midwest Political Science Association. He has served on the editorial board of the *American Journal of Political Science* and the *American Politics Quarterly*.

Active in civic affairs, Salisbury has been a consultant for the Office of Economic Opportunity, the U.S. Office of Education, and the U.S. Conference of Mayors. He has also served as a member of the St. Louis County Charter Commission and the Missouri Commission on Local Government.

*PS* asked Salisbury to comment on his plans for the book review section of the *Review*, and his response, intended as an open letter to the discipline, follows:

As book review editor of the *APSR*, building on the splendid work of my predecessors, I hope to do several things. First, I want to make the review section as interesting and provocative to read as possible so that political scientists will find intellectual stimulation there as well as information and evaluation of newly published work. Whenever appropriate I will commission essays from established scholars and ask them to review substantive areas of inquiry and traditions of scholarship as well as to assess the current book or books under review. At

the same time, I expect to publish a considerable number of quite brief review notes so that readers may be as fully aware as possible of what is available.

I would like to include for review and commentary some books that are outside the normal range of political scientists' vision but that nevertheless seem to me of relevance to the work we do. I hope to review books in history and other social sciences and, whenever I can obtain good advice concerning worthwhile material, in other fields as well. In this regard I would urge everyone to recommend to me books that you believe the readers of *APSR* should know about. Publishers will not routinely send us books that appear to lie outside a rather narrow definition of our discipline, so it will take a sustained collective effort to enlarge our coverage.

The number of books published annually which potentially come within the purview of political scientists is enormous. The daily tasks involved in managing the immense flow of paper generated by the review process will take such energy that experiments will be limited. There will surely be mistakes of omission and commission. My judgments will often be flawed. I do hope and expect to hear from APSA members with suggestions and criticisms, and I will try to be both responsive and flexible. Certainly, I will be enormously dependent on the help and counsel of the profession.

—Robert H. Salisbury □

## **APSA Publishes Code of Ethics**

*A Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science* has been published by the Association's Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms to provide a statement of ethical principles for political scientists.

The booklet contains the 1968 code of professional standards written by the Committee on Professional Standards and Responsibilities, the statement of professional ethics written by the American Association of University Professors and endorsed by APSA, the grievance

procedures for approaching the Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms, advisory opinions to date of the Committee on Professional Ethics and APSA guidelines for employment opportunities, a statement of principles on academic freedom and tenure, and regulations governing research on human subjects.

The booklet costs \$3, including postage; bulk rates are also available. To order, send request and check to APSA Publications, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. □

## **Corrections for 1985 Membership Directory**

The following corrections have been requested for the 1985 APSA Membership Directory. The office regrets the errors. For information on obtaining the Directory, see the order form at the back of this issue of *PS*.

The corrections are as follows:

GATI, CHARLES: His primary affiliation is Professor, Department of Political Science, Union College, Schenectady, NY 12308. Phone: (518) 370-6224.

MITTELMAN, JAMES H.: The following information should be deleted from his listing—the street address, Convent Ave. at 138th St. and the initial "C." after his name.

RIEGER, FRANK: His address should read —Am Schwarzen Berge 33c, 3300 Braunschweig, Lower Saxony, West Germany. Am Govt/Pol should be added to his fields of interest. □

## **Global Understanding Project Offers Instructional Units**

The political science curriculum offers distinct courses for American, comparative and international politics. The largest proportion of students majoring in political science concentrate in American politics. And, an American politics course is often the only political science offering for a majority of undergraduates who are

## Association News

not our majors. How can these students be introduced to a comparative or international perspective on political institutions and policy questions?

A few years ago, the Annenberg/CPB Project supported the Global Understanding Project to address this question. The Global Understanding Project, conducted by National Public Radio, produced two audio/print courses in comparative politics and also a series of instructional units designed specifically for courses in American politics and public policy. The boxed insert that accompanies this notice describes components of the comparative politics courses, entitled: Contemporary Western Europe and The Challenge of China and Japan.

The instructional units designed as special course supplements have print and audio components. Each unit provides a comparative or international perspective on a topic taught in American politics or public policy courses. A unit can be used singly or in combination with other units. The units are suitable for the introductory American politics course or for specialized upper division courses in public policy or political processes.

The print component of the unit is a compact monograph. The title and author(s) of each monograph are:

*The Administrative State in Industrialized Democracies* by Joel D. Aberbach, University of Michigan, and Bert A. Rockman, University of Pittsburgh.

*Coordinating International Economic Strategy* by Stephen Cohen and John Zysman, University of California, Berkeley.

*Comparative Political Parties* by William Crotty, Northwestern University.

*The Welfare State in Hard Times* by Hugh Heclo, Harvard University.

*Preserving Peace: The Difficult Choice of International Security* by George H. Quester, University of Maryland.

The monograph is complemented by an audio cassette that dramatizes issues and the analyses of institutions. The audio magazine features interviews with political leaders, scholars and citizens.

The audio cassette was prepared specifically for this project by National Public Radio and is of broadcast quality.

The topics of the units and the authors of the monographs were selected on the basis of discussions at a series of regional meetings with political scientists and the NPR project staff. The meetings were attended by the following faculty:

*In Boston:* Robert Art, Walter Burnham, Ethel Klein, Robert Putnam, Harvey Sapolsky.

*In San Francisco:* John Chubb, Harry Harding, Kay Lawson, Kenneth Waltz, Raymond Wolfinger.

*In Washington, D.C.:* Karl Cerny, Milton Cummings, Jr., Hugh Heclo, Neil Kerwin, George Quester.

*In Chicago:* Lee Anderson, Doris Graber, Lloyd Rudolph, John Sullivan.

The American Political Science Association is publishing and distributing the units. The units are \$4.50 each. When 20 or more units are ordered for use in a course, the instructor receives the audio cassette at no additional charge. The units can be ordered directly from APSA. □

## Organization of Power To Be Program Theme for 1986 Annual Meeting

The function of the annual meeting is, among other things, to allow colleagues to put on display, for collegial advice, criticism, and instruction, the varied forms of research and writing that, in our highly individualistic discipline, we take seriously. The 1986 meeting will serve that function fully. APSA programs can never be turned into Procrustean beds. But colleagues are particularly encouraged to consider how their work may be related seriously to the 1986 program theme, "The Organization of Power," predicated on the view that there is a fundamental coherence in the political phenomenon and a potential intellectual coherence in the analysis of the political phenomenon.

"Politics" as a fundamental human activity, to adapt language from Walton

## AUDIO/PRINT COURSES

### Contemporary Western Europe: Course Components

**Textbook:** *Contemporary Western Europe: Problems and Responses*. Edited by Glenda G. Rosenthal, Ph.D., and Elliot Zupnick, Ph.D., Institute on Western Europe, Columbia University. Praeger Publishers, 1984.

**Audio Component:** Fifteen half-hour audio programs—available on cassette. Produced by Karen Kearns of the Global Understanding Project at National Public Radio.

**Study Guide:** *Study Guide to Accompany Contemporary Western Europe*. Prepared by Linda C. Wood, National Media Programs, University Extension, University of California, San Diego, Praeger Publishers, 1984.

**Faculty Manual:** *Faculty Manual to Accompany Contemporary Western Europe*. Prepared by Linda C. Wood. Praeger Publishers, 1984.

### The Challenge of China and Japan: Course Components

**Textbook:** *The Challenge of China and Japan: Politics and Development in East Asia*. Edited by Susan L. Shirk, Ph.D., University of California, San Diego. Praeger Publishers, 1985.

**Audio Component:** Fifteen half-hour audio programs—available on cassette. Produced by Larry Massett and Karen Kearns of the Global Understanding Project at National Public Radio.

**Study Guide:** *Study Guide to Accompany the Challenge of China and Japan*. Prepared by Linda C. Wood, National Media Programs, University Extension, University of California, San Diego. Praeger Publishers, 1985.

**Faculty Manual:** *Faculty Manual to Accompany the Challenge of China and Japan*. Prepared by Linda C. Wood. Praeger Publishers, 1985.

### Arrangements for Use of the Courses

CONTEMPORARY WESTERN EUROPE and THE CHALLENGE OF CHINA AND JAPAN may be licensed as credit or noncredit college courses, either for broadcast or as cassette-based courses. The license fee for use of each course for a period of one year is \$350. A 20% discount will be granted to consortia of ten or more colleges/universities.

Options for distribution of the audio programs are:

- a) The programs may be used as cassette-based courses for independent study, individualized instruction, and other nontraditional programs. They may also be used as the basis for traditional political science courses.
- b) The audio programs may be broadcast over local radio, cable, SCA services, or other closed-circuit facilities. Reel-to-reel broadcast-quality tapes are available for \$150 per set for broadcast use.
- c) Individual cassette packages may be purchased to supplement existing courses, to enhance in-class presentations, to stimulate class discussions, or for placement in libraries or student learning centers. Cassette packages can be purchased for \$34.95 each, including shipping and handling.
- d) Cassette packages may be ordered by your bookstore and made available to students who wish to purchase them. Discounts are available for multiple orders.

For additional information about the courses, contact National Media Program, UCSD Extension, X-002, San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093. Telephone: (619) 452-3405.

For examination copies of texts, secure the 30-day free examination form from: Praeger Publishers, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10175.

### 1986 Dissertation Awards

Department chairs are invited to nominate outstanding dissertations that have been completed and accepted during the 1984 or 1985 calendar years. The award categories and a list of the 1985 winners are listed in this issue of *PS*. Departments may nominate only *one* person for each award. An engraved certificate and a cash award of \$250 will be presented to the winners at the 1986 Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. Dissertations will be returned to the department following the Meeting.

Nomination letters from the department chair and a copy of the dissertation should be sent by **January 15, 1986** to: Dissertation Awards, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Hamilton, "is not [simply] the televised soapbox or the [search] for votes, but [in the] Aristotelian tradition . . . the usages and traditions, the arrangements and policies, by which [the human species] is governed, and through which [human beings]—usurping the function of the gods—attempt to shape destiny." In a quite different intellectual tradition, Masao Maruyama expresses politics as "the organization of control by man over man." If human beings seek to shape destiny, they must seek to control the collectivities in which they operate, lest divergent actions vitiate that which they seek.

Therefore, the theme of the *organization* of power not only refers to formal structures (see Loomis and Ingraham below on the power of organization in that sense), *but to an active process*. Human striving to achieve, stabilize and exercise power implies the counter-efforts of other human beings to undermine, evade, overthrow or insulate themselves from existing or potential arrangements of power. (This drives us to consider, among other things, the micro-political level—the individual—and the connection to the formal structure, including values about authority (cf. Eckstein below) and the acquisition and holding of political beliefs (some of which are referred to in the Sigel note below).)

The program design is, in form, essentially parallel to that which has been used for several years. Section 6 (Eckstein, below) provides for new attention to

power and authority in non-governmental entities, here designated "social organizations" or "private governments." Section 18 (Politics and Economics) gives a more express intellectual recognition of what John Maurice Clark once called "the interpenetration of politics and economics." Section 19 (see Hamilton, below) provides a vehicle for special attention to the welfare state.

The section chairs have, and will exercise, wide latitude to interpret the specific relevance of the program theme to their sections and to decide when to adopt a different approach altogether. We will all try our best to be fair and to be seen as such. But we do not promise to be inert. The program chair may also exercise the discretion, in consultation with section chairs, to create a very small number of panels or workshops on matters of major interest that cannot easily be accommodated within a single section. The program chair would be particularly interested in proposals regarding:

- (a) reconsideration of the relevance of political studies occurring in anthropology, sociology, and history—which appear to have less place on our agendas now than they did 20 years ago;
- (b) studies in literature and politics, if conceived on a broad integrative basis, with a deep foundation in literature and in politics;
- (c) studies in the "popular cultures," rather than in the "high cultures," as expressions of ideas of authority, rebellion,



etc. and their consequences for political systems;

(d) relevance of archaeological and other evidence about ancient societies, notably Greece and Rome, for the reconstruction of our knowledge of their politics, and of the relevance of their politics to contemporary ideas of empirical theory;

(e) conceptualization, and notably empirical examination, of the fundamental resources of control in society, e.g., force, money, information;

(f) the application of concepts and theories from modern political science to major historical experience or to problems that arise mainly in other disciplines, e.g., (1) the decision to initiate the Columbian expeditions as a forum for testing ideas about political decision-making and policy innovation; (2) the political element in the making of rules about property that are fundamental to "the market"; or (3) the imaginary treatment that would have been entailed if cost-benefit analysis had been applied to the problem of whether to adopt the Kansas-Nebraska Act;

(g) consideration of the relationship between changes in analytical technique and the capacity to answer a question, as manifest in particular fields of political analysis over the course of modern political science;

(h) methodological work referring to the problems of *discovering and identifying* research questions worthy of the time and intellectual attention of grown men and women, in contrast to the already-recognized-as-important issues of *verification*, and other problems in the methodology of "soft" research; and

(i) the anticipation or forecasting, on the basis of carefully ordered thought and data, of major scientific or technological developments, e.g., human gene therapy, space colonization, etc.

If there are such panels or workshops, they will be very few and must be screened more severely than if they were proposed for the regular sections. Proposals will be the more welcome if their makers are able (a) to provide preliminary drafts, of fairly short length, based upon work in progress, rather than work that

they intend to initiate; (b) to show clearly whether the problem is a *new* problem in political science or whether there is a line of implicit or explicit theory bearing on it; (c) to show whether the problem requires data or merely the most careful thought possible; (d) to show, if data are required, whether the data needed are qualitative or quantitative and that the best effort has been expended; and (e) to show that the problem, as stated, deserves to be regarded as significant from the viewpoint that the maker of the proposal will sustain. Such preliminary drafts should be in a state capable of completion before July of 1986 and should include prior formulations of the problem in political science as a discipline, command of the relevant literatures, sources of data, etc.

*The Program Chair particularly invites suggestions as to the impact, if any, of the defense-oriented environment since 1945 upon the domestic politics of the United States, and/or other countries, particularly as it may suggest any re-examination of the Lasswellian concept of the "garrison state."*

## Policies and Deadlines

Paper proposals and offers to appear as discussants or panel chairpersons should be submitted as early as possible. The deadline for receipt of submissions is December 1, 1985. Proposals for whole panels are welcome, but persons with suggestions for panels should get their requests in early.

Please write directly to the appropriate section chairperson listed below. More general inquiries or suggestions may be addressed to:

- Matthew Holden, Jr., Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, 232 Cabell Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22905; (804) 924-3422.
- Norinne Hessman, Convention Coordinator, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 483-2512.

Prospective participants should be aware of two APSA Council policies which will be enforced by the Association: (1) ac-

ceptance of a proposal by the Program Committee obligates you to preregister (with appropriate fee) prior to June 1, 1986. If you fail to preregister, you will not be listed in the final program; (2) you may serve on no more than two panels of the official program. However, you may serve as a paper author on only one panel of the official program. This rule applies only to participation on the panels organized by the Program Committee and does not affect participation on panels organized by "unaffiliated groups."

You may offer to participate in panels in several sections. However, if you receive invitations for more than one paper presentation, you may only accept one of them. You may not appear on more than two official panels, irrespective of the nature of the participation. If you do apply to several sections, please inform each section chairperson that this is a multiple application. Also, in that case, please notify the other section chairpersons as soon as you have accepted an invitation for participation in another section.

**Section 1. Positive Political Theory.** Russell M. Hardin, Committee on Public Policy, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637.

Positive Political Theory uses formal models to explain political outcomes and to analyze normative constraints on political action. The models are most commonly set theoretic, game theoretic, or microeconomic equilibrium models that are generally based on the assumption of narrow rationality, or self interest. Much of the work in the field has had surprising, often negative, implications for our understanding of politics. Major insights in the field include the difficulties of aggregating individual into collective choices and of motivating individuals to collective action. Such results have remade both our positive and our normative views of political activity.

Panels in the Positive Political Theory Section will be diverse in their substantive and theoretical focuses. While the final structure of panels will depend on the best submitted papers, I expect to arrange panels on recent experimental work, critical assessments of the theo-

retical foundations of the field, the effects of dynamic or over-time considerations on the models, and applications of the models to normative theory. I also expect to see panels on the formal analysis of institutions, groups, elections, and preference formation.

**Section 2. Empirical Theory and Research Methods.** Steven J. Rosenstone, Department of Political Science, Yale University, 3532 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520.

Panels in this section will be concerned with the development and use of innovative methodological techniques to address substantive political problems. I am particularly interested in the following topics: (1) models and methods of survey measurement (including question wording and order, measurement error, non-response, scale effects, instrument effects, and survey design); (2) ecological inference and the analysis of historical data; (3) the analysis of data sets built from pooling cross-sectional survey data gathered at different moments in time; (4) problems that arise in practice when employing simultaneous equations methods; (5) simulation and artificial intelligence; and (6) new software. I will welcome paper proposals and suggestions for panels in any of these and related areas. I will be most receptive to papers that will be reporting innovative methodological work rather than applying existing techniques.

**Section 3. Political Thought and Philosophy: Historical Approaches.** Alan Gilbert, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208.

The 1986 program theme, "The Organization of Power," will be used to provide for a broad representation of current work in political theory. The selection of papers will not, by any means, be governed by that theme alone. The present design is to emphasize three main sorts of panels, whether cast within that theme or within other conceptions deemed significant to political theorists, that would include reinterpretations of, or controversies about, how to interpret major past and contemporary theorists.

(1) The first sort of proposals would be for panels and papers involving philosophical arguments, recapitulating or modifying those of leading theorists, that have relevance for debates about the nature of democracy, political participation and individuality. (For instance, papers along these lines might provide insight into the challenges to the subjection of women and their impact on conceptions of the self and political deliberation.)

(2) I would be interested in proposals which clarify the classes of liberals and Marxians. Such proposals might, for example, reassess arguments about the effects of war and revolution on regime structure and human well-being or appraise modern claims about basic historical change, moral advance and decay.

(3) I would also look for panels suggesting new or resuscitated ways in which modern arguments and debates might be seen in comparison to those of the ancients.

Lively, pointed discussion is more likely if panels remain small and papers focus on the same or closely linked issues. I prefer panels composed of two papers and one discussant or roundtables among scholars who have previously written on a subject to larger, more loosely defined panels. (I also want to provide opportunity for newer voices in the discipline, possibly including advanced graduate students.) Such arrangements will, I hope, encourage audience participation.

**Section 4. Analytical and Critical Theory.** Scarlett G. Graham, Institute for Public Policy Studies, Vanderbilt University, 1208 18th Avenue-South, Nashville, TN 37212.

The organization of power has for centuries provided the principal framework for sorting and classifying political regimes. Modern explorations of the origins of power have linked society and government into still other frameworks of analysis, going beyond the notion of formal power to that of effective power. Power relationships important for political analysis have been found in property, class structure, and even language and the structure of communication. Recent

concern with the crisis of authority raises serious questions as to how adequately the relationship between formal and effective power, between regimes and the societies they govern, is understood. Critical theorists have raised these same questions in rather different terms for an even longer time.

Panels and papers that help to clarify and sharpen discourse on power as a concept, an analytical device, or a tool of social criticism will be especially appropriate to the overall theme of the program. The many indirect problems of substance and method that result from a focus on power are equally appropriate topics. The general program theme should be viewed as an opportunity for analytical and critical theorists presenting their work to share a common point of departure, not as an unduly restrictive limitation on the diversity of concerns to be considered or approaches to be employed.

**Section 5. The Practice of Political Science.** Jewel L. Prestage, Dean, School of Public Policy and Urban Affairs, Southern University, Southern Branch Post Office, Baton Rouge, LA 70813.

The panels in this section will be directed toward issues, problems, concerns and patterns in the growth and development of the profession and the discipline as well as the contemporary state of the profession and the discipline. In addition, work focusing on the future of the profession is being solicited. The aim is to include the broadest possible range of scholarly endeavors which address the general area of "the practice of political science" within the context of the program theme, "The Organization of Power."

Among other things, proposals will be considered for:

(1) Examination of the social structure of political science as a discipline, and the evidence as to whether the structure of the discipline inhibits either opportunities for some members of the profession more than others or the examination of some social status questions more than others. Clearly, this involves a set of questions now under some discussion,

both as to the status of women and as to the status of several ethnic minorities, among them Afro-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans.

(2) The various ways in which education in political science is absorbed in professional activity in government or the private sector, outside the academic system, and the extent to which habits of mind or bodies of knowledge and skills acquired in the graduate world of political science serve well or ill. The section chair will particularly be interested in proposals and comments from colleagues who, having undertaken careers in the private sector, nonetheless, retain an active intellectual connection with the discipline.

(3) Active political participation as a learning experience that yields a systematic or substantial re-interpretation of political science and politics, e.g., when political scientists have been deeply engaged in activities and responsibilities outside the political science setting, what have they deemed themselves to learn? Political scientists are recurrently involved in activities as various as street-level community organizing, political campaign management, campaigning for and being elected to a variety of offices from local school board to the Senate, etc. What has their experienced-based learning (a variety of participant-observation, so to speak) had to do with the reformulation of ideas in scholarship?

(4) Are there "continuing education" models for use in the study of politics, by political scientists, and in the mastery of pedagogy? Is there a staleness problem inherent in our work, as there may be in many other lines of work, and what are constructive means, free of self-flagellation, that we may use to help overcome the staleness problem?

(5) What are the significant changes taking place in the demography, economics, politics, and administration of higher education that significantly affect (a) our capacity for effective teaching, (b) our capacity for research and publication of findings, and (c) our occupational prospects?

(6) If an adult education course were designed for elective politicians and journalists, reflecting contemporary political

science, what should it contain? If an adult education course were designed for political scientists, reflecting what contemporary journalists and elective politicians know, what should it contain?

These are provisional questions subject to refinement. The section chair will welcome proposals for papers and volunteers to act as commentators or panel chairs. The section chair will also welcome additional proposals, beyond the range of the items mentioned above, provided they are submitted on a timely basis.

**Section 6. Power, Authority, and Private Governments.** Harry Eckstein, School of Social Sciences, University of California-Irvine, Irvine, CA 92717.

Panels in this section will be concerned with the nature, determinants, and consequences of governance in social organizations and institutions, such as families, schools and universities, workplaces, trade unions, and political parties.

Examples of pertinent issues are: (1) whether such organizations and institutions can, through their internal authority relations, form participatory attitudes and behavior; (2) whether the internal structures and processes of political parties (or other organizations) can provide effective training in political leadership; (3) whether problems of maintaining order and discipline in formative organizations (e.g., schools) tend to prevent effective attainment of their goals (education). Many other issues are appropriate, as are papers on whether the governance of "private" organizations in fact has significant consequences for political life; and on general organization theory. Also appropriate are papers that mainly describe the governance of "private organizations."

The papers may be case studies, comparative research, largely speculative essays, or critical analyses of existing literature on governance in the institutions and organizations listed above.

**Section 7. Comparative Politics: Public Policies and Policy Making.** Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Department of Political

## **POLITICAL SCIENCE IN ENGLAND**

### **Department of Government, University of Essex**

The University of Essex, one of Europe's major political science centers, is keen to attract students—both graduate and undergraduate—from the United States and Canada. The Department of Government offers several graduate degrees as well as opportunities for studying for a year or a semester at the undergraduate level.

For prospective graduate students, the Department offers both M.A. and doctoral programs. The British M.A. degree is awarded for successful completion of a self-contained, one-year program of coursework and research. Being a valid degree in its own right, it is ideal for someone who would like a "graduate year abroad," perhaps before finding a permanent job or going to a professional school.

There are Essex M.A. programs in Political Theory, Political Economy, Political Behaviour, Latin American Government and Politics, Soviet Government and Politics, United States Government and Politics, Western European Politics, Ideology and Discourse Analysis, and History and Philosophy of Social and Political Science.

The British Ph.D., which is a research-only degree, allows the student to concentrate on a research topic that interests him or her. The resulting dissertation is expected to be of high quality, and a large proportion of Essex doctoral dissertations have been published as books.

Most North American undergraduate students at Essex are taking a junior year abroad or a junior semester abroad. A personal program is arranged for each individual student, and every student has a personal academic advisor. Credits can be transferred from Essex to most universities in the U.S. and Canada. Students from North America may wish to explore the possibility of taking an integrated year abroad, concentrating on contemporary European politics but taking Europe-related courses in other departments such as Art, History and Language and Linguistics.

Among the teachers at Essex are Anthony King, author of *British Members of Parliament* and editor of *The New American Political System*; David Sanders, author of *Patterns of Political Instability*; Ivor Crewe, co-author of *Decade of Dealignment*; Robert Goodin, author of *The Politics of Rational Man* and *Manipulatory Politics*; Joe Foweraker, author of *The Struggle for Land*; Christian Anglade, co-author of *State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America*; Michael Taylor, author of *Anarchy and Cooperation*; Ian Budge, author of *Edmund Burke and the Critique of Political Radicalism*; Bruce George, MP, co-author of *Members and Facilities in Parliament in the 80's*; Ernesto Laclau, author of *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*; David McKay, author of *American Politics and Society*; David Marsh, co-author of *Abortion Politics*; Emile Kirchner, author of *The European Parliament: Performance and Prospects*; Nigel Forman, MP, author of *Mastering British Politics*; and Bob Jessop, author of *Theories of the Capitalist State*.

The Department of Government at Essex hosts the European Consortium for Political Research, the Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, the ESRC Data Archive and the *British Journal of Political Science*.

For more information write to Eric Tanenbaum, Department of Government, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ, England.

Science, Washington University, St. Louis, MO 63130.

Papers given in these panels might compare policies across national political boundaries, or across policy fields, or both. Papers comparing policy or policy implementation in subnational units will be welcome if they also meet one of the above criteria. Papers which emphasize the temporal dimension as a distinct variable are also solicited if they overlap with the basic criteria. The panels will of course reflect the diverse methodologies which are employed, but I would favor their having a primary geo-political and policy area focus, i.e., a panel on U.S.-West European economic policy comparisons, one on comparing environment policies in developing countries, etc.

A focus on conceptual problems encountered in the identification, classification and analysis of policies across national institutions and policy fields might be an effective way to explore how the organization of power creates both problems and opportunities for research in this field. Are decisions in similar policy fields handled differently in more "corporatist" or "pluralist" systems, in those with stronger or weaker bureaucracies? How is policy conceptualization developing in other countries and languages, does this lead to somewhat different priorities as to selection of research topics? Is one observer's policy another's non-policy, and how do they explain their reasons?

Some varieties of policy comparisons which might be especially welcome because we have seen rather few of them are: (1) policy comparisons between American states and smaller developed countries; (2) comparisons of taxation, transport and agriculture policies; (3) analyses and critiques of the comparative policy implementation literature; (4) international agencies and their influence on convergence or divergence in national policies; (5) organized professions and public policies; (6) the impact of social program cutbacks; (7) attempts to measure degrees of policy impact, success or failure.

**Section 8. Comparative Politics: Publics, Leaders, and Institutions.** Alberta Sbragia, Department of Political Science,

University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; (412) 624-3725.

This section is well suited to a wide-ranging exploration of the organization of power in diverse societies. Proposals for papers or panels that relate the structure and behavior of mass publics, diverse types of public and quasi-public elites, and a wide variety of institutions— and especially the linkages between them—to the organization of power at both the national and subnational level will be given priority.

Proposals which integrate two or three of the section's themes are particularly desirable, such as studies of elite-mass linkages, the structuring of conventional and unconventional participation, interactions between mass publics and elites, institutional responses, links between institutions and elite composition or transformation, and studies of elite recruitment and institutional stability. Also welcome are proposals concerned with linkages between national and subnational elites and institutions. Both historical and contemporary cases are acceptable.

I prefer proposals which provide explicit comparisons between nations or across levels and time periods. If they do not fall in that category, they should deal with issues of broad theoretical concern. While papers focusing exclusively on the United States are inappropriate, papers which include the United States in a comparative study are suitable. Finally, proposals for a panel that would synthesize and evaluate the status of what we know about the links between publics, leaders, and institutions would be extremely welcome.

**Section 9. Comparative Politics: Process of Development and Change in Contemporary Societies.** Edmund J. Keller, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106.

The panels in this section will focus on the organization, location, and execution of political power in contemporary societies. While participants are encouraged to be comparative in their analyses, rigorously analytic case studies are also appropriate. Panels are not restricted to any

particular area of the world or any specific type of regime. Presenters are strongly encouraged to engage in cross-national and cross-regional comparisons, but this is not obligatory.

Political economists, who have recently rediscovered the importance of the "State" in politics and public policy in both post-industrial and Third World countries, have raised some interesting questions about the nature of power in contemporary societies; about the relative power of different groups or classes in certain situations; and about the consequences which grow out of the uses and abuses of political power. I am sure there are many other questions relating to this theme which shed light on the general issue of "Development and Change in Contemporary Societies."

Volunteers for chairing panels or acting as discussants, as well as for presenting papers, are welcome.

**Section 10. Public Opinion and Political Psychology.** Roberta S. Sigel, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903.

Priority will be given to panels and papers that relate topics of public opinion and/or political psychology to the 1986 APSA theme, "The Organization of Power." Panels on public opinion consequently should strive to explore questions which relate perceptions of power, authority and conceptions of legitimacy to the structure and expression of public opinion while panels on political psychology might stress the origins of such attitudes as well as their overt manifestations. Emphasis on change—either secular or individual—in the mass public's orientations are particularly welcome. So are papers reporting on new or "resurrected" methodologies for investigating the topics.

Among potential topics could be: Public Opinions (including mass media, agenda setting, schema and structures of public opinions, manipulation of it, including propaganda); Political Socialization (especially changes over the life course, gender-related attitudes, etc.); and Political Psychology (including the development of attitudes, such as trust, preju-

dice, alienation, etc. and their relation to personality).

Panel topics will be selected on the basis of importance to research in the area, especially those which point to new directions in substance and/or methodology. Panel organizers should bend every effort to select papers that lend coherence to each panel.

**Section 11. Political Parties and Elections.** William Crotty, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201.

The theme of the 1986 APSA annual meeting is the organization of power. I am particularly interested in theoretical and conceptual approaches to the organization of political and social power as it relates to intermediary institutions of political representation and mobilization. I would be interested in, in addition to longitudinal, cross-national or cross-sectional comparative works; empirical data-based studies; and innovative research approaches. I would like to see studies relating to organization of power for the politically less well-off and, secondly, as it relates to areas that are just beginning to receive extended academic conceptual and empirical development. Among these I would include: PACs and political finance and its impact; organization of minority, women and gay political groups and the distribution of political rewards; organization and political change; the redefinition of political coalitions; the mass media and its import on political organization and political expression; the institutionalization of power in mass and legislative parties and the redefinition of their roles; and the value of party and campaign management as they affect the organization of power and the distribution of influence at all levels. All serious academic proposals for papers, roundtables and panels which fall within these bounds will be given consideration. In general, I would like to see papers that reconceptualize approaches to the more traditional areas of concern; that help develop or reach out to new areas; and/or that add something of substance to our cumulative understanding. There should

be a sense of intellectual excitement to our efforts.

**Section 12. Interests, Groups, and Social Movements.** Burdett Loomis, Department of Political Science, 504 Blake Hall, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045.

"The Organization of Power" is a theme that cuts close to the quick in the study of political interests and social movements. First, in a Bentleysque world, interest group activities constituted all we needed to know about how power was organized. To an extent, the pluralistic implications of these ideas continue to hold sway in the study of American politics.

From a second, more contemporary perspective, we see the organization of increasing numbers of interests, ranging from political action committees to neighborhood groups to corporate "public affairs" divisions. In addition, loosely-structured, but often potent, social movements frequently emerge as powerful forces.

Paper proposals and panel topics will be welcomed across the breadth of scholarship on interests, groups, and social movements. The program theme suggests two general categories as possible guides in framing these submissions. First, I would encourage research and writing that examine the *impact of organized power*. Studies of PACs, activist movements, corporate actions, or foreign lobbying are only a few examples of the kinds of work that might be done. The scope of such research could vary from the smallest governmental units to the broadest comparative frameworks.

Second, I would prevail upon scholars to make proposals that emphasize the *power of organization* (or the lack thereof). Given the richness of incentive theories and social mobilization perspectives, we could profit from a series of papers, panels, and roundtables that discuss this central element in harnessing the political strength of societal forces.

Although most papers and topics would fall into one of these broad categories, I welcome as wide a range of submissions as possible. In particular, suggestions for

roundtables or other panel formats would be appreciated.

**Section 13. Public Law and Judicial Politics.** Harold J. Spaeth, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

The theme of the 1986 program, the organization of power, suggests that panels and papers that deal with subjects such as the following would be especially appropriate. (1) Formal and informal relationships among judges on a given court, within a judicial system, or between judges and other participants in the judicial process (attorneys, clerks, administrative agencies and officials, police, prosecutors, jurors, etc.). (2) Formal and informal relationships between courts or administrative tribunals. (3) Analyses of the impact of judicial activity on litigants, other courts, administrative agencies, or affected publics. (4) Court management studies. (5) Judicial administration: structure, personnel, processing cases, proposals for reform. (6) Various aspects of administrative law. These subjects stress endogenous and/or exogenous linkages between or among courts, judges, participants in the judicial process on the one hand and the environment in which they function on the other.

A roundtable or two which focuses on an aspect of judicial management or administration about which there is much discussion and debate may prove to be attractive: e.g., the litigation explosion: can courts cope? Are the justices really overworked? Any suggestions in this regard will be appreciated.

I recognize that the foregoing matters encompass a relatively limited portion of the subfield—a portion, moreover, in which most judicial scholars do little, if any research. Although preference will be accorded proposals compatible with the theme of the 1986 program, I shall adopt a catholic approach and will therefore welcome papers and proposals on all other topics as well.

**Section 14. Legislative Process and Politics.** Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, University Park, Houston, TX 77004.



Certainly the organization of power has been a significant focus of research, if not a major one, in the study of legislative process and politics. This is especially true in the study of the internal workings of legislative institutions—committees, leadership, and party organizations and in the study of Congress.

Less systematic attention has been given to the organization of power between legislative institutions and other competitors for policy influence, e.g., executives, courts, bureaucracies. Similarly, less systematic attention has been paid to the variety of ways in which state legislatures organize power. Accordingly, I would encourage papers and panels which address these aspects of the problem.

This does not mean that I intend to neglect areas in which a substantial research base addressing the 1986 theme already exists. Such a substantial base exists with regard to legislative elections, decision making, committees, leadership, representation, and reform. In these aspects, it seems strategic to urge that proposals on these topics which stress historical analysis of the organization of power, rather than being limited to examining the topic within a narrow time frame.

#### **Section 15. Political Executives.**

Stephen J. Wayne, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, DC 20052.

Consistent with the theme, the organization of power, I would like to encourage the section on political executives to focus on consensus—building and conflict—minimization by and within the executive. Specifically, I invite proposals on three major groups of questions.

1. How do political executives build external support to achieve their principal objectives? How do they structure their own advisory systems and internal decision-making and action-forcing processes to formulate, coordinate, articulate, and implement public policy? How do they use their public visibility, their symbolic and ceremonial functions, and their media-related activities to enhance

their political stature and satisfy the psychological dimensions of their office?

2. What is the impact of different forms and modes of organizing power? How does the organization of power affect its exercise? Has institutional tinkering, public and congressional liaison, political rhetoric, and/or symbolic actions enhanced the executive's ability to achieve objectives? Have such actions merely satisfied and extended performance expectations? Has the organization of power in previous administrations influenced transition planning start-up structures and strategies, and the cycling of policy goals in the current administration?

3. What prescriptions for organizing power do those who have held office offer? If practitioners had to do it all over again, what changes would they make and why? Why, for instance, do ex-presidents seem recently to have supported the idea of a six-year, non-renewable term, to the nearly-unanimous opposition of political scientists? Discussions with past and present executive officials might shed light on this question as well.

Proposals for papers, panels, roundtables, and workshops on these and related topics are welcome. Please let me know if you wish to write a panel, chair and organize a panel, or be a discussant. Graduate students and recent Ph.D.s in particular are encouraged to participate. I would also welcome comparativists and students of public administration to help us broaden our understanding of how political executives organize and exercise power.

**Section 16. Organizations and Administration.** Patricia W. Ingraham, The Maxwell School, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13210.

This section will discuss not only the meeting's major theme, "The Organization of Power," but also its corollary, the power of organization. Thus, the primary focus of this section will be on those organizational processes that relate to the creation, acquisition, and use of public bureaucratic power. In that context many topics and types of analyses will be appropriate, but proposals will be

most welcome in three areas: (1) patterns of bureaucratic influence and power in public policy processes and outcomes; (2) bureaucratic power within the context of democratic theory; and (3) the relationships between the organization and use of bureaucratic power and the definition and pursuit of the public interest.

Proposals reflecting important empirical research are encouraged; agency and/or policy specific case studies will also be useful provided they are presented in a framework that permits wider discussion and application.

To allow for coherent presentations, as well as audience discussion at the annual meeting, panel organizers should limit the number of papers proposed for each panel to three. The use of multiple discussants will be discouraged.

**Section 17. Federalism and Subnational Politics.** Thad L. Beyle, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

This section will focus the conference theme, "The Organization of Power," on questions relating to federalism and subnational politics. Panels will be selected that explore a variety of analyses and viewpoints on how power is or is not organized in the states and their substate units and what this can mean for the changing roles of the levels of government and politics in our federal system.

Possible subjects for panels and papers can range from the constitutional (separation of powers and home rule); to the institutional (governors vs. legislators and mayors vs. councils); to the political (culture, interest groups, PACs and parties); to processes (redistricting, budgeting and planning); to policies (taxation, regulation, education). Also of interest are possible panels on the role of political money, the media, and intergovernmental relations and organizations.

Suggestions for panel topics as well as roundtables or workshops should be justified in terms of their theoretical importance, relationship to ongoing research in the field, and the overall conference theme, "The Organization of Power." Paper volunteers should include a clear

statement of the topic they will be investigating, preliminary hypotheses tested, units of analysis, and the theoretical and methodological approaches. Discussant volunteers should include a description of their research interests and qualifications.

**Section 18. Politics and Economics.** Stephen Elkin, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.

The study of political economy is built on the premise that economy and polity are powerfully interconnected. The proper understanding and evaluation of political life cannot proceed without similar study of economic life. (Correlatively, there are at least some who maintain that the proper understanding and evaluation of economic life cannot be achieved without a deeper understanding of political life.) Political economy then takes as its underlying purpose the study of whole regimes, how they work and how they may be made to work better. In its contemplation of reform, political economy joins hands with political philosophy.

In keeping with the preceding remarks and with the program theme of "The Organization of Power," I am particularly anxious to receive proposals for panels and papers that have both empirical and normative elements. Proposals which consider present and past interconnections between polity and economy are welcome, but especially encouraged are those that combine such empirical analyses with how the interconnections between economy and polity ought to be organized. In this vein, proposals that consider the manner in which a market society impedes or enhances popular control of authority will be particularly welcome. I also want to encourage proposals by those interested in the political economy of the good society. More specific topics might include: the political role of the business corporation in democratic political orders; the political business cycle and its consequences of popular control of authority; the relation between economic and political democracy; the interconnections between popular control of authority and a country's competitive position in the international

balance of trade; and the long-term prospects of the mixed regime of market capitalism and popular control.

**Section 19. The Future of the Social (Welfare) State.** Charles V. Hamilton, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

The panels in this section will be concerned with the will and the power of states and societies in providing social protection benefits for their constituents. In the process of examining the causes and consequences of "welfare-state" developments in different societies, attention will be given to current and projected trends and to the implications for public policy. Most industrial nations are struggling to meet the needs of their people while facing increasing limitations on their resources. Neither budget-cutting nor program tinkering satisfactorily addresses the long-term problems confronting the United States and other "welfare states." People across the political spectrum believe we need to reexamine the basic premises of current social programs and then fashion an equitable and manageable system of social protection for future generations.

Consideration of these issues would call for panels addressing (1) underlying values of democracy in relation to the question: who should be helped? (2) issues of programmatic substance and administrative structures in responding to: what sort of assistance—delivered by whom—ought to be provided; as well as (3) economic concerns in terms of how to pay for the social protection benefits. Clearly, the role of the private sector has to be considered.

Within these three broad categories, panels are encouraged to address the topic in a variety of ways: historically, comparatively, demographically, but, hopefully, always focusing on long-term future policy options. In addition, papers that deal with the impact of international economic developments on domestic social policy are welcome.

**Section 20. Public Policy Analysis.** Don E. Kash, Science and Public Policy Program, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019.

The panels in this section will be selected with an eye to representing the most innovative work in the policy analysis area. In particular, I invite proposals which focus on the policy process, theoretical considerations, and specific substantive areas of policy.

I would like to encourage panel participation by academics, researchers from policy research organizations, and political scientists who are actively involved in the making and implementation of policy. With regard to the substantively oriented panels, I would find it particularly attractive to have panels which focus on current and future policy issues. In this connection, I would like to encourage papers which carry the substantive analyses to the point where particular policy recommendations are made. Please include as a part of your proposal a brief narrative statement of the goals of the panel and how the panel relates to work going on within the policy analysis field.

**Section 21. International Relations: National Security and Conflict Analysis.**

Catherine M. Kelleher, National Security Concentration, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; Janice Gross Stein, University of Toronto.

Panels in this section will emphasize the significance of the ways in which power has been organized, applied, and constrained in the postwar search for security. Of particular interest will be papers examining the dynamics of conventional and nuclear deterrence; the relationship of military, economic, and diplomatic power to specific conflict outcomes; the predominant patterns in resource allocation in hot peace and cold conflict; and the role of perceptual and process variables in the effective organization/restraint of power. Proposals may cross system levels or time, and should deal with questions of enduring theoretical or policy interest. To ensure critical interchange, panels will be kept small, and panelists encouraged to adhere strictly to the schedule for submission of finished papers prior to the Washington meeting.

**Section 22. International Relations: Global Political Economy.** Jeffrey A. Hart, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, Washington, DC 20510 (until 5/1/86); 3305 Camalier Drive, Chevy Chase, MD 20815 (5/1/86-7/1/86); Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405 (after 7/1/86).

Recent work on global political economy has focused on three areas: (1) describing international challenges to state-society relations within the nation-state, (2) comparing and explaining differences in foreign economic policies across nation-states, and (3) describing and explaining changes in international economic regimes. In all three areas, the explanatory significance of the organization and distribution of power in the international system has been raised as a central theoretical question. A thorough reexamination of the role of power in global political economy should be a major theme of this year's meeting.

One very important question, stated most directly in a recent article in *International Organization* by Bruce Russett, is the accuracy of the oft-asserted proposition that U.S. political and economic hegemony began to erode in the early 1970s (and continues to do so).

Another key question is the impact of increased competition in world markets on national defense/security policies and *vice versa*. To what extent has competition increased because of declining hegemony? Are there other possible explanations for increased competition? Several scholars have pointed out the tendency of the United States and a few other countries to react to increased competition by raising defense spending, especially in areas likely to benefit specific industries (and especially high technology industries). Will the U.S. be able to reassert its military and economic hegemony by these means? There is also a growing literature on the use of defense spending to increase overall investment and growth. A critical survey of the growing literature on "military Keynesianism" might be another theme for this year's meeting.

In the area of foreign economic policy,

one crucial question has always been that of protectionism. Will there continue to be reductions in trade barriers through multilateral trade diplomacy, or does the current trend toward increased use of nontariff barriers presage a return to a less open world economy? The focus of international economic diplomacy increasingly has been on domestic measures not considered to be under the purview of multilateral agreements: e.g., tax incentives, preferential credit arrangements public procurement policies, R and D subsidies, antitrust/competition regulation, and corporatistic bargaining arrangements. The United States claims that its major trade partners engage in "targeting" and "industrial policies" prejudicial to U.S. firms. The other industrialized countries accuse the United States of engaging in unilateralism and extraterritoriality in recent trade disputes. Since 1986 is likely to be the year in which new multilateral trade talks are begun, it would be appropriate to have at least one panel devoted to a review of the international economic policies of the major trading countries, the newly industrializing, and the other developing countries. The relation of the global trade regime to the pursuit of New International Economic Order goals should also be examined.

Finally, many scholars and practitioners seem to believe that the international financial system is in a potential state of crisis due to the debt repayment problems of several large debtors (both in the form of developing countries like Brazil and Mexico, but also in the form of large but unprofitable enterprises). Bank crises and failures can undermine confidence in the world financial system. What are the origins of this situation and what are the prospects of change?

In the interest of making panels more interesting, I would like to see a few proposals for roundtables (discussions without papers) and for panels in which there is a decidedly dialectical flavor (papers and counterpapers, or critical discussions of a single scholarly work).

**Section 23. International Relations: Interdependence, Organization and Power in the International Year of**

**Peace.** Lawrence S. Finkelstein, Political Science Department, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115.

The section will depart from the fact that 1986 has been designated "the international year of peace" to explore the contributions of emergent scholarship to understanding the roles of international institutions in ordering relations among states in varied conditions of autonomy and interdependence.

Forty years experience with international institutions since World War II has resulted in the contemporary paradox that the relations of states with and in international organizations have never been more turbulent while scholarly interest in these phenomena seems resurgent. In the domain of scholarship there prevails a pluralism which may appear healthy to some and chaotic to others. Explanations are sought in approaches which, however labelled, emphasize hierarchical power and leadership, power as authoritative allocation of values, interest aggregation, communication and "learning" processes. Focus wavers between substantive consequences and procedural behaviors. The intellectual structure and the empirical equipment for evaluation remain underdeveloped.

The section, therefore, will seek to elicit comparative evaluations of the roles of international institutions in the organization of power to effect desired outcomes. Scope is thus allowed for comparisons of: the analytical rationales, contributions and limitations for competing scholars or approaches; global and less than global institutional responses to international problems; empirically supported evaluations of organization achievements in dealing with different functions, or the same functions in different ways; organizations and procedures; influence of and upon actors. Permutations on the theme are invited.

**Section 24. International Politics: Distributions of International Power.** A. F. K. Organski, Center for Political Studies, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

To answer the most important questions in the field of international politics one

must know at least two pieces of information: actors' intentions and actors' capabilities. Panels in this section of the international relations program will present research concerned with these two areas.

We are interested in new ideas, and estimating procedures that will help illumine the way actors' intentions are translated into foreign policy decisions are made. We are particularly interested in attempts to model this process.

Our second focus will be on the study of the capabilities of national systems. Panels will focus on issues arising from the distributions of nuclear and non-nuclear power that undergird the operation of systems in both Communist and non-Communist international orders. The panels will seek to present up-to-date conceptions of estimating these distribution changes that should be expected, and the effects of changes in the working of the international order.

In regard to the non-nuclear component of national capabilities, research on changes in the capabilities of the members of the system will be of particular interest. Such changes may be due to:

1. Shifts in the capacity of political systems to mobilize resources. There would be interest in research that deals with changes in the capacity of political systems to mobilize resources.
2. The increase in the capacities of a country increased through resource transfers from another country. This section will present research that addresses the issue of the role of aid in international affairs. How effective are economic or military or other transfers in improving the recipient's capabilities? Again, what effects does the transfer of resources have on the preferences of the recipients? How can one model the effects of the transfer of resources?
3. Changes in alignments and alliances due to members' "switches." How does that process come about? How do countries "change their minds"? What best ways are there to model the process?

On the nuclear side we are interested in exploring distributions of nuclear power and the effects that expected changes in

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the distribution will have on the stability and operation of the systems they help support. Panels in this portion of the program should address such questions as: the patterns of nuclear proliferation, the effects of the Strategic Defense Initiative of the U.S. government on the operation of the nuclear order, etc. In the case of the latter, it is hoped to present new work not only on the evaluations of the operation of that program on the position of the superpowers, but, also, and very important, on what will be the effects of "mutual assured defense" if successful-

ly established, on the present structure of international power (e.g., how will NATO be affected? How will U.S.-Chinese relations be affected, etc.). In the fray over the program this very important question has been largely overlooked.

The suggestions above are only illustrative and are not meant to exclude other ideas and research on the structure of international power, changes in that structure and the effect of changes on the stability and operation of the system. □

### Nominations Sought for 1986 APSA Awards

Nominations are invited for the APSA awards to be presented at the 1986 annual meeting in Washington, DC. Dissertations must be nominated by departments and sent to the Association office by **January 15, 1986**. Books must be nominated by the publisher and copies sent by **February 1, 1986** to the national office and to members of the award committees. Members of the Association are invited to nominate individuals for the career awards. Further details may be obtained by writing to the national office.

# News of the Profession

## Announcements

### **General Social Survey Seeks Suggestions for Topical Supplements**

In order to expand coverage of existing topics and extend coverage into new areas, the General Social Survey (GSS) plans to add topical supplements to the regular items that now appear on the survey. The Board of Overseers wishes to encourage the social science community to submit suggestions to the board about what topics should be covered in these supplemental sections. Your suggestions should address the following points:

1. the theoretical importance of the topic and its contribution to the extension of social science knowledge, what models would be tested, and a discussion of the independent, intervening, and dependent variables.
2. the existing state of knowledge about the topic.
3. measurement attributes of the items or scales being proposed such as distributions, reliability, and validity.
4. level of interest and likely amount of use that the items would generate in the research community.
5. the value of having the topic conducted in conjunction with the GSS as opposed to being part of a separate, independent survey. This should include a consideration of the sample design of the GSS, its periodical nature, and its content of demographic, attitudinal, and behavioral items.

These suggestions should be sent to the chairman of the Board of Overseers or the GSS project staff at least two weeks prior to the fall meeting of the Board of Overseers (i.e., approximately by mid-September). Suggestions that are favor-

ably considered by the board will be referred to a sub-committee that will review a revised version of the suggestions. The report of the subcommittee and outside reviewers will be presented to the full board at its spring meeting. Suggestions adopted by the board will be pretested during the summer. The final supplemental instrument will be included on the next GSS. This procedure means that suggestions must be developed and submitted approximately 18 months prior to their appearance on the GSS (i.e., proposals submitted to the 1986 fall Board of Overseers meeting will be under consideration for the 1988 GSS).

Please send your proposal to one of the following addresses: Duane Alwin, Chairman, Board of Overseers, Institute on Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109; or GSS Project, NORC, 6030 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637. □

### **1985 General Social Survey Available**

The 1985 General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, is now available from the Roper Center. The 1972-85 cumulative data file contains 13 subfiles—12 national cross sections and an oversample of blacks in 1982. The file has a total of 18,586 cases and 882 variables. The merged design assists the analysis of time trends and the examination of small sub-populations. The data set contains a wide range of demographics, including many characteristics of the family of origin; attitudinal items covering such topics as abortions, crime and punishment, job values, race relations, tolerance, and women's roles;

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behavioral items on group memberships, drinking, and voting; personal evaluations of happiness, anomia, and satisfaction; and methodological experiments on response categories, question wordings, and other measurement variations.

The new release contains two special topical supplements. Questions on military issues such as recruitment and training, expectation of war and peace, and the obligations of citizens were added in 1984 by the Ford Foundation and are being publicly released with the new cumulative data. Also, in 1985 a 15-minute battery on social networks was included. It measures the type and frequency of contact that people have and the background characteristics that network members share.

The data set may be purchased from the Roper Center, U-164R, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06268. □

## Nuclear Weapons to Be Studied at Workshop

A one-week winter training workshop for college professors from the southeast will take place at the University of Miami's (Florida) Center for Theoretical Studies from January 6-10, 1986. Participation is limited to 25 workshop participants and seven visiting professors. The workshop is being supported by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and funding will be available to support workshop participants and professors. Applications are being accepted now, and the selection process will begin in October. Selections will be announced in November.

The workshop will address as topics a brief history of the Manhattan District Project, existing nuclear weapons technology, and currently prevailing strategic doctrines as they pertain to the offense-dominated world through Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) and to a defense-dominated world through Mutually Assured Survival (MAS). Workshop presentations will also cover European security, arms control negotiations, and nuclear proliferation and its possible impact on vertical nuclear arms proliferation.

The aim of the workshop is to help participants structure and teach courses in their own colleges on these nuclear arms issues.

Workshop professors will be: Austin David, Archdiocese of New York; Leon Goure, Science Applications, Inc.; Behram N. Kursunoglu, University of Miami; Franklin A. Long, Cornell University; Jack Ruina, MIT; Paul Warnke, Clifford & Warnke; Alvin M. Weinberg, Oak Ridge Associated Universities; and Eugene P. Wigner, Princeton University.

For further information and application materials, contact Linda Scott, Workshop Coordinator, Center for Theoretical Studies, University of Miami, P.O. Box 249055, Coral Gables, FL 33124-9055. Phone: (305) 284-4455. □

## Teacher Exchange Program Expands

AFS International/Intercultural Programs, formerly known as the American Field Service, is a nonprofit international exchange organization. AFS's Visiting Teachers Program enables educators to undertake an intercultural living experience while at the same time enriching their teaching skills.

AFS has expanded its teacher exchange program with the addition of Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela. The program, entering its fourth year, already includes China, Thailand, Peru, Chile, and Costa Rica.

U.S. secondary school teachers live with a host family in one of the aforementioned countries, and observe and teach in the local school, while participating in cultural enrichment activities. Summer and six-month options are available.

Teachers of English from these countries come to the U.S. for a six-month period, commencing in December. They live with a host family and serve as a resource in the local high school, while observing English teaching methodologies.

For further information on the AFS Visiting Teachers Program, contact Carolyn Yohannes, AFS International/Intercultural Programs, 313 E. 43rd Street, New



York, NY 10016. Telephone: (212) 949-4242, ext. 407. □

### **Library of Congress Makes Additional Collections Available**

Several major collections in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress have recently been made available for research. The Roy Wilkins Papers are now open for consultation under restrictions proposed by the donor. Case files dated after 1955 in the Hugo Black Papers may now be consulted under the same conditions governing access to Justice Black's earlier papers. Inquiries concerning access to the Wilkins and Black collections should be addressed to the chief of the Manuscript Division.

The Earl Warren Papers have been organized and made available for use. Microfilm editions of the Felix Frankfurter Papers and the records of the Diocese of Alaska of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America have been completed. Researchers may purchase these sets or borrow specific reels of films through the interlibrary loan system. The Asa Philip Randolph Papers and the records of the U.S. Work Projects Administration relating to the Federal Writers' Project and the Historical Records Survey have been described and are available for research. □

### **David Price Runs for Congress**

A fundraiser was held at APSA's annual meeting in New Orleans for political scientist David Price who is running for Congress from North Carolina's Fourth District.

Price has taught political science and public policy at Duke University since 1973 and holds the rank of professor. He has chaired the North Carolina Democratic Party and served as its executive director. In addition, he served as staff director of the Democratic National Committee's Commission on Presidential Nomination.



Political scientist David Price (center), who is running for Congress from North Carolina's Fourth District, chats at a fundraiser at the annual meeting with James Sundquist (left) of the Brookings Institution and Sandy Maisel of Colby College.

For further information on Price's candidacy, write Price for Congress, P.O. Box 1986, Raleigh, NC 27602. □

### **Program Established in Political and Parliamentary Studies**

The Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government announces the inauguration of the Hansard Scholars Programme in Political and Parliamentary Studies.

The Hansard Society is an impartial, non-party and nonprofit foundation, which brings together legislators and people from industry, education, and the public services in seminars and conferences. It sponsors major research in the field of parliamentary democracy and related matters and encourages civic education. Among its publications is the internationally respected scholarly journal, *Parliamentary Affairs*.

The president of the Hansard Society is Sir Bernard Weatherill, Speaker of the House of Commons; its chairman is the Rt. Honourable Lord Barnett; Margaret Thatcher, Neil Kinnock, David Owen, and David Steel are its vice-presidents; and its Council numbers among its members distinguished figures from the worlds of government, business, and labor.

The Hansard Scholars Programme in Political and Parliamentary Studies is a

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new addition to the Society's educational work. It is intended for serious students of politics and public affairs who can bring to the program outstanding qualities of intelligence, initiative, and responsibility.

Its aims are to bring future leaders of American society into sustained and active contact with the political process in Britain and, by means of carefully selected and supervised internship placements, to enable them to work with some of its leading figures. Each program lasts for one 14-week semester.

The internship placements of Hansard Scholars are as assistants to Members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords or to key personnel in local government, the political parties, public policy research institutes, the public affairs sections of business firms and trade unions, and public interest and advocacy groups.

Three related academic courses, taught by well-known faculty members of British universities and involving outstanding practitioners and other specialists, accompany the internship placements. Classes and seminars are held at Birkbeck College, University of London, and Hansard Scholars have access to the Birkbeck College library.

Grades and credits are validated by Birkbeck College, University of London. Fifteen units of upper-division credit are given for the semester, comprising six credits for the internship placement and three credits each for the other academic courses.

The Hansard Scholars Programme is selective and the numbers are limited, so early application is advised. Hansard Scholars must have completed two or more years of college study.

The cost of the program for one semester is £3,300 (pounds sterling), which covers housing in central London as well as tuition, credits, and evaluations, and other aspects of the formal program.

Dates of Semesters, 1986-87: Fall semester: September 8 to December 12, 1986 (deadline for applications, March 15, 1986). Spring semester: January 12

to April 17, 1987 (deadline for applications, June 15, 1986).

For further information and copies of the prospectus and application forms, write to: Mary Goudie, General Secretary, The Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 16 Gower Street, London WC1E 6DP, England. Tel. 01-323-1131. □

## Prize Offered for Latin America Article

The Hoover Institution will award a prize of \$1,000 for the best article published in a scholarly journal in 1985 on Latin American political affairs. A second prize of \$500 is also available. The article must have appeared in print during 1985, and it may be in Spanish, Portuguese, or French as well as English. It may deal with the Caribbean as well as strictly "Latin" America, and may deal with foreign policy or international relations as well as domestic political affairs.

Submission of entries by either authors, editors, or others on their behalf is invited. Entries should be sent to: Robert Wesson, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA 94305-2323. □

## Research Projects in Philanthropy Compiled

*Research-in-Progress* is an annual compilation of research projects on philanthropy, voluntary action, and not-for-profit activity. The 1983-84 edition includes a description of 400 current research projects with the names and addresses of researchers. It also includes a section of reporting on completed projects from the 1982-83 edition.

The 1984-85 edition is currently being compiled. To be included in the book, write for a Research Summary Sheet from Independent Sector, 1818 L Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Copies of the 1983-84 edition of *Research-in-Progress* are available for \$20 for Independent Sector members and \$25 for

nonmembers. A copy can be ordered from the address above. ☐

### **College Students Invited to Study Federal Budget**

In early 1986, the *Washington Public Policy Forum*, a seminar series on the public policy process, will offer its first collegiate program, in Washington, D.C. The seminar will focus on current public policy issues and the decision-making process for addressing these issues.

The first seminar will examine the federal budget from different perspectives and will provide participants with opportunities for discussion and interaction with an *ad hoc* faculty drawn from government, academia, and the private sector. The topics to be covered during the conference (February 5-7, 1986) include:

- The Federal Budget and How It Sets National Priorities
- Introduction to the Federal Budget Process
- A Case Study of the Budget Process: The Debate on Spending for Student Loans
- The Relationship of Tax Policy to the Federal Budget
- Federal Deficits: Why They Matter and How to Reduce Them
- The Budget and the Broader Political Process

For further information about this and future programs, please contact: Barbara Harris, Washington Public Policy Forum, 1511 K Street, N.W., Suite 842, Washington, DC 20005. Telephone: (202) 638-1785. ☐

### **1986 Samuel H. Beer Dissertation Prize Announced**

The Executive Committee of the British Politics Group is pleased to announce the competition for the 1986 Samuel H. Beer dissertation prize. Nominations are invited for an award of £125 for the best doctoral dissertation in British politics completed during the calendar years

1983, 1984, or 1985. Only a supervising professor may nominate a dissertation, and each professor is limited to a single nomination.

A copy of the nominated dissertation, along with a brief letter of nomination, should be sent to the Executive Secretary of the British Politics Group, 503 Ross Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011 no later than March 15, 1986. The principal criterion for awarding the prize shall be the dissertation's contribution to the understanding of British politics, whether that understanding derives from exclusively British research or from a comparative study. The winner of the award will be announced at the BPG's annual business meeting at the APSA convention in Washington. ☐

### **Papers Invited on Public Policy Issues**

The Democratic Policy Commission, chaired by former Utah Governor Scott M. Matheson, is a select group of Democratic members of Congress, governors, mayors, and state and local elected officials. The Commission was formed in May 1985 by Democratic National Committee chairman Paul G. Kirk, Jr. to examine the problems and opportunities that will face the American people for the balance of the decade and the century.

The Commission is accepting papers on a diverse range of public policy issues—including domestic, international, and institutional issues—for consideration in the development of its final report in April 1986. Selected papers may also be published in an anthology.

Papers should address the likely consequences of existing public policy issues, projected trends, changing values, new ideas, and alternative policies that should be considered by the Commission.

Deadline for submission is January 15, 1986. A letter of intent should be sent as soon as possible. For guidelines contact: Ron Nieberding, Democratic Policy Commission, 499 South Capitol St., #422, Washington, DC 20003. Phone: (202) 863-8162. ☐

## **Pakistan Journal Welcomes Articles**

The *Pakistan Journal of American Studies* is published biannually in March and September. The *Journal*, published in English, contains articles by Pakistani as well as foreign scholars on history, sociopolitical and legal systems, economy, education, literature, defense and strategic policies, etc. of contemporary societies in America. Articles that cross the conventional borders between academic disciplines are particularly welcome, as are comparative studies of American and Pakistani societies.

Contributions should be clearly typed in double spacing and contain about 5,000 words. Footnotes should be used sparingly and placed at the end of the article. The footnote style should imitate that of the *Harvard Guide to American History*. The editor assumes that submission of an article or book review implies that it has not been previously published nor is it being considered elsewhere for publication. Decisions on articles are normally made within three months, and a small honorarium is paid.

All contributions, editorial correspondence, and books for review should be sent to: The Editor, *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Subscription rate for one year is \$15 plus postage for overseas subscriptions. A single issue costs \$8 plus postage. □

## **Articles Solicited on Political Performance**

*Political Anthropology* offers a forum for the publication of original essays in a pioneering, cross-disciplinary field and prompts creative collaboration among many researchers concerned with political man. The goal of the series is to foster scholarly communication across conventional disciplinary boundaries, particularly among political scientists, anthropologists, political sociologists, students of law, and those interested in exploring anthropological approaches to the study

of politics. The series encourages a wide range of theoretical, conceptual, and methodological approaches to the understanding of the complex interrelationships between socioeconomic, cultural, and political phenomena. Articles are being solicited for the forthcoming volume on political performance. Scholars with original essays devoted to the use of symbol, myth, ritual, and rhetoric in politics are invited to submit their essays for consideration to Myron J. Aronoff, Editor, *Political Anthropology*, Department of Political Science, Hickman Hall, Douglass Campus, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. □

## **Essays Sought on American Orators**

Co-editors Bernard Duffy and Halford Ryan seek contributors for a companion volume to their *American Orators of the Twentieth Century: Critical Studies and Sources*.

The new reference work, under contract with Greenwood Press, is *American Orators Before 1900: Critical Studies and Sources*. Contributors will write original entries on the leading orators of the period. The entries will range from about 10 pages for relatively minor figures to approximately 20 pages for major figures. Each entry will consist of an essay on a speaker's oratorical career, a selected bibliography of critical studies, and a chronology of major addresses.

For the general guidelines and a list of available orators please send a curriculum vitae and a letter of inquiry to Bernard K. Duffy, Department of English, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 29631-1503. □

## **Brazilian Institute Publishes Review**

The *Constitutional Law and Political Science Review*, published in Portuguese, is available for US \$12 annual subscription. Write: Brazilian Institute of Constitutional Law, R. Tabatinguera 140-10—Conj 1016/1017, 01020 Sao Paulo, Brazil. □

## **Voter Research Seeks Advisory Committee Members**

The Voter Research Foundation is a non-profit, nonpartisan organization founded to increase knowledge and understanding of the gay and lesbian vote and to disseminate such information throughout the American political system. The Foundation is currently seeking interested individuals to serve on an Advisory Committee that will oversee survey research on the extent of participation of gays and lesbians in the electoral process.

For more information, please contact D. Lynn Mattingly, Chair, VRF, (305) 721-6656, or Daniel Najjar, (202) 387-3097; or write to the VRF, 1742 Massachusetts Avenue, S.E., Washington, DC 20003. □

## **Society Formed to Study European Ideas**

The International Society for the Study of European Ideas will seek to promote the study of Europe's cultural past and present. Special stress will be laid on the inventive and creative aspects of the European mind in science, religion, philosophy, art, literature, sociology, law, politics, history, economics, and psychology. European ideas will be shown to be the outcome of over four centuries of a continual cultural exchange between European nations.

Two Maxwell prizes of £1,000 each will be distributed annually to young scholars for the best essays on European ideas.

Membership in the society (ISSEI) is open to any person or institution expressing interest in the purpose of the society. Members receive the journal, *History of European Ideas*, and the Society's *Newsletter*. Full members of the Society with voting rights will be those who have paid full current dues (£30 for individuals, £150 for institutions) to the treasurer, Janet Hedley, Pergamon Press Ltd.,

Headington Hill Hall, Oxford OX3 OBW, England.

The society will seek to establish contact with leading cultural societies in Europe, USA, Japan and elsewhere, devoted to the study of specific periods or movements in European cultural history.

The society is affiliated with the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, and is under the patronage of Robert Maxwell, Chairman of Pergamon Press, Oxford. □

## **Politics and Life Sciences Elects New Officers**

At its annual meeting held in conjunction with that of the APSA in New Orleans, the Council of the Association for Politics and the Life Sciences elected Albert Somit (Southern Illinois University) as chairman of the Council, Glendon Schubert (University of Hawaii-Manoa) as vice-chairman, and Meredith Watts (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) as recording secretary. William Kitchin (Loyola College-Baltimore) was selected as 1986 program chairperson.

Thomas C. Wiegale (Northern Illinois University) will continue as executive director of the Association and editor of *Politics and the Life Sciences*. □

## **Irish Association Invites Members**

The Political Studies Association of Ireland, founded in 1982, has as its object the promotion of the study of politics in Ireland. In addition to occasional meetings, an annual conference is held each autumn. The Association is anxious to increase participation by scholars from outside Ireland, and invites those engaged in research in the area of Irish politics to apply for membership. The annual subscription is £5 (or £2 for unsalaried members). For an application form, please contact the Association's Secretary, John Coakley, College of Humanities, National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick. □

## **Israeli Studies Association Formed**

The Association for Israel Studies held its founding conference at Dartmouth College from June 19-21, 1985. Officers elected were: President, Myron J. Aronoff; Vice Presidents, Barry Rubin, Mitchell Cohen, and Gary Schiff; Secretary-Treasurer, Robert O. Freedman; Board of Directors, Jerrold D. Green, Ben Halpern, Arthur Hertzberg, Ian Lustick, Maurice Roumani, Janice Stein, and Mark Tessler.

The AIS is founded to encourage and to facilitate communication and cooperation between scholars and students engaged in the study of all aspects of Israeli society, culture, and politics. In addition to sponsoring its own conferences on Israeli studies, the AIS will sponsor panels at the annual meetings of various scholarly professional associations. A newsletter featuring notes on current research, reports on AIS sponsored panels and conferences, available grants, Israeli scholars on sabbatical in the United States, and so forth, is being published. An annual publication featuring the best scholarly essays on Israeli studies is being planned. The publication of an annual annotated bibliography of scholarly work on Israel is also being considered.

Membership is open to all persons engaged in the serious study of Israeli society. Annual membership dues are \$15 for students and \$25 for all others. Membership dues should be sent to Robert O. Freedman, Baltimore Hebrew College, 5800 Park Heights Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21215. Scholars interested in participating in the proposed publication activities of the association should write to Ian Lustick, Department of Government, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH 03755. Those interested in organizing panels on Israeli studies at associational meetings should contact Barry Rubin, 3213 19th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20010. Anyone willing to engage in grantsmanship and fundraising for the AIS should write to Gary Schiff, Gratz College, 10th and Tabor Rd., Philadelphia, PA 19141. For additional information contact Myron J.

Aronoff, Department of Political Science, Hickman Hall-Douglass Campus, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903, or any of the other officers of the association. □

## **Armed Forces Study Group Welcomes New Members**

The Study Group on Armed Forces and Society, International Political Science Association, presented three sessions at the IPSA Paris Congress, July 15-20, 1985. The papers covered a wide range of topics on civil-military relations and educating the military. Two of the sessions were held at the Invalides and included a special session on the French military. A business meeting was held at the conclusion of the first session and officers elected for the next two-year period. Plans are currently underway for an interim meeting in 1987. A request was formally submitted for recognition of the Study Group as a Research Committee. A newsletter covering the Study Group activities including those at the Paris Congress will be published in September. Individuals interested in becoming a member of the Study Group are asked to contact Sam C. Sarkesian, Department of Political Science, Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60626. □

## **Conference Group on German Politics Invites Members**

The Conference Group on German Politics has recently been reorganized in order to play a more effective role in the promotion of research and teaching on German politics. In addition to a twice-yearly newsletter, the Group plans panels and workshops at national and regional meetings, continuation of the internship program, a dissertation award, a 1987 postelection conference in Germany, as well as cooperation with other professional associations. The newly elected officers are: Peter H. Merkl, University of California-Santa Barbara, President, and

Richard Merritt, University of Illinois, Vice President. Annual dues have been set at \$12 and should be sent to Jutta A. Helm, Secretary/Treasurer, Department of Political Science, Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL 61455. □

### **UK American Politics Group Encourages Membership**

The United Kingdom has an active American Politics Group. The group holds an annual conference, organizes a panel at the UK Political Studies Association Conference and publishes a biannual newsletter. Involvement in the group's activities by American-based political scientists is always welcome. The next annual conference will be in Oxford, January 3-5, 1986; a panel will be organized at the Political Studies Association Conference in Nottingham, April 8-10, 1986, and the latest newsletter was published in June. For further details write to: John Zvesper, School of Economic and Social Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ, England. □

### **Political Anthropology Association Elects New Officers**

The Association for Political and Legal Anthropology recently elected the following new officers: President, Myron J. Aronoff (Rutgers); First Vice-President, John Middleton (Yale); Second Vice-President, Leopold Pospisil (Yale); Directors, Sally Falk Moore (Harvard), Lawrence Rosen (Princeton), and Ronald Cohen (Florida). Continuing officers are: Secretary-Treasurer, Helen Siu (Yale), and Editor of the *APLA Newsletter*, William Arens (SUNY, Stony Brook).

The APLA, which promotes communication and cooperation between scholars interested in anthropological approaches to the study of politics and law, welcomes political scientists who are interested in anthropological methods and/or concepts to join the APLA. Annual membership dues are \$10, which includes receipt of the *APLA Newsletter* and

*Anthropology*. Checks for membership should be sent to Helen Siu, Department of Anthropology, Yale University, Box 2114 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520. For further information write to Myron J. Aronoff, Department of Political Science, Hickman Hall, Douglass Campus, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903.

The next annual meeting of the APLA will be held at the 84th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association to be held in Washington, D.C. on December 5-8, 1985. □

### **Morgenthau Papers Loaned**

The papers of the late Hans J. Morgenthau, writer, educator, and political scientist, have been lent by the Library of Congress to the University of Virginia Library where they will be held for seven years. The loan is the result of a long negotiation among Morgenthau's children, officials of the Library of Congress to which the papers were donated, and University faculty and Library staff.

The papers were processed by the staff of the Library of Congress, and are ready for use. The collection fills over 80 feet of shelving in the Manuscripts Department, and numbers about 80,000 items. The register notes, "the papers . . . span the years 1858 to 1981, with the bulk of the items concentrated in the period 1925 to 1981. The collection consists of general correspondence, an academic file, a subject file, lectures, writings, and miscellaneous printed matter . . . the major portion of the collection devoted to his life and writings as an analyst of international relations from the World War II era until his death in 1980."

Morgenthau was born in Coburg, Germany, in 1904, and was trained as a lawyer in German universities. He emigrated to the United States in 1937, and became a citizen in 1943. After teaching at Brooklyn College and the University of Kansas City, he became professor of political science and modern history at the University of Chicago in 1943, a post that he held until 1971. His career was notable for the number of influential arti-

cles and books that he wrote, and for the lectures that he delivered to audiences around the world. In retirement, Morgenthau moved to New York City where he became University Professor in the New School for Social Research. □

## **Survey Conducted on Vietnam Era Events Courses**

The Project on the Vietnam Generation is a private, nonprofit organization housed in the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. It was established in January 1985 to foster scholarship on how the events of the 1960s and early 1970s—among them the Vietnam war, civil rights, Peace Corps, women's movement, the beginnings of the environmental movement, assassinations of national leaders, and Watergate—affect the actions and attitudes of the generation of 60 million men and women who came of age during those tumultuous years.

The Project wishes to help scholars who are interested in this subject area, by making their work and needs known.

The organization is *conducting a comprehensive survey of courses that include units on or focus on Vietnam era events* that are currently being offered or are scheduled to be part of the curriculum of a college, university, or high school during the 1985-86 academic year. Survey results will be distributed widely.

If you have been or are currently involved in a course (or contemplating teaching one) on any of the events mentioned above or on the "1960s," please contact: Sandie Fauriol, Executive Director, The Project on the Vietnam Generation, Room A 1040, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560; (202) 357-4258. □

## **Junior Year in Women's Studies Offered**

The Junior Year at Douglass Program in Women's Studies is entering its third year. Applications are now being ac-

cepted for the 1986-87 academic year. Students can apply for financial aid; some scholarship funds are available. Participants in the program can take course work in Women's Studies as well as courses they need to complete a major or minor requirement at their home institution. In addition, students can undertake either a research project or an internship placement.

Special career planning workshops for Women's Studies students are available during the fall semester. The students who come to Douglass also have the opportunity to meet with scholars in the field and to attend special lectures and conferences that are held at Douglass throughout the academic year.

For a brochure about the program and an application packet, write Ellen F. Mappen, Douglass College, Voorhees Chapel, New Brunswick, NJ 08903, or call (201) 932-9197. □

## **Midwest Elects New Officers**

At the 1985 Business Meeting, the Midwest Political Science Association elected the nominated slate as follows: President—W. Phillips Shively, University of Minnesota; President-Elect—Ada Finifter, Michigan State University; Vice-Presidents—Ruth Jones, Arizona State University, and Michael Preston, University of Illinois at Urbana.

New Council members are: James Alt, Washington University, St. Louis; R. Robert Huckfeldt, University of Indiana/Bloomington; Anoush Khoshkish, Moorhead State University; Martin Rochester, University of Missouri, St. Louis; and Elaine Sharpe, University of Kansas. □

## **Federal Data Base Includes Political Science**

The National Technical Information Service (NTIS), an agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce, is the central source for the public sale of U.S. government-sponsored research, development, and engineering reports, as well as foreign technical reports and other analyses pre-



pared by national and local government agencies, their contractors or grantees. It is the central source for federally generated machine processable data files and software and manages the Federal Software Exchange Center.

Full summaries of current U.S. and foreign research reports and other specialized information, in hundreds of subject categories, are published by NTIS in a wide variety of weekly newsletters, a biweekly journal, an annual index, and in various subscription formats for other federal agencies. The complete texts of the reports cited are sold in paper and microform.

Anyone seeking the latest technical reports or wanting to compile unique subject groups of abstracts may search the NTIS Bibliographic Data Base online using the services of vendors or organizations that maintain the data base for public use through contractual relationships. The whole data base in machine-readable form may be leased directly from NTIS. The more timely documents in the collection are continually grouped by NTIS into paperbound *Published Searches*, covering some 3,500 topical areas.

Customers with well-defined continuing interests may subscribe to a standing order microfiche (SCRIM) which enables them to automatically receive the full texts of only those documents relating to their individual requirements.

Since 1983, NTIS has added over 13,000 titles in political science, international relations, and related fields.

For more information, write: U.S. Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, VA 22161. Phone: (703) 487-4600. □

## **Series on Politics Published by Essex**

*Editor's Note: Publication prices are given in English currency; e.g., 2.50p should be interpreted as 2 pounds and 50 pence.*

The Department of Government at the

University of Essex has published a series of academic papers by its staff and graduate members. The following are currently available:

Ivor Crewe, "How to Win a Landslide Without Really Trying: Why the Conservatives Won in 1983," 3.00p.

R. A. W. Rhodes, "Continuity and Change in British Central-Local Relations: The 'Conservative Threat,' 1979-83," 2.50p.

Emil Kirchner and Karen Williams, "The Legal, Political and Institutional Implications of the 1980 Isoglucose Judgments," 2.50p.

David Sanders, "Law and Order in International Politics: Towards an Empirical Defence of Idealism," 2.50p.

Anthony King, "The Political Consequences of the Welfare State," 2.00p.

Ivor Crewe, "Surveys of British Elections: Problems of Design, Response and Bias," 3.00p.

David Broughton and Emil Kirchner, "The FDP in Transition—Again?" 2.50p.

Michael Freeman, "Genocide in World-Historical Perspective," 2.50p.

Ian Budge, "Party Factions and Government Re-shuffles: A General Hypothesis Tested Against Data from 20 Post-War Democracies," 2.00p.

Ivor Crewe, "British MPs and Their Constituents: How Strong Are the Links?" 2.50p.

John Dryzek and Robert Goodin, "Risk-Sharing and Social Justice: The Motivational Foundations of the Post-War Welfare State," 3.00p.

Graham Wilson, "Legislating on Occupational Safety and Health: A Comparison of the British and American Experience," 2.50p.

Graham Wilson and Gary King, "How New a Congress? Cohesion and Authority Figures in the House of Representatives," 1.50p.

Anthony King, "Sex, Money and Power: Political Scandals in Great Britain and the United States," 3.00p.

Ian Budge, "Beyond Office-Seeking: A

Pure Policy-Pursuing Theory of Parties in Government," 3.00p.

David McKay, "A Reappraisal of Public Choice Theory and Inter-Governmental Relations," 2.50p.

Chris Rudd, "Coalition Formation in Belgium: 1965-1981," 3.00p.

Robert Goodin, "Supply Side Politics: Circumventing the Claims of Justice," 2.50p.

R. A. W. Rhodes, "Corporatism, Pay Negotiations and Local Government," 3.00p.

Howard Reiter, "The Limitations of Reform: Changes in the Presidential Nominating Process," 2.50p.

David Marsh and Melvyn Read, "British Private Members Balloted Bills: A Lottery with Few Winners, Small Prizes but High Administrative Costs," 3.00p.

Robert Goodin, "Exploiting a Situation and Exploiting a Person," 3.00p.

David Broughton, "Territorial Voting Patterns and Federal Political Systems: A Comparison of the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada, 1955-85," 3.50p.

Joe Foweraker, "Franco's Corporatist Strategy and Its Implications for Corporate Interest Representation in Spain Today," 2.50p.

John Hibbing, "On the Issues Surrounding Economic Voting: Looking to the British Case for Answers," 3.00p.

Peter Shearman, "The Soviet Union and Grenada under the New Jewel Movement," 2.50p.

David Marsh and Jeff King, "The Trade Unions under Thatcher," 3.50p.

David Broughton and Christopher Rudd, "The Support Bases of Belgian Political Parties: Relative Socio-Structural Stability Amidst Party System Change," 2.50p.

Price includes postage and packing. (Add 30p per paper for postage outside Britain.) Send orders (with payment) to Publications Officer, Department of Government, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ.

Checks to be made payable to University of Essex. □

## **Directory of British Politics Scholars Published**

The British Politics Group announces publication of its *International Register of Research on British Politics*. The 232-page book contains entries for nearly 600 scholars working in the British politics field. Each listing indicates where the scholar currently is located, where educated, dates of research in Britain, most significant publications, current research topics, and relevant courses currently teaching.

The international aspect indicated by the title derives from the fact that nearly half of the scholars listed currently are residents outside the United States. The *Register* is cross-disciplinary as well, since nearly half of those included come from disciplines other than political science. For example, nearly a third are historians.

The compiler and editor of the *Register*, William D. Muller, of the State University of New York, Fredonia, has written a 14-page introduction summarizing the main points of information that can be derived from the *Register* concerning teaching and research in British politics.

The *Register* is fully indexed. One index is by topic of research interest. A second index is by source of funding for research done on grants. A third index is by subject of courses taught.

Copies of the *Register* may be obtained for \$7.50 from: British Politics Group, 503 Ross Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011. □

## **Free List of Statistical Publications Available**

A list of more than 1,800 statistical publications issued by approximately 1,000 American associations, business organizations, commercial publishers, research

organizations, universities, and state governments is available free from Congressional Information Service, Inc. (CIS).

The 38-page booklet, excerpted from CIS's Statistical Reference Index (SRI), indicates how often each publication is issued and whether it is included in the SRI Microfiche Library. Publications are listed under the names of their issuing sources.

SRI is an index and abstracts service that provides access to significant statistical publications of major U.S. sources other than the federal government. It is issued monthly and cumulated annually.

For a free copy of the list, write: Statistics Booklet, Congressional Information Service, Inc., 4520 East-West Highway,

Suite 800, Bethesda, MD 20814-3389. Or call Customer Service at (800) 638-8380 (toll free) or (301) 654-1550. □

### **Transaction Copublishes Social Philosophy Series**

The Social Philosophy and Policy Center has announced that its publication series, *Studies in Social Philosophy and Policy*, will be copublished by Transaction Books at Rutgers University. All orders, requests for review copies, and so forth should be sent directly to Transaction Books, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. □

# People in Political Science

## Activities

**Lawrence W. Beer**, department of government and law, Lafayette College, Easton, PA, was elected co-chairman of the World Association of Law Professors at the 12th Conference on the Law of the World held in West Berlin, July 20-26, 1985. The World Association of Law Professors is an interdisciplinary worldwide organization which, along with the World Association of Judges and the World Association of Lawyers, promotes exchanges and cross-cultural discourse on practical legal issues within the legal profession under the auspices of the World Peace through Law Center, Washington, D.C.

**Adda B. Bozeman**, professor emeritus, Sarah Lawrence College, gave the address, "Does International Law Have a Future?" at the annual banquet of the New York Law School Alumni Association, March 25, 1985.

**Claudio Cioffi-Revilla**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, was a Beckman Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study of the UIUC during spring semester 1985.

**Karl W. Deutsch**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace Emeritus, Harvard University, and Director at the Science Center Berlin, International Institute for Comparative Social Research, has been reelected President of the International Institute of Political Philosophy, Paris, for 1984-85. He has also become a member of the Board of the Foundation for World-Society and a Fellow of the Carter Center, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, after teaching there as Woodruff Visiting Professor in the fall 1984. In April 1985 he took part in the Consultation on International Security and Disarmament, called there by Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford. In the spring of 1985,

he presented preliminary results of the GLOBUS political world model at Bonn, Ottawa, and the annual meeting of the International Studies Association at Washington, D.C., where also an annual Karl W. Deutsch Prize for scholars under 40 was awarded. The Society for General Systems Research gave him its Comprehensive Achievement Award at its annual meeting in May 1985 at Los Angeles. Deutsch plans to spend the fall term 1985 at his permanent residence in Cambridge, MA, and at his office at Harvard, Littauer 226.

**Betty Glad**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, has been elected vice president of the International Society for Political Psychology.

**Samuel K. Gove**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, will spend academic year 1985-86 on sabbatical leave completing research on a major project on state and municipal affairs; he recently retired from directorship of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs of UIUC after almost 20 years in that position.

**William Green**, assistant professor of government, Morehead State University, taught in the Kentucky Institute for European Studies 1985 summer study program in Bregenz, Austria.

**Edward E. Kolodziej**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, was a recipient of the Burlington Northern Foundation Faculty Achievement Award for 1985.

**James D. Nowlan**, formerly of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is an independent candidate for the governorship of the State of Illinois.

**Ellen Frankel Paul**, professor of political science and research director of the Social Philosophy and Policy Center, rep-



Doris Graber of the University of Illinois, Chicago, greets Betty Glad (left) of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Glad has been elected vice president of the International Society for Political Psychology.

represented the U.S. in her capacity as representative to the Commission for Social Development of the U.N. Economic and Social Council at Commission meetings in Vienna, Austria in February and in New York City in May. Paul was appointed to this position by President Reagan on March 25, 1983.

**Huey L. Perry**, associate professor of political science, Southern University-Baton Rouge, has been elected to the Executive Council of the Southwestern Political Science Association for 1985-87.

**Brian F. Rader**, professor of political science, Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah, was recently elected to the Tahlequah City Council for a two-year term. Rader was also named chairman of the Tahlequah Hospital Authority. He has been invited to give a lecture at the U.S. Air Force Academy to the Senior Seminar in American Politics and Public Policy as part of the Air Academy's Distinguished Scholars Program.

**John E. Rouse, Jr.**, political science professor, Ball State University, recently

took his six-year-old radio program, *Public Affairs Roundtable*, to television. *Roundtable* engages experts to discuss political and economic interests and concerns as they affect Indiana. The show is broadcast at 6 pm Fridays on WIPB Channel 49, as well as weekly on WBST 92.1 FM.

**Robert E. Scott**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is on sabbatical leave during academic year 1985-86 conducting research on the policy implications of the rapid increase in the Hispanic population of the state of Illinois.

**Martin E. Weinstein**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, spent academic year 1984-85 as a visiting professor at the International University of Japan in Niigata, Japan.

**Frederick M. Wirt**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, will spend fall semester 1985 at the London School of Economics where he will conduct research on the role of professionals in setting the policy agenda for urban schools.

**George T. Yu**, University of Illinois at

## People in Political Science

Urbana-Champaign, will spend academic year 1985-86 at the University of California, Berkeley, and in Taiwan and the PRC conducting research for a major study of Chinese politics.

## Administrative Appointments

**Berenice A. Carroll's** appointment as director of the Office of Women's Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign has been extended through academic year 1985-86.

**Stanley E. Clark**, chair, political science department, California State College, Bakersfield.

**Roger W. Cobb**, chairman, department of political science, Brown University, for a three-year term beginning July 1, 1985.

**Marlyn Dalsimer**, chairperson, department of political studies, Adelphi University.



Fred R. Harris has been appointed director of the Institute for Public Policy at the University of New Mexico.

**Eric L. Davis**, chairman, department of political science, Middlebury College.

**Don W. Driggs**, chairperson, department of political science, University of Nevada, Reno.

**Charles D. Elder**, chairperson, 1985-88, department of political science, Wayne State University.

**Jack D. Fleeer**, chairman, department of politics, Wake Forest University.

**Patricia S. Florestano**, vice president for governmental relations, University of Maryland.

**John A. Garcia**, associate professor of political science at the University of Arizona, has been appointed research director of the Mexican American Studies and Research Center at Arizona.

**Gene Garfield**, interim chairman, department of political science and legal studies, Murray State University.

**Donald R. Hall**, associate professor of political science at the University of Arizona, has been appointed as university coordinator of internship programs at Arizona.

**Fred R. Harris**, professor of political science at the University of New Mexico, has been appointed director of the Institute for Public Policy at UNM.

**John S. Jackson**, professor of political science, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, has been appointed dean, College of Liberal Arts.

**Curtis Johnson**, chair, department of political science, Lewis & Clark College.

**Peter (Pyung) K. Kang**, chairman, department of political science, University of Wisconsin-Platteville.

**James H. Kuklinski** has accepted a half-time appointment as assistant director and research associate professor of the Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Clifford M. Lytle**, professor of political science at the University of Arizona, has been appointed director of the university honors program at Arizona.

**G. Calvin Mackenzie**, vice president for development and alumni relations, Colby College.

**Ross Marlay**, associate professor at Arkansas State University, has been appointed acting chairman of the department for the 1985-86 academic year.

**Patrick J. McGeever**, chairman, department of political science, Indiana University, Indianapolis.

**Roy E. Miller**, associate professor, has been named associate scientist, Office of Institutional Research, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, for academic year 1985-86.

**James C. Murphy**, director of corporation and foundation support, Colgate University.

**Peter F. Nardulli**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, has been appointed acting director of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs of the UIUC and acting director of the MPA program in the department of political science.

**John M. Ostheimer**, dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Colorado at Denver; formerly chair, department of political science, Northern Arizona University.

**Louis A. Picard**, associate professor of political science, University of Nebraska, has been appointed director, USAID Technical Cooperation Project, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, Washington, D.C.

**Michael R. Preston** has been appointed director of graduate studies in the department of political science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Joseph Spina**, chairperson, department of history and political science, Delaware State University.

**G. Thomas Taylor**, chairperson, department of political science, University of Maine at Orono.

**Khi Van Thai**, coordinator, public administration program, University of Maine at Orono.

**Marvin G. Weinbaum**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, was appointed director of the Program in South and West Asian Studies of the UIUC.

**Irvin L. (Jack) White**, president and chief operating officer of the New York State



John M. Ostheimer has been named dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Colorado at Denver.

Energy Research and Development Authority, was recently elected to the post of president of the International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA) at the organization's annual meeting in Utrecht, The Netherlands.

**Dina A. Zinnes** has been appointed director of the Merriam Laboratory for Analytic Political Research of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, which will begin full operations in fall 1985.

## New Appointments

**Robert Andersen**, assistant professor of political science, Manchester College; formerly of Seattle University.

**Walter Frank Baber**, associate professor of political science and director of MPA program, University of Nevada, Reno; formerly of Texas Tech University.

**Judith A. Baer**, assistant professor, department of political science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

**Deborah Barrow**, assistant professor of



Henry Bienen has been named James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor and director of the Center of International Studies at Princeton University.

political science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

**Henry Bienen**, William Stewart Tod Professor of Politics and International Affairs, has been named James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor and director of the Center of International Studies, Princeton University.

**Pamela Blake**, assistant professor, department of government, Colby College; formerly Cornell University.

**Barrie Blunt**, assistant professor, department of political science, University of Maine at Orono; formerly at Oklahoma State University.

**Alida Brill**, resident scholar, Russell Sage Foundation.

**Evelyn Brodtkin**, assistant professor, department of political science, SUNY Stony Brook; formerly post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University.

**Robert M. Brown**, instructor of international relations, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Paul Burstein**, associate professor of sociology, University of Washington; formerly of Vanderbilt University.

**Charles Cameron**, assistant professor, department of political science, SUNY Stony Brook; formerly graduate student at Princeton University.

**J. N. Carsey**, professor of public administration, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Robert L. Clinton**, assistant professor, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale; formerly of the University of Texas.

**Melissa Collie**, assistant professor in American politics, University of Texas at Austin; formerly at Stanford University.

**Landon Curry**, assistant professor of public administration, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**R. Steven Daniels**, lecturer, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale; formerly of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

**Arthur J. DeVaney**, assistant professor of public administration, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Lesley Anne Deacon**, lecturer in women and politics, University of Texas at Austin; formerly of The Australian National University.

**Gavin Duffy**, instructor in American politics, University of Texas at Austin; formerly of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

**James C. Foster**, assistant professor, department of political science, Oregon State University; formerly Emory & Henry College.

**Daniel P. Franklin**, assistant professor, department of political science, Colgate University; formerly graduate student at University of Texas.

**Larry George**, Ph.D., Princeton University, has been appointed assistant professor of political science at the University of New Mexico.

**Stuart C. Gilman**, formerly of Saint Louis University, has been appointed professor of public policy and American institutions at the Federal Executive Institute in Charlottesville, Virginia.

**Phyllis S. Glick**, assistant professor,



department of political science, Northeastern University.

**Jerrold D. Green**, associate professor of political science and director of the Near East Studies Center, University of Arizona; formerly assistant professor of political science, University of Michigan.

**Ted Robert Gurr**, professor of political science and director, Center for Comparative Politics, University of Colorado, Boulder; formerly Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University.

**Katy Harriger**, instructor, department of politics, Wake Forest University.

**Richard E. Hartwig**, associate professor of public administration, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Beverly Hawk**, instructor, department of government, Colby College; formerly University of Wisconsin, Madison.

**William E. Hazen**, associate professor of international relations, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Keith M. Henderson**, professor of public administration, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Rebecca Hendrick**, instructor, department of political science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; formerly graduate student at Michigan State University.

**Ursula Hoffmann-Lange**, lecturer in Western European politics, University of Texas at Austin; formerly of Mannheim University.

**Shanto Iyengar**, associate professor, department of political science, SUNY Stony Brook; formerly of Yale University.

**William G. Jacoby**, assistant professor at Ohio State; formerly University of Missouri.

**Hank Jenkins-Smith**, assistant professor of political science; formerly of Southern Methodist University.

**Charles H. Kennedy**, assistant professor, department of politics, Wake Forest University.

**Joseph L. Klesner**, instructor, department of political science, Kenyon College.

**Michael A. Krassa**, Ph.D., Washington

University, St. Louis, 1985, has been appointed assistant professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Michael S. Lewis-Beck**, professor of political science, University of Iowa, has recently been appointed to the National Science Foundation Political Science Advisory Panel.

**Bradley J. Miller**, assistant professor, department of political science, Northeastern University; formerly University of Missouri, Columbia.

**James Morrow**, assistant professor, department of political science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; formerly Michigan State University.

**Terry Nardin**, professor and director of honors program, department of political science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; formerly of the State University of New York.

**Barbara Norrander**, assistant professor, department of political science, San Jose State University; formerly of the University of Kentucky.

**James L. Perry**, professor of public and environmental affairs, Indiana University, Bloomington; formerly University of California, Irvine.

**Robert Powell**, assistant professor, department of political science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

**John D. Riggs**, assistant professor of public administration, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Brian Roberts**, instructor in public policy, University of Texas at Austin; formerly of Washington University at St. Louis.

**Robert L. Rothstein**, Harvey Picker Professor of International Relations, department of political science, Colgate University.

**J. Brinton Rowdybush**, assistant professor of international relations, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

**Peter Rutland**, instructor in Soviet politics, University of Texas at Austin; formerly of University of York.

**Philippe Schmitter**, professor, Stanford

## People in Political Science

University (effective 9/1/85, on leave until 9/1/86).

**Roger S. Teachout**, professor of public administration, European Region Faculty, Troy State University.

## Promotions

**Larry Berman**, Ph.D., Princeton University, department of political science, University of California, Davis, has been promoted to professor, effective July 1, 1985.

**John Bokina**, associate professor with tenure, Pan American University.

**Lawrence G. Brewster**, professor, department of political science, San Jose State University.

**Anthony Brown**, associate professor, Oklahoma State University.

**Eric C. Browne**, professor, department of political science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

**James Campbell**, associate professor, department of political science, University of Georgia.

**Ira H. Carmen**, professor of political science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Michael D. Cohen**, professor, department of political science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

**Linda J. Cook**, assistant professor, Brown University.

**Albert Cover**, associate professor, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

**Robert Darcy**, professor of political science and statistics, Oklahoma State University.

**Richard Elling**, associate professor, department of political science, Wayne State University.

**Bruce F. Grube**, professor, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

**Barbara Kellerman**, professor, Institute for Leadership Studies, Fairleigh Dickinson College.

**Edward B. Lavery**, associate professor with tenure, department of political science, University of Maine at Orono.

**James M. McCormick**, professor, department of political science, Iowa State University.

**Albert P. Melone**, professor, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

**Terry Moe**, associate professor with tenure, Stanford University.

**David Nice**, associate professor, department of political science, University of Georgia.

**Helmut Norpoth**, professor, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

**Daniel Okimoto**, associate professor with tenure, Stanford University.

**Laura Katz Olson**, professor of government, Lehigh University.

**Donald E. Peinkos**, professor, department of political science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

**Anne Permaloff**, professor of government, Auburn University at Montgomery.

**Michael R. Preston**, professor of political science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Karen L. Remmer**, professor of political science, University of New Mexico.

**Michael J. Rich**, assistant professor, Brown University.

**Wilbur Rich**, tenure recipient, department of political science, Wayne State University.

**Helenan S. Robin**, professor, department of political science, Western Michigan University.

**Steffen W. Schmidt**, professor of political science, Iowa State University.

**Mark Schneider**, professor, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

**John T. Scholz**, associate professor, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

**John E. Schwarz**, professor, department of political science, University of Arizona.

**Richard D. Sears**, professor, department of politics, Wake Forest University.

**Kathy B. Smith**, associate professor, department of politics, Wake Forest University.

**Barry H. Steiner**, professor, department

of political science, California State University, Long Beach.

**Joseph S. Trachtenberg**, associate professor, with tenure, division of social sciences, Clayton College.

**Bradford Wilson**, associate professor with tenure, department of political science, California State University, San Bernardino.

## Visiting and Temporary Appointments

**G. Robert Boynton**, on leave from the University of Iowa, is spending the academic year 1985-86 as a visiting professor of political science and Merriam visiting scholar at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Christopher J. Brown**, who is completing his Ph.D. at Cornell University, will be a visiting instructor of political science and African studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for academic year 1985-86.

**Anthony R. Brunello**, Ph.D., University of Oregon, has been appointed visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of New Mexico.

**Tun-Jen Cheng**, visiting lecturer at University of California, San Diego, for a two-year appointment beginning fall quarter 1985.

**Donald Chisholm**, visiting lecturer at University of California, San Diego, 1985-86.

**A. S. Cohan**, senior lecturer in politics, The University of Lancaster, England, is spending the 1985-86 academic year at the University of Georgia.

**Stephen P. Cohen** of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign has accepted a two-year appointment as a member of the U.S. Department of State Policy Planning Staff.

**Linda J. Cook**, assistant professor, Brown University, to Columbia University, Semester I, 1985-86.

**Thomas E. Cronin**, visiting professor, department of politics, Princeton University, 1985-86.

**Ivor Crewe**, professor of government at the University of Essex, England, will be spending the 1985-86 academic year as a visiting professor in the department of political science at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

**Maurice Cranston**, visiting professor at University of California, San Diego, spring quarter 1986, from London School of Economics.

**Robert Darcy**, visiting professor, summer semester, 1985, University of New Orleans; from Oklahoma State University.

**Christophe Deisenberg**, currently on the faculty of the University of Konstanz (FRG), will be at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for the 1985-86 academic year as a Merriam Fellow.

**Henry W. Ehrmann**, visiting professor at University of California, San Diego, winter quarter 1986, from Dartmouth University.

**Charles J. Fox**, visiting assistant professor of political science, Texas Tech University; formerly of Western Washington University.

**Ruth Friedman**, Charles Evans Hughes Professor, for fall semester, Colgate University.

**Manuel Antonio Garretón**, visiting professor at University of California, San Diego, winter quarter 1986, from University of Santiago, Chile.

**Joshua Goldstein**, a Ph.D. candidate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will spend the 1985-86 academic year as a Merriam visiting research associate at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Hrach Gregorian**, assistant professor of government at Simmons College, has been appointed Humanist Administrator to the Division of State Programs of the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, D.C. Gregorian will be on leave from Simmons for the 1985-86 academic year to complete the appointment.

**Kathie S. Golden**, formerly of the University of Kentucky, has been appointed a temporary instructor at Arkansas State

## People in Political Science

University for the 1985-86 academic year.

**David Gow**, visiting professor, summer semester 1985, University of New Orleans; from SUNY-Binghamton.

**Llewellyn D. Howell**, senior research associate, Third Point Systems, Inc., Monterey, CA; on leave from The American University, 1984-86.

**Barbara Harff**, visiting assistant professor, University of Colorado, Boulder, spring 1985, and academic year 1985-86.

**Jeffrey A. Hart** is on a one-year leave of absence from Indiana University to work as an in-house contractor for the Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.

**Mary E. Hilderbrand**, who is completing her doctoral dissertation at Harvard University, will be in residence at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign during spring 1986 as a visiting scholar in political science and African studies.

**Gerald L. Houseman**, Indiana University at Fort Wayne, visiting professor at St. Mary's College of California, Moraga, during the 1985-86 academic year.

**Jan-Erik Lane**, visiting professor at University of California, San Diego, spring quarter 1986, from Umea University, Sweden.

**Sun Chull Lee**, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Kansas, will be a Merriam visiting research associate during academic year 1985-86 at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Erik Lindell**, visiting assistant professor, Colgate University.

**Joseph T. Miller**, formerly of the University of Melbourne, Australia, will be a visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign during academic year 1985-86.

**Alex Mintz**, currently on the faculty of Hebrew University of Jerusalem, will be at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for the 1985-86 academic year as a visiting assistant professor of political science and Merriam Fellow.

**Helmut Norpoth**, professor at SUNY,

Stony Brook, will spend fall 1985 as guest professor at the *Zentrum für Umfragen, Analysen und Methoden* (ZUMA), associated with the University of Mannheim in West Germany.

**Michael Parenti**, visiting professor, Brooklyn College, City University of New York.

**James L. Perry**, professor of public and environmental affairs at Indiana University, has been appointed a Fulbright Senior Scholar at the Chinese University of Hong Kong for the winter 1986 semester. He will consult on MPA curriculum development and teach public policy.

**Susan J. Pharr**, associate professor of political science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, is Japan Chairholder at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies for 1985-86.

**Mark Reitman**, formerly on the faculty of the Moscow Institute of Civil Engineering (USSR), will spend the 1985-86 academic year at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign as a Merriam Fellow; he will also teach part-time in the Department of Mathematics.

**Jeremy Richardson**, head of the department of politics, University of Strathclyde, is visiting professor, department of political science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, during summer school, 1985.

**Susan M. Rigdon**, who has taught most recently at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, will be a visiting associate professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign during fall semester 1985.

**Nancy Rosenblum**, associate professor, Brown University, to Harvard University, Semester I, 1985-86.

**Andrew L. Ross**, Ph.D., Cornell University, 1984, will be a visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. During summer 1985 he was a Fellow at the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security of the UIUC.

**Karen L. Ruffing**, Fulbright Fellow in Ecuador, will be a visiting assistant pro-

fessor at the University of Arizona for the 1985-86 academic year.

**John T. Scholz**, associate professor at SUNY, Stony Brook, is spending the 1985-86 academic year as full-time research associate on the National Academy of Sciences' study of compliance with the Internal Revenue Code.

**Stuart R. Schram**, visiting professor at University of California, San Diego, winter quarter 1986, from University of London.

**Paul Schulman**, visiting professor, 1985-86, Brown University; from Mills College.

**Gerald Steinberg**, visiting assistant professor at University of California, San Diego, 1985-86, from Hebrew University.

**Jin Hwan Tahk**, professor of political science and dean of academic affairs of Chonbuk National University, Korea, will be a visiting scholar in political science and East Asian and Pacific studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign during the period November 1985 to October 1986.

**Proserpina D. Tapales**, Ph.D., Northern Illinois University, 1984, and on leave from the University of the Philippines, will be a visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign during academic year 1985-86.

**Rolf H. W. Theen**, professor of political science at Purdue University, will be a visiting professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign during fall semester 1985.

**Joel A. Thompson**, Appalachian State University, will be a visiting associate professor at the University of Arizona for the 1985-86 academic year.

**Sheila Tobias**, visiting lecturer at University of California, San Diego, spring quarter 1986, from University of Arizona.

**Laurence Andrew Whitehead**, visiting professor at University of California, San Diego, 1985-86, from Oxford University.

**Paul Whiteley**, senior lecturer in politics, University of Bristol, will be visiting professor, department of political science,

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, for the 1985-86 academic year.

**Alan S. Zuckerman**, visiting professor, 1985-86, Tel-Aviv University; from Brown University.

## Retirements

**Nobutaka Ike**, professor emeritus, Stanford University.

**Egon K. Kamarasy**, professor emeritus, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

**Robert C. North**, professor emeritus, Stanford University.

**Claude H. Richards, Jr.**, professor emeritus, department of politics, Wake Forest University.

**James S. Roberts**, professor of political science emeritus and director, MPA program, University of Nevada, Reno.

**A. J. Wann** retired from active teaching at the University of Utah on June 30 and was appointed professor emeritus of political science, effective July 1, 1985.



A. J. Wann has been appointed professor emeritus of political science at the University of Utah.

## Award Recipients

### American Council of Learned Societies

The American Council of Learned Societies has awarded two of 67 fellowships for research in the humanities and related social sciences to political scientists. This program was made possible by grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The political scientists, their affiliations, and projects are:

**John Gerassi**, professor of political science, Queens College of the City University of New York: A biography of Jean-Paul Sartre.

**Diana T. Meyers**, assistant professor of government, Cornell University: Personal autonomy. (Meyers is an ACLS/Ford Fellow.)

Under a program made possible by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, eight fellowships were awarded to China scholars whose doctorates were conferred within the last five years; support is generally offered for a full year of research. One political scientist was granted a fellowship:

**Jean C. Oi**, assistant professor of government, Lehigh University: Communism and clientelism—the changing character of rural politics in China.

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation also provides funds for intensive summer language training in Chinese at the Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies in Taipei. Preference is given to scholars at least five years beyond receipt of the doctorate who have in their research shown competence in the use of written Chinese language materials. Grants for study during the summer of 1985 were made to the following political scientists:

**Samuel S. Kim**, professor of political science, Monmouth College.

**Roderick MacFarquhar**, professor of government, Harvard University.

In a national competition, the ACLS also

awarded 12 fellowships to recent recipients of the Ph.D. in support of humanistic research intended to illuminate and assess social and cultural ideas of 19th and 20th century society. The following political scientists are the recipients of fellowships:

**Bruce W. Jentelson**, assistant professor of political science, University of California, Davis: The failure of American-Soviet detente and the sources of American foreign policy.

**Nancy S. Love**, assistant professor of political science, The Pennsylvania State University: Marx, Nietzsche, and contemporary Marxism. □

### Council for European Studies

Pre-Dissertation Fellowships have been awarded in the 1985 competition to the following political scientists by the Council for European Studies:

**Gregory Alan Albo**, political science, Carleton University: "The Economic Crisis and the Politics of Labor Market Restructuring: A Comparative Study of Canada and Great Britain, 1968-1984."

**Paul Douglas Pierson**, political science, Yale University: "Comparative Responses to Fiscal Stress: A Study of the British Labour Party and the West German SPD."

**Simon Francis Reich**, government, Cornell University: "The Effect of Fascism on the Industrial Divide in the Bonn Republic."

### Council on Foreign Relations

The Council on Foreign Relations has announced its 1985-86 international affairs fellowship awards. The fellowships are offered to men and women between the ages of 27-35 to broaden their expertise in the field of international affairs. The following political scientists are recipients of the 1985-86 awards, listed with their affiliations and topics of study:

**Bruce D. Berkowitz**, assistant professor of political science, University of Minne-

sota: Congressional Oversight of Intelligence Production.

**Joseph M. Grieco**, assistant professor of political science, Duke University: U.S. Trade Policy, International Cooperation, and the Problem of Relative Gains.

**Robert Sutherland Litwak**, research associate, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars: The Determinants of Soviet Policy Towards Southwest Asia: Implications for American Policy.

**Condoleezza Rice**, assistant professor of political science and assistant director of the Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University: Squaring the Circle: The Integration of Arms Control Initiatives and Force Modernization.

**Richard M. Saunders**, assistant professor, department of social sciences, U.S. Military Academy: The Effects of Military Doctrines, Force Structures, and Advice on the Formulation and Implementation of U.S. Policy in the Third World.

**Robert Schwart**, senior systems analyst at Computer Data Systems in Washington, D.C.: Policies for the Transfer and Effective Use of Microcomputer Technology in Developing Countries.

The following political scientists were selected in earlier years and are serving their international affairs fellowships in 1985-86:

**Peter F. Cowhey**, associate professor of political science, University of California, San Diego: American Foreign Policy and the Restructuring of International Telecommunications Networks.

**Karen L. Dawisha**, lecturer, department of politics, University of Southampton, England: Crisis Prevention and Management Regimes for the Third World: U.S. Perceptions of Soviet Intentions and Preferences.

**Zalmay Khalilzad**, assistant professor of political science and member of Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University: Nuclear Proliferation and International Stability.

**Philip R. Lindner**, assistant professor, department of social sciences, West Point: Transforming NATO Military Doctrine: Flexible Response in the 1980s.

**Gale A. Mattox**, assistant professor of political science, U.S. Naval Academy: NATO: Issues of Nuclear and Conventional Armament Policy.

**James Piscatori**, faculty member, Australian National University in Canberra: Shi'i Political Movements.

**Ernest J. Wilson**, assistant professor of political science, University of Michigan's Institute for Public Policy Studies: The Foreign Policy Challenge of Export Trading Companies: Domestic Adjustments to International Change.

## **Dirksen Congressional Center Awards**

Fourteen scholars from across the country received research grants totaling \$20,000 from the Dirksen Congressional Center in Pekin, Illinois. Grants range from \$500 to \$2,500. Recipients use the money for the costs of travel, editing and transcribing interviews, collecting and coding data, and other research expenses. All grant winners work on projects about Congress.

Persons interested in applying for a research grant should send a project description and budget with a brief biographical statement to Frank H. Mackaman, Executive Director, The Dirksen Congressional Center, Broadway and Fourth Street, Pekin, IL 61554. There is no application form. The Center accepts applications at any time but makes awards only once each year, usually in late spring.

The names, affiliations and project titles for this year's recipients are listed below.

**Ross K. Baker**, Rutgers University: The Therapeutic Uses of the Party Caucus: The Use of a Party Panel to Foster Participation, Cohesion, and Member Satisfaction.

**Lynne P. Brown**, New York University: The House Democratic Leadership in the 100th Congress.

**Mary Etta Cook**, Catholic University of America: Committee Agenda Setting in the House of Representatives.

**Julie S. Drucker**, University of Wisconsin

## People in Political Science

sin-Madison: Opportunities for Action: Informal Leaders in the House of Representatives.

**Linda Fowler**, Syracuse University: Unseen Candidates: Ambition, Parties, and the Local Tradition.

**Susan Webb Hammond**, The American University: Informal Groups in Congress.

**Peggy Heilig**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: A Leader's "Constituency Career": Did National Visibility, Redistricting, and a Close Call Change the Home Style of Robert Michel?

**Robert F. Himmelberg**, Fordham University: Congress as the Crucible of National Politics, 1923-32.

**James M. McCormick**, Iowa State University: The Impact of Committee and Subcommittee Chairs on the Policy Activism of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

**Bruce W. Robeck**, Texas A&M University: The Electoral Environment of Congressional Leaders.

**James A. Thurber**, The American University: The Role of the House and Senate Leadership in the Congressional Budget Process.

**Charles M. Tidmarch**, Union College: Subcommittee Leadership Style and Effectiveness in the U.S. Congress.

**Eric M. Uslaner**, University of Maryland: The Decline of Comity in Congress.

**Duane Windsor**, Rice University: Exercising Congressional Leadership in the Budgetary Process. □

## Social Science Research Council

The following political scientists have been awarded 1985 fellowships and grants for international research from the Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158.

### *International Doctoral Research Fellowships*

**Felipe Aguero**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Duke University, for research

in Spain on the assertion of civilian supremacy in postauthoritarian contexts.

**Carlos Aguna**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of Chicago, for research in Argentina on the political and organizational practices of industrial business organizations, 1963-1983.

**Richard D. Anderson, Jr.**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of California, Berkeley, for a dissertation on the explanation of Soviet intervention decisions in Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

**Catherine M. Boone**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research in Senegal and France on domestic politics and the implementation of structural adjustment programs; the case of the Senegalese textile industry.

**Kiren A. Chaudhry**, Ph.D. candidate in government, Harvard University, for research in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the United Kingdom on the effects of labor remittances and oil rent on state structure.

**Joann F. Goven**, graduate student in political science, University of California, Berkeley, for research on the effects of the Hungarian economic reforms on energy-demand management.

**Thomas A. Koelble**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of California, San Diego, for research in Germany and the United Kingdom on the struggle for power over party rules in the British Labor Party and the German Social Democratic Party.

**Miriam R. Lowi**, Ph.D. candidate in politics, Princeton University, for research in Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon on the political economy of water under conditions of scarcity and conflict.

**Albert Vourvoulias**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Yale University, for research in Guatemala on the social base and political strategy of the Movement of National Liberation.

### *Grants for International Postdoctoral Research*

**Gerald J. Bender**, associate professor of political science, School of International



Relations, University of Southern California, for research in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, and the United States on superpower competition in southern Africa.

**Harry W. Blair**, head, department of political science, Bucknell University, for research in Bangladesh on local participatory institutions and development.

**Miriam Cooke**, assistant professor of international studies, Duke University, for research on women's writings in Lebanon since the outbreak of civil war in 1975 until 1982.

**Bruce G. Cumings**, associate professor of international studies, University of Washington, for research on the origins of the Korean War.

**Raymond A. Hinnebusch**, associate professor of political science, College of St. Catherine, for research on the implementation and performance of Syrian agricultural policy.

**Jean C. Oi**, assistant professor of government, Lehigh University, for research on communism and clientelism: the changing character of rural politics in China.

**T. J. Pempel**, professor of government, Cornell University, for comparative research on one-party dominance in Italy, Japan, and Sweden.

**Doh C. Shin**, associate professor of political science, Sangamon State University, for research on the quality of Korean life in comparative perspective. □

## Other Awards and Honors

**Benjamin R. Barber**, professor of political science at Rutgers University, was awarded an honorary doctor of laws by Grinnell College in May 1985.

**John A. Booth** and **Mitchell A. Seligson** were awarded the Hoover Institution Prize of \$1,000 for the best article published in a scholarly journal in 1984 on Latin American political affairs for their article on "The Political Culture of Authoritarianism in Mexico," published in the *Latin American Research Review*.

**William P. Brandon**, department of political science, Seton Hall University, was awarded a fellowship in Health Care Finance by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. He was also the recipient of a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship to participate in a Summer Humanities Seminar on "Rights to and in Health Care" at the Kennedy Institute on Ethics at Georgetown University.

**David S. Cownie**, Ph.D. candidate, department of political science, University of Houston, has received a Fulbright-Hays award for dissertation research in Botswana, 1985-86, National Institute of Research, University of Botswana. His focus of study is process and outcome evaluation of the Arable Lands Development Program.

**Charles E. Ellison**, associate professor, University of Cincinnati, has received a Fulbright Senior Research Award for the 1985-86 academic year. Ellison's academic affiliation will be with the University Institute of Architecture in Venice, Italy. His research is on the politics of urban planning in Bologna and the region of Emilia-Romagna.

**James S. Fishkin**, professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, has been awarded the 1985 Erik H. Erikson Prize by the International Society of Political Psychology. The prize is given for "early career achievement" in political psychology. It was awarded June 20 at the Society's convention in Washington for his book *Beyond Subjective Morality: Ethical Reasoning and Political Philosophy* (published by the Yale University Press in 1984).

**Charles W. Hartwig**, associate professor and department chairman at Arkansas State University, has received a Fulbright-Hays lectureship award to teach at Cuttington University College in Liberia, West Africa, for the 1985-86 academic year.

**Chun-Tu Hsueh**, professor, has received an award from the University of Maryland "in recognition of the honor" he has brought "to the university community" through his "outstanding accomplishments."

**Robert W. Kaufman**, professor of politi-



Robert W. Kaufman received the Distinguished Service Award at Western Michigan University.

cal science, received the Distinguished Service Award at Western Michigan University. The award, which is based on a university-wide competition, was granted in recognition of his efforts in public service, research, and projects that apply scientific knowledge to community problems. A former director of the Institute of Public Affairs, the University Center for Environmental Affairs, and the Science for Citizens Center, Kaufman returned to full-time teaching in the department of political science in 1984.

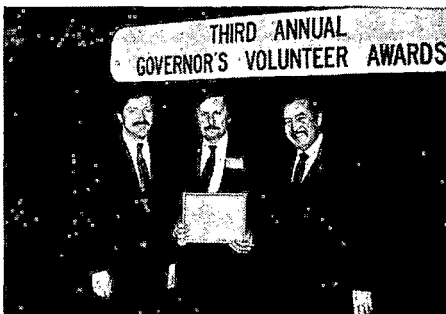
**Jarol B. Manheim**, associate professor of political science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and **Allison Ondrasik**, library specialist with Dynamac Inc., have received an "Outstanding Reference Source of 1984" award from the American Library Association for their book, *DataMap: Index of Published Tables of Statistical Data*. *DataMap* is a computer-based, variable-specific cross-index of the most widely held published sources of statistical data which provides social scientists and others with precise access to specific items of aggregate data.

**Huey L. Perry**, associate professor of political science, Southern University-Baton Rouge, was awarded a Rockefeller Foundation Research Fellowship for Minority Group Scholars for 1985-86 for his research on: The social and economic impact of increased black political participation in the South. Perry was also awarded a Southern Education Foundation Adjunct Fellowship for 1985 for his research: An examination of a contemporary issue in manpower development and social values: blacks, higher education, and high technology. He was a co-recipient of the Chancellor's Research Excellence Award at Southern University for 1984-85.

**Bert A. Rockman** has been awarded the first Richard E. Neustadt Book Award by the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association. The winning book is *The Leadership Question: The Presidency and the American System* (Praeger, 1984).

**Edwin Rothman**, executive director of the Pennsylvania Economy League's Eastern Division from 1972-83, was presented with the League's 1985 award for excellence in public policy formation and implementation, at the annual awards luncheon of the American Society for Public Administration, Philadelphia Chapter.

**Steffen W. Schmidt**, Iowa State University, was presented in May with the Governor's Volunteer Award by Iowa Governor Terry Branstad for his work



Steffen Schmidt of Iowa State University was presented the Governor's Volunteer Award for his work with Hispanic groups. Schmidt is flanked by Iowa Governor Terry Branstad (left) and Miguel Teran.

with Hispanic groups in the areas of education, community development, and youth leadership training.

**John E. Turner**, Regents' Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, is the recipient of a Morse-Amoco Award for outstanding contributions to undergraduate education.

**Shawky Zeidan**, along with 11 other scholars, was selected to participate in the 1985 NEH Summer Seminar on "Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World."

**Alan S. Zuckerman**, professor of political science and Judaic studies, Brown University, has received a Fulbright Research Award for Ethnic Political Conflict: Political Anti-Semitism in the Political Development of Europe.

## In Memoriam

### Seymour R. Bolten

On June 6, 1985, after a prolonged battle, Seymour R. Bolten succumbed to complications of pneumonia. He was 63. He is survived by his wife, Analouise Clissold Bolten of Washington, D.C., and by three children: Randall C. of Menlo Park, Calif., and Joshua B. and Susanna, also of Washington, D.C.

The son of immigrant parents, Seymour grew up in New York City and received his B.A. in 1942 from New York University; in 1950, he received an M.A. in international relations from Harvard University. He served as an infantry officer in the U.S. Army during World War II, was captured by the Germans at the Kasserine Pass in 1942 (as he provided cover for the retreating American forces), spent nearly three years as a POW in Poland, broke out in the last weeks of the war and made his way to the Allied lines. He served in Military Government for Germany, both as an officer and then as a civilian, as a specialist in the restoration of democratic parties and elections. He was awarded both the U.S. Army Bronze and Silver Stars and achieved the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Inactive Reserve.

In his professional life, Seymour grew up with and helped to shape the Central Intelligence Agency, serving from 1949 to 1977 in a variety of high posts in the clandestine services: in German, European and Latin American affairs, as well as the Soviet and East European area; as CIA's representative on the Cabinet Committee for International Narcotics Control; and as an assistant to the Deputy Director and to the Deputy Director for Operations in the formulation of national policy and guidelines governing U.S. intelligence. He was a principal liaison with the Congress during the investigative orgy of the mid-1970s and came away from that virtually no-win assignment with the respect, astonishingly, of both intelligence professionals and those driving congressional oversight. He received the CIA Intelligence Medal of Merit in 1974 and, in 1976, the Agency's highest award, the Distinguished Intelligence Medal.

At which point, ostensibly retired, Seymour embarked on yet a third career, first as Drug Policy Advisor to the White House Domestic Policy Staff (1977-81) and then, from 1981 to his fatal illness, as Law Enforcement Policy Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement and Operations. In these posts he developed intelligence and law enforcement doctrine for U.S. drug control and contributed significantly to the control of the export of high-technology materiel. His compelling interest in drug control was fueled during the year he spent (1971-72) as CIA representative to the State Department's Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy and as foreman of a special District of Columbia Grand Jury investigating narcotics and law enforcement. At the White House, he served also as a chief staff advisor to the Holocaust Commission.

In the narrow, literal sense, Seymour Bolten was neither teacher nor scholar in his profession of political science. In fact he was both. He taught especially by example: in the discipline he brought to his calling, and in the conjunction he sought between principle and practice and—as he grappled with the demands of democratic control over the inherently closed universe of clandestine intelli-

gence and covert action—the unavoidable tension between them. As a lifelong student of democratic theory, he deeply understood and acknowledged the need for oversight. As an intelligence professional, he lived with the need for secrecy. He sought to resolve the tension by recourse, ultimately, to professionalism —by adherence to the highest and most self-critical standards of responsible performance.

And did he ever perform as a scholar among intelligence professionals! The lamp was lit on his desk six, seven evenings every week: no use ringing him at home or expecting him at wine-tastings (a favorite form of relaxation to which he brought his typical, full-bore intensity) much before nine or ten o'clock. He never stopped gathering data or testing hypotheses or sweating the details. He imposed tremendous burdens on himself because of the rigor with which he defined his calling—and because of the unabashed, unapologetic love he bore for the country he thus was serving.

Seymour was, without restraint or limit, a patriot. His love of country was not uncritical and never simplistic. But it ran very pure and very deep. So too did his love for the more inward “nations” of family and colleagues and friends. However stern and unbending he may have tried to appear, he was in the end a push-over—a veritable Jewish Mother among husbands and fathers, with boundless pride in the late-evolving scholarly accomplishments of his much-loved Stacey (it was Analouse only in formal usage) and the growth (in age and wisdom and prudence and achievement) of the three marvelous children on whom he doted, for whom every sacrifice was simply their due. Seymour seemed always to be quite amazed at the distinction of his circle of friends, and the honor they did him by accepting him into the circle. But he had it all wrong. It was we who luxuriated in the bountiful and variable feast of his friendship.

Seymour Bolten, by right, by rich desert, was accorded full military honors on his burial at the Arlington National Cemetery overlooking the District of Columbia. His gravesite is located near the intersection of Eisenhower and Bradley drives. It is an

appropriate place indeed for his eternal rest.

Charles M. Lichenstein  
The Heritage Foundation

## **James Smoot Coleman**

Jim Coleman died on Saturday, April 20, 1985, at age 66. His passing is unutterably sad. For all of us who were his students, his colleagues, and his friends, there is the sense that he is absolutely irreplaceable. His unique combination of personal qualities and capacities enabled him to do the work of several and gave him a profoundly meaningful place in our lives. Jim touched us in special ways and even now we wonder what will become of the monumental assignments that he assumed as his final challenges: the creation of a multi-disciplinary program in international development studies at UCLA and the completion of a volume on the role of education in third world development.

So many of Jim's qualities stand out as larger than life that merely to inventory them is daunting. One calls to mind his pioneering theoretical contributions to political science and development studies; his monumental contributions to the study of African politics; his legendary capacity for work; his uncanny administrative skills that combined meticulous attention to detail with a grand and sweeping vision; and a personal style that has been variously described as saintly, fatherly, incredibly self-effacing and touched with the quality of grace. All of us who came into contact with Jim brought away an enlarged sense of ourselves and our abilities.

Jim's intellectual contributions are enduring. The list of scholars who acknowledge an enduring debt just to his classic article “Nationalism in Tropical Africa” (*American Political Science Review*, 1954), is practically endless. A few years after its appearance, Thomas Hodgkin publicly stated that he was personally so moved by this article that he wrote his most famous book, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, as a response. The University of California Press has paid its

own special tribute to Jim's first book, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, by keeping that volume in print 27 years. It remains the essential starting point for understanding that country's contemporary political history.

Jim and Gabriel Almond co-edited and co-authored *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, the book that introduced functional analysis to the political study of the non-western world. Generations of political scientists have quoted it repeatedly ever since—in term papers, in field examinations, and in professional publications. What syllabus of basic contributions to the comparative study of the developing world would be complete without *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*, co-edited and co-authored with Carl Rosberg in 1964, or *Education and Political Development* (1965)? Being included in a volume that Jim Coleman edited was a little like an assurance of academic immortality, not because of the quality of one's own essay, but because it was certainty that scholars would turn to that volume for generations hence to see what Jim had to say.

For a person whose published works are the required reading of the profession, Jim was less wedded to his ideas than most. He was constantly prepared to try something new, and sometimes immortalized a journal just by doing so. Few of us would seek out the library call number of the somewhat obscure Makerere University journal, *Mawazo*, had Jim not published his timeless article, "The Resurrection of Political Economy" in it in 1967. As a reappraisal of what political scientists might be doing to study the development process more effectively, that article still can't be beat. Other ideas that Jim legitimized, just by trying them out, include policy-oriented and policy-relevant research, the notion of the university as a developmental institution, and the importance of political capacity as an aspect of modernization.

Jim's writing style reflected his personal style: each piece was a rich bibliographical essay encyclopedically surveying the literature on the topic at hand. And Jim's treatment of others' contributions was consistently and inevitably

appreciative. Intrinsic to Jim's writing style was the attribution of his ideas to others. Somehow, those ideas as he presented them sounded more profound, more persuasive and infinitely better-reasoned than in the original. Jim treated people the same way, always taking enormous pains to convey that what he did or said was the outgrowth of suggestions made by others.

Jim was a tireless booster of other people. How many of us, over the years, received early morning phone calls from Jim in which he would say, in one way or another, "you're not asking me to do enough for you." His supportiveness knew no ideological boundaries. If, as we all knew, Jim was an exemplar of liberal social science in development studies, he was also, with logical consistency and deep conviction, a constant patron of radical and revolutionary scholars. Indeed, Jim Coleman actively encouraged the work of those who were among his most severe intellectual critics as well as those with whom he shared a commonality of views. He treated projects and programs that he was involved with identically, often calling in the early morning to ask what sorts of resources he could provide. Jim had clear and strong ideas about academic administration and how to achieve institutional excellence. His ideas included "build on excellence" and "recognize differential merit and support it." Yet, such was Jim's personal style that he never revealed what he considered less than excellent or which persons he may have deemed less than supportable. It seemed that all areas of international studies had his attention and support and that all the scholars he dealt with had his esteem and commendation. One's own performance was then the measure of excellence.

Institutions grew and developed under his touch. He was founder-director of UCLA's African Studies Center and its programmatic profile continues to reflect the momentum he imparted 25 years ago. Early in his academic career, Jim decided that building institutions in Africa was more important than doing so in this country, and in 1965 he accepted an invitation to join the Rockefeller Foundation, to head its University Development

## People in Political Science

Program in eastern Africa. It is indicative of his remarkable organizational skills that he endowed such institutions as the Makerere Institute of Social Research and the University of Nairobi's Institute of Development Studies with a truly miraculous capacity for survival.

When he returned to UCLA in the summer of 1978, it was to chair a small campus unit called the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies (CCICS). CCICS' role was to advise the administration on international programs. By the spring of 1984, CCICS had become ISOP, International Studies and Overseas Programs. Its role was no longer advisory, but allocative. For Jim had been entrusted with nearly a dozen faculty positions to distribute, basically according to his own best judgment as to how these might advance the field of comparative international studies.

Jim Coleman made it fun to be an administrative colleague because he was always there to laugh at the difficulties and straighten out the mistakes. He also made the job a good deal easier because he did a disproportionate share of the work. His constant attention to and unvarying respect for the work of others made it appealing to be an academic colleague. His appreciation impelled all of us to exercise a little more of ourselves, partly because of the positive anticipation of being able to show him a new piece of work. In all of this, he endowed university administration with a broader sense of purpose. And he believed in the strongest possible way that every person called upon could make a contribution to that purpose.

This bare outline of Jim's personal qualities and scholarly and administrative achievements barely begins to take the measure of the man. Nor do these accomplishments alone account for his extraordinary reputation in the milieu of African studies. For 20 years, he was the unofficial American ambassador for higher education in Africa. He knew Africa as well as any American of his time. The home and hearth that he and his wife, Ursula, made in Los Angeles were also home and hearth to African scholars.

The pain of Jim's sudden death is so much the greater because it left no opportunity to tell him how much he and his work meant. His generous praise of the work of others was matched by an almost resolute avoidance of reference to his own contributions. Jim was an implacably private person and the mere mention of these seemed to cause him embarrassment. News of Jim's death was couched in terms of a "massive" heart attack. Upon reflection, the phrase is meet: Jim was larger than life. No ordinary heart attack could possibly have felled him or prevented him from doing what he most wanted to do: continue to involve himself with us in the search for excellence.

Joel Barkan, Gerald Bender,  
Michael Lofchie, Richard Sisson,  
Richard Sklar, C. S. Whitaker  
University of California, Los Angeles

## Morris Davis

The faculty of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign regrets to inform members in the profession of the death of our colleague Morris Davis who passed away April 5, 1985.

Morris was born in Boston on October 9, 1933. He graduated cum laude from Harvard College in 1954, and completed the doctoral program at Princeton University, receiving the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in 1958. He taught at the University of Wisconsin, Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, and Tulane University before coming to the University of Illinois in 1965. His research interests and achievements attracted many grants and fellowships, from among others the Social Sciences Research Council, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the National Academy of Science. The wide scope of his work is indicated by the variety of the places in which it appeared. In addition to four books (two co-authored), his numerous articles appear in such journals as *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *International Organization*, *Journal of Developing Areas*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Ethics*, *Midwest Journal of Political Science* and *Classical Philosophy*.

Morris' publications and his intellectual career united two disparate interests, Greek political philosophy, especially Plato, and the study of a wide variety of empirical phenomena. These two lines of inquiry were united by an intellectual disposition common to both of them—to question everyday and common sense assumptions about how things are or how they should be. The situations chosen for study all presented opportunities to question established truths or working assumptions within the body of political science literature, or simply within everyday conventions.

There was a great deal of continuity between the course of his formal education and his development as a mature scholar. His early intellectual dispositions are evident in the topics and style of his publications and the role and manner that he created for himself on campus. He was always available, indeed actively seeking opportunities for conversations with colleagues, often trying out on them the questions and ideas which he was developing. Unlike many scholars in departments with large graduate programs, he was active in undergraduate teaching, handling core courses that often had substantial enrollments.

He was at the peak of his productivity and creativity when an operation revealed a late-stage cancer with considerable spread. He was given at most a few months to live. He rallied very quickly to resume his classes for what was then thought to be his last semester and to complete projects under way. He made no effort to conceal his condition, or the intimidating force of it, and made every effort to maintain his routine. Until his death, more than two years later, it had seemed that his determination to continue might prevail. His passing was a blow for which anticipation provided no mitigation.

Intellectual fashions and styles change, but given the wide range of subject matter and approaches in his carefully developed articles and books, his work is likely to be of interest to at least another generation of political scientists. The most significant loss is that the present conditions of academic life are unlikely to pro-

duce many scholars with such breadth of interest and of intellectual capacity joined with so little of pretention in personal style and published work.

Phillip Monypenny  
Professor Emeritus  
University of Illinois at  
Urbana-Champaign

## G. Homer Durham

G. Homer Durham, a major pioneer figure in the development of political science in the western United States who also became a distinguished higher education administrator, died of a heart ailment in January, 1985, at the age of 73.

George Homer Durham was born in Parowan, Utah, on February 4, 1911. He graduated from the University of Utah in 1932 and was the first person to complete a Ph.D. in political science at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1939. After serving on the faculty at Swarthmore College and Utah State University, he returned to his alma mater, the University of Utah, in 1944 as a professor in the department of history and political science. In 1946, he founded and became the first director of the Institute of Government; in 1948 he was named as the first chairman of the new separate department of political science.

Early in 1947, Homer Durham initiated contacts with a number of other political scientists throughout the western states to urge the establishment of a Western Political Science Association. This resulted in the group's first annual meeting, attended by approximately 50 individuals from 20 institutions, on the campus of the University of Utah in November 1947. At this meeting Durham was appropriately elected as the first president of the new organization.

In January 1948 he persuaded the president of the University of Utah to underwrite the publication of a new *Western Political Quarterly*, which shortly thereafter became the official journal of the Western Political Science Association and quickly established itself as one of the country's leading political science publications.

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Shortly thereafter he also took the lead in starting the Utah chapter of the American Society for Public Administration and later became national president of APSA in 1959-60.

In 1953 Homer Durham was appointed vice president of academic affairs at the University of Utah, a position he held until 1960 when he was invited to become president of Arizona State University. Serving in that capacity until 1969, he presided over the expansion of the enrollment from 10,640 to over 26,000, the development of numerous new graduate and professional programs and a large-scale growth in the physical facilities of that university.

He resigned as president of Arizona State in 1969 to return to his native state to become the first commissioner and chief executive officer of the newly created Utah System of Higher Education. Following his retirement in 1976, he came back to his old department at the University of Utah as research professor of political science for one year until he was appointed to the offices of church historian, church recorder and director of the historical department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, positions which he was still filling energetically until his death.

During his career, Homer Durham also found time to write, compile, or edit a number of books, monographs, and articles on a wide range of subjects from public administration, American political thought, and constitutional law, to Mormon church history.

He is survived by his wife, Eudora Widtsoe, his devoted and enthusiastic helper in all the varied positions he held, two daughters, Carolyn W. D. Person and Doralee Madsen, and a son, George H. Durham II, all of Salt Lake City.

G. Homer Durham was a man of keen intelligence, rigorous scholarship, and far-reaching intellectual interests, with gracious and almost courtly manners, who was always impeccably and immaculately dressed, and who won the high regard of a large number of friends and respectful admirers in the many activities in which he served. He will be

long and pleasantly remembered by all of us whose lives he touched.

A. J. Wann  
University of Utah

## Mark Ferber

Mark Franklin Ferber was born September 14, 1929, and his untimely death occurred April 5, 1985. During that brief span he applied his wisdom and skill as a political scientist to a number of very practical, necessary, and highly successful endeavors.

Although his bachelor's degree from UCLA was in business, an army tour in Washington introduced him to a life-long love affair with the American political system, and he returned to UCLA to pursue that love, receiving his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science. In 1959, following a term as congressional fellow, Mark Ferber was named assistant director of the American Political Science Association and director of the Association's Congressional Fellowship Program. In 1961 he moved to his first academic assignment when he was appointed assistant professor of political science and assistant director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers—The State University, New Jersey. Mark Ferber held that joint appointment until 1965 when he became special assistant to the president of the University of California. That year he established, organized, and directed the Washington office of the University of California, deftly representing the University in its dealings with the executive and legislative branches of the government and with private and professional organizations in Washington.

In 1965 when political and social pressures were mounting on campuses all over the nation, Mark was called to Berkeley to assume primary responsibility for the university's major response to the urban crisis and for all student matters with university-wide implications.

In 1970 he moved to the University of Santa Clara where for three years he served as vice president for student services and professor of political science.



There his negotiating skills were again tapped as he also had responsibility for representing Santa Clara in Sacramento and Washington.

Mark returned to Washington and to the American Political Science Association as director, division of educational affairs and project director of a study funded by a \$600,000 grant from the National Science Foundation, to examine and disseminate to the discipline information on new approaches to the teaching of political science.

During 1974-75 Mark served as public policy analyst with the President's Biomedical Research Panel, and during 1975-76 he was executive assistant to Senator Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland.

Mark Ferber then accepted an appointment as senior consultant and director of public information for the Privacy Protection Study Commission which was created by the Privacy Act of 1974. He then concluded his active professional career as special assistant in the Office of the Director of the Census Bureau, a position he held from 1977 until his retirement in 1982. During the 1980 census he served as congressional affairs advisor to the bureau director smoothing relations with Congress.

Mark Ferber was a virtuoso in applying the skills of the negotiator, the administrator, and the innovator. Sound in theory and shrewd in practice, he was best at creating an atmosphere wholly conducive to interpersonal and inter-agency harmony and productivity. He was an organized achiever and a man of great warmth and calm demeanor. He was able to smooth the political waters no matter what tempest he was asked to enter. He will be greatly missed by all of us as an individual of rare qualities but most of all as a friend.

Charles E. Young  
University of California, Los Angeles

## Raoul Naroll

Raoul Naroll, Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at the State University of

New-York-at-Buffalo, died on June 25, 1985, of liver cancer; he was 64 years old. Raoul Naroll was known to many political scientists for his theoretical and methodological contributions to cross-societal comparative research. He was an enthusiastic and creative proponent of hologeistic studies (the comparative study of whole societies). He was President of the Human Relations Area Files from 1973-81 and simultaneously served as Editor in Chief of *Behavior Science Research*. Some important methodological works include: *Data Quality Control* (1962), *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology* (1970), and *Index to the Human Relations Area Files* (1972). He also was instrumental in stimulating the development of hologeistic computer programs.

In recent years he increasingly devoted his attention to extracting meaning from his cross-societal studies for our understanding of societal functioning, quality of life, the development of a moral order, and the future of civilization. For the past several years he had been working on his "magnum opus," the first volume of which was published as *The Moral Order: An Introduction to the Human Situation* by Sage in 1983. Early critical acclaim suggests that it will become a classic work in social science. His wife Frada, who worked at his side throughout his career and shares in the credit for his contributions, will be putting his papers in good order so that others can follow and readily build on his work.

Raoul was born in Toronto and principally educated at UCLA. His original discipline was history. A strong historical sense permeates much of his work. Political scientists may be familiar with his *Military Deterrence in History: A Pilot Cross-Historical Survey* (SUNY Press, 1974). He began his teaching career at California State University at Northridge. He moved to Northwestern University in 1962 where he held joint appointments in political science and sociology as well as anthropology. He moved to SUNY Buffalo in 1967 and was made Distinguished Professor of Anthropology in 1979.

I was privileged to be his colleague for 23

## **People in Political Science**

years, first at Northwestern and later at SUNY/Buffalo. While there are many memories of good collegueship, my most vivid memory is of our participation in a faculty/student seminar on "The Search for a Moral Order." The seminar was organized by the two of us along with George Hourani, Distinguished Professor of Philosophy, and met monthly for three years. In such sessions Raoul displayed an extraordinarily wide range of knowledge, an intense appetite for intellectual discourse, a talent for incorporating a variety of ideas in a larger theoretical framework, and a hunger for

ever more knowledge and ideas to enrich our intellectual fare.

We who enjoyed this collegueship will miss him greatly. In a larger sense, all the world will miss him because his scholarship, especially recently, concentrated on many large and eternal questions of human life and human society that cry out for solution. He contributed so much and had potential for contributing so much more that all the world will feel his loss.

Lester Milbrath  
SUNY at Buffalo

## **Research and Training Support**

### **APSA Congressional Fellowship Program**

The American Political Science Association announces its 34th Annual Congressional Fellowship Program for political scientists, journalists, and federal executives. The purpose of the program is to enable Fellows to learn more about Congress and the legislative process by working as congressional aides for nine months. Orientation for the fellowship year begins in November 1986; office assignments run from December 1986 through August 15, 1987. Application materials must be submitted prior to December 1, 1985.

Political scientists must have a scholarly interest in Congress and the policy-making process and a Ph.D. completed within the last 15 years, or near completion. Mid-career faculty members on sabbatical leave are encouraged to apply. The stipend is \$16,000, plus travel allowance.

Journalists must have a B.A. and two to ten years of experience in newspaper, magazine, radio, or television reporting. Preference is given to candidates without extensive Washington experience. The stipend is \$16,000, plus travel allowance.

The application procedures for political scientists and journalists require submission of a detailed resume; a personal statement of about 500 words explaining how the Congressional Fellowship Program relates to professional career goals; the names of three professional references who will send letters of recommendation to APSA by December 15, 1985; and a sample of best professional writing.

Federal executives must have a minimum grade of GS-13 or equivalent; at least

two years of federal service in the executive branch; and congressional experience must be relevant to career goals. Federal executive applicants are nominated by their agencies. Each agency may nominate up to three candidates by the deadline date of March 1, 1986.

For further information, contact Congressional Fellowship Program, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 483-2512. □

### **APSA Graduate Fellowships for Black Students**

Each year the American Political Science Association sponsors fellowships for black students planning graduate study in political science. The purpose of the program is threefold: to identify and to aid prospective black political science graduate students; to encourage other institutions to provide financial assistance to these students; and to increase the number of black American Ph.D.s in political science.

APSA Fellows must enroll in doctoral programs in political science at an accredited institution of higher learning. Potential for success in graduate studies and financial need will be given major consideration.

The fellowship stipend is approximately \$4,700 for one year. After the Fellows are chosen, three of them will be offered stipends to attend the university of their choice. Graduate departments will be asked to provide assistance to the non-funded Fellows.

Applications for the 1986-87 academic year must be received prior to December 1, 1985. For further information and application forms, write: APSA Graduate

## Research and Training Support

Fellowships for Black Students, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 483-2512. □

### **APSA Graduate Fellowships for Chicano and Latino Students**

The American Political Science Association offers fellowships to aid prospective Chicano and Latino political science graduate students.

Applicants must qualify for acceptance at accredited institutions of higher learning and must enroll in doctoral programs in political science.

The fellowship stipend of approximately \$5,000 will be offered to one fellow. Graduate departments will be asked to provide assistance for nonfunded fellows.

Applications for the 1986-87 academic year must be received prior to December 1, 1985. For further information and application forms, write: APSA Graduate Fellowships for Chicano and Latino Students, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 483-2512. □

### **Taft Institute for Two-Party Government**

Taft Seminars for Teachers—graduate credit courses in practical politics and two-party government for elementary and secondary school educators—are sponsored annually by 25-30 colleges and universities over the country. Most seminars run two or three weeks during the summer.

The official application deadline is October 28, 1985, but applications received through November 30, 1985, will be reviewed.

Guidelines for application can be obtained from Marilyn Chelstrom, President, Taft Institute for Two-Party Government, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10170. Phone: (212) 682-1530. □

### **1986-87 NSF Graduate Fellowship**

Students selected for awards in the 1986-87 National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship competition, conducted for NSF by the National Research Council, will receive stipends of \$11,000 for a 12-month fellowship tenure. The cost-of-education allowance to the institution chosen by the Fellow for graduate study will be \$6,000 in lieu of all tuition costs and assessed fees.

In this fellowship competition, panels of eminent scientists and engineers are appointed by the National Research Council to evaluate fellowship applications on the basis of ability. Final selection of Fellows will be made by the Foundation, with awards to be announced in March 1986.

As one means of aiding the progress of science and engineering in the United States, NSF Graduate Fellowships will be offered to individuals who have demonstrated ability and special aptitude for advanced training in science or engineering. Subject to the availability of funds and to sustained academic progress, new fellowships awarded in March 1986 will be for maximum tenured periods of three years. Applicants must be citizens of the United States.

NSF Graduate Fellowships are intended for students at or near the beginning of their graduate study, and will be awarded for study or work leading to master's or doctoral degrees in the mathematical, physical, biological, engineering, and social sciences, and in the history and philosophy of science. Awards will not be made in clinical, education, or business fields, in history or social work, for work leading to medical, dental, law, or public health degrees, or for study in joint science-professional degree programs. Eligible applicants must not have completed, by the beginning of the fall 1985 term, more than 20 semester hours, 30 quarter hours, or equivalent, of study in the science and engineering fields listed above following completion of the first baccalaureate degree in science or engineering, or its equivalent. Additionally, no individual will be eligible who, at

the time of application, has earned an advanced degree in science or engineering.

Applicants will be required to take the Graduate Record Examinations (GRE) designed to measure developed abilities as well as achievement in particular fields of scientific study. The examinations, administered by the Educational Testing Service, will be given on December 14, 1985, at designated centers throughout the U.S. and in certain foreign countries. The Foundation will pay December 14 test fees for fellowship applicants, providing NSF application is the primary purpose.

The deadline date for the submission of applications for NSF Graduate Fellowships will be November 15, 1985. Further information and application materials may be obtained from the Fellowship Office, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, DC 20418. □

### **1986-87 NSF Minority Graduate Fellowship**

Students selected for awards in the 1986-87 National Science Foundation Minority Graduate Fellowship competition, conducted for NSF by the National Research Council, will receive stipends of \$11,000 for a 12-month fellowship tenure. The cost-of-education allowance to the institution chosen by the Fellow for graduate study will be \$6,000 in lieu of all tuition costs and assessed fees.

In this fellowship competition, panels of eminent scientists and engineers are appointed by the National Research Council to evaluate fellowship applications on the basis of ability. Final selection of Fellows will be made by the Foundation, with awards to be announced in March 1986.

As one means of increasing the number of practicing scientists who are members of ethnic minority groups that traditionally have been underrepresented in the advanced levels of the nation's science and engineering personnel pool, NSF Minority Graduate Fellowships will be offered to minority individuals who have

demonstrated ability and special aptitude for advanced training in science or engineering. Applicants must be citizens of the United States who are members of one of the following ethnic minority groups: American Indian, Black, Hispanic, Native Alaskan (Eskimo or Aleut), or Native Pacific Islander (Polynesian or Micronesian).

NSF Minority Graduate Fellowships are intended for students at or near the beginning of their graduate study, and will be awarded for study or work leading to master's or doctoral degrees in the mathematical, physical, biological, engineering, and social sciences, and in the history and philosophy of science. Awards will not be made in clinical, education, or business fields, in history or social work, for work leading to medical, dental, law, or public health degrees, or for study in joint science-professional degree programs. Eligible applicants must not have completed, by the beginning of the fall 1985 term, more than 20 semester hours, 30 quarter hours, or equivalent, of study in the science and engineering fields listed above following completion of the first baccalaureate degree in science or engineering, or its equivalent. Additionally, no individual will be eligible who, at the time of application, has earned an advanced degree in science or engineering.

Applicants will be required to take the Graduate Record Examinations (GRE) designed to measure developed abilities as well as achievement in particular fields of scientific study. The examinations, administered by the Educational Testing Service, will be given on December 14, 1985 at designated centers throughout the United States and in certain foreign countries. The Foundation will pay December 14 test fees for fellowship applicants, providing NSF application is the primary purpose.

The deadline date for the submission of applications for NSF Minority Graduate Fellowships will be November 15, 1985. Further information and application materials may be obtained from the Fellowship Office, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, DC 20418. □

## New Jersey Historical Commission

The Commission's grant programs and application deadlines follow:

**Public Programs:** Up to \$4,000 to non-profit organizations for programs that bring the history of New Jersey to a broad general public. November 15.

**Local History Research:** Up to \$2,000 to nonprofit organizations for original research and writing on New Jersey history. November 15.

**Historical Publication:** Up to \$6,000 for the publication of works about the history of New Jersey. November 15.

**Research in New Jersey History:** Up to \$2,000 to individual scholars for original research and writing on New Jersey history. April 15.

**Teaching Projects in New Jersey History:** Up to \$1,000 to teachers, administrators or school or college librarians at any instructional level, public or private, for classroom projects dealing with the history of New Jersey. April 15.

**Conservation of Historical Collections:** Up to \$4,000 to nonprofit organizations for conserving library, museum and archival collections relating to the history of the state that are accessible to the public. April 15.

**Afro-American History:** The Afro-American History Program supports teaching projects, original research and writing, publication, conservation, and public programs. Up to \$1,000 for teaching, \$2,000 for research, \$6,000 for publication, \$4,000 for public programs, and \$4,000 for conservation. April 15.

**Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution:** This new program, that has the same categories and the same maximum awards as the general grant programs, supports projects that deal with New Jersey's role in drafting and ratifying the U.S. Constitution or with the state's constitutional history. April 15.

**Alfred E. Driscoll Publication Prize:** One annual award to the author of an outstanding doctoral dissertation on New Jersey history to assist its publication. A publication subvention of up to \$6,000

and a \$500 prize to the author. June 15.

**Richard P. McCormick Prize for Scholarly Publications:** One award of \$250 to the author of an outstanding book on New Jersey history published in calendar year 1984 or 1985. The prize is awarded annually, alternately to an article and a book. Nominations must be submitted by June 15.

For information, application forms and program guidelines, contact Grants and Prizes, New Jersey Historical Commission, Department of State, 113 W. State St., CN 305, Trenton, NJ 08625. □

## Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships

The Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships, in existence since 1975, have annually aided scholars whose work advances understanding of the modern world through clarification of the past or direct assessment of the present. For 1986-87, the fellowships will be offered as residencies at host institutions selected for their support of emerging fields in which important work is being done. Host institutions select scholars and supply fellowship stipends. Each institution sets its own deadline for application. Deadlines range from December 1985 through April 1986.

For a list of host institutions and application procedures, contact: Residency Program in the Humanities, The Rockefeller Foundation, Arts and Humanities Division, 1133 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. □

## American Council of Learned Societies

The American Council of Learned Societies is a private nonprofit federation of 45 national scholarly organizations. The Council's programs of fellowships and grants, with the exceptions stated in the programs in Chinese Studies and East European Studies, are designed to advance research.

General inquiries and requests for appli-

cation forms should be addressed to the Office of Fellowships and Grants, ACLS, 228 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017. In requesting application forms, the applicant should state highest academic degree held and date received, citizenship or permanent residence, academic or other position, field of specialization, proposed subject of research or study, period of time for which support is requested, and the specific award program under which an application is contemplated.

### **Grants-in-Aid:**

The purpose of Grants-in-Aid is to provide funds in support of significant humanistic research. The deadline for receipt of applications is December 15, 1985.

### **Travel Grants for Humanists:**

In cooperation with its constituent societies, the ACLS administers a program of travel grants, on a competitive basis, to scholars in humanistic disciplines to enable them to participate in international scholarly meetings held outside of North America. Social scientists whose interests are historical or philosophical may apply if the meeting they wish to attend is so oriented.

Completed application forms should be sent to the ACLS Travel Grant Office by July 1 for meetings November-February, November 1 for meetings March-June, and March 1 for meetings July-October.

### **Grants for Chinese Studies:**

The deadline for receipt of applications for the four fellowship programs below is December 2, 1985, for work to be undertaken in 1986-87.

***Fellowships for Postdoctoral Research:*** Grants are offered to support original research on Chinese culture or society, including research designed to synthesize or reinterpret the applicant's past research in order to produce an original overview of scholarship on any topic or problem of importance in the study of China.

***Mellon Research and Training Fellow-***

***ships for Young China Scholars:*** Fellowships designed to facilitate the development and enrichment of young China scholars by allowing them to engage in programs of research or study are offered to scholars who received their doctorates within the last five years.

***Mellon Language Training Fellowships:*** These grants are offered to enable China scholars who have already demonstrated the ability to do research with Chinese language materials to improve their existing skills.

***Fellowships for Dissertation Research Abroad:*** Applicants must be regular Ph.D. candidates who expect to complete all requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation by June 30, 1986.

### **Mellon Chinese Summer Language Grants:**

Grants will be offered for intensive Chinese language training to be undertaken during the summer of 1986 in Taipei. The deadline is February 15, 1986.

### **China Conference Travel Grants:**

Partial support is offered to U.S. scholars attending research conferences in the People's Republic. Deadlines are January 1, 1986, for conferences June/August 1986, and July 1, 1986, for conferences September/November 1986.

### **Grants for East European Studies:**

Fellowships and grants will be offered for research and training in the social sciences and humanities relating to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The expected deadline is December 2, 1985.

### **Social Science Research Council:**

Programs of grants for postdoctoral research in the social sciences and humanities will include support for studies on several countries. The deadline for application is December 1, 1985. For further information, write Office of Fellowships and Grants, Social Science

## Research and Training Support

Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

### International Research and Exchanges Board:

The Board administers scholarly exchange programs with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, grants and scholarships focused on these countries, and programs of joint cooperation. For detailed information, write to: International Research and Exchanges Board, 655 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017. □

## International Research

The Social Science Research Council has announced the application dates for the international research fellowships and grants it will offer in 1985-86. The awards are for the academic year 1986-87.

*International Postdoctoral Research Grants* are offered for research in or on Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Near and Middle East. They may be used to support research on one country, comparative research between countries within an area, or comparative research between areas. There is also a special program for collaborative research between American and foreign scholars on Latin America. The deadline for all postdoctoral research applications is December 1, 1985.

*Indochina Studies* grants are available to support research, writing, and the archiving of materials on Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, drawing on the knowledge and experience of the refugees who have left these three countries since 1975, and who are now residing in North America. Interested researchers, writers, journalists, artists, and other professionals and scholars should submit a letter outlining the proposed project, as well as their own qualifications. Specifically excluded are projects concerned with the American experience in Indochina, and the experience of Indochina refugees in North America. Grant applications must be received by December 1, 1985.

*Applications procedure.* Persons interested in applying for any of these awards should write to the Council (605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158) for its new fellowship and grants brochure. Applications must be submitted on forms provided by the Council. Inquiries concerning fellowships and grants for China and Eastern Europe should be addressed to the American Council of Learned Societies, 228 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017.

The Social Science Research Council, incorporated in 1924, is a nonprofit organization of scholars devoted to the advancement of research in the social sciences. The Council co-sponsors with the American Council of Learned Societies a series of award programs in the humanities and the social sciences supported by the Ford Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Japan-United States Friendship Commission. The Indochina Studies Program is supported by the Ford Foundation, the Henry R. Luce Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. □

## Stanford Humanities Center

The Stanford Humanities Center expects to offer five to seven external fellowships for 1986-87 intended for scholars and teachers in the humanities, or those in other fields working on related projects, who would be interested in spending the academic year at Stanford. The fellowships will consist of two categories: (1) fellowships for already well-established and usually tenured scholars; (2) fellowships for junior, usually untenured scholars, especially those who teach at colleges or universities that do not have major graduate schools or do not have doctoral programs in their own departments. These external fellowships are not intended either for students who are now finishing, or who have only very recently completed, their doctorates. The fellowships are primarily to enable fellows to pursue their own research and writing in a collegial setting along with



Stanford faculty and graduate fellows; however, recipients are also expected to devote about one-sixth of their time to teaching or in some other way contributing to intellectual life in the humanities at Stanford.

Fellows receive stipends based on their expected academic salary for the year. Senior applicants particularly are strongly encouraged to arrange some other financial support and will normally receive the difference between that funding (e.g., sabbatical, fellowship) and their expected academic salary. The deadline for application is December 13, 1985. Application materials and further information may be obtained by writing Morton Sosna, Associate Director, Stanford Humanities Center, Mariposa House, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. □

### **Tinker Postdoctoral Fellowship**

The 1986 Tinker Postdoctoral Fellowship competition will be open to individuals who have completed their doctorates between 1976 and 1983. Applicants must be citizens or permanent residents of the U.S., Canada, Spain, Portugal, or the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere. Projects must concern Ibero-American or Iberian studies in the areas of the Foundation's interest: social sciences, international relations, and natural resource development. The one-year award provides a \$25,000 stipend. Applications must be received by the Foundation no later than December 15, 1985.

For further information contact: Melinda Pastor, The Tinker Foundation, 645 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022. Phone: (212) 421-6858. □

### **Cultural Constructions of Gender**

Brown University's Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women announces four post-doctoral fellowships in residence for 1986-87. Fellows will participate in a research project on "Cultural

Constructions of Gender," which will focus in 1986-87 on "Gender in Popular Culture and Popular Religion." The Fellows participate in a weekly project seminar and pursue individual research.

Candidates will be asked to propose a research project related to the theme of "Gender in Popular Culture and Popular Religion." Research should address theoretical issues related to cultural construction of gender and should consider cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural perspectives on the question.

Two post-doctoral fellowships are open to anyone in the humanities or social sciences whose research has a strong humanistic component. Recipients may not hold a tenured position in an American college or university.

Two post-doctoral fellowships are available to scholars who meet the above criteria and who are Third World or minority scholars.

The stipend is \$20,000. Supplementary funds are available to Third World or minority scholars for assistance with travel expenses from abroad. Applications are due on December 20; selection will be announced by March 1.

For application forms write to: Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women, Box 1958, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. □

### **Studies of Soviet Union**

The Social Science Research Council has been awarded funds by the U.S. Department of State to promote the development and maintenance of knowledge about the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

There are three award programs to meet these objectives: (1) Fellowships for graduate training in Russia and Soviet studies with annual stipends of up to \$15,000 for the support of students in the third and fourth years of graduate study; (2) dissertation fellowships in Russian and Soviet studies with awards of up to \$15,000 a year; and (3) postdoctoral fellowship in Russian and Soviet studies with awards intended to improve the aca-

## Research and Training Support

ademic employment and tenure opportunities of new Ph.D.s in any discipline of the social sciences and humanities.

For further information about these programs, contact Blair A. Ruble, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158, or write to the Council and request a copy of the new fellowships and grants brochure, available in August 1985. □

## Bruce Centre Fellowships

The David Bruce Centre for American Studies offers facilities for Visiting Fellows at the University of Keele on either a termly or sessional basis. Persons interested should be either professional political scientists doing research on U.S.-related subjects, or teachers wishing to update their knowledge of politics for classroom use. No stipend is attached to the Fellowship but services are provided that include office accommodation, secretarial assistance, access to computing facilities, library resources, etc. Modest allowances are available for research and conference expenses. American Studies has its own political scientists, and is also closely associated with the Politics Department. No formal duties are attached to the post, but Fellows are expected to participate in the Centre's general seminar program and to be accessible to graduate students.

The University is adjacent to the industrial city of Stoke-on-Trent, two hours by train from London, and is a campus university in extensive park land. Inquiries should be addressed to the Director of the Bruce Centre, University of Keele, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire ST5 5BG, England. □

## Institute of American Cultures Fellowship, 1986-87

UCLA's Institute of American Cultures, in cooperation with the University's four ethnic centers, offers graduate and postdoctoral fellowships to support study of Afro-Americans, Asian Americans, Chi-

canos, or American Indians. The stipend for the graduate fellowships is \$5,000 per year plus registration fees and out-of-state tuition if applicable. Postdoctoral fellowships range from \$20,000 to \$25,000 per year. Postdoctoral fellowships can be awarded for less than a year, in which case the stipend is adjusted to the length of the award; postdoctoral fellowships can be used to supplement sabbatical salaries.

The final date for submitting fellowship applications is December 31, 1985. For further information and applications, contact the Fellowship Director of the *appropriate ethnic center* at UCLA: Center for Afro-American Studies, 3111 Campbell Hall; Asian American Studies Center, 3232 Campbell Hall; Chicano Studies Research Center, 3121 Campbell Hall; American Indian Studies Center, 3220 Campbell Hall; University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024. □

## Liberal Arts Fellowships in Law

For the academic year 1986-87, Harvard Law School offers four or five Liberal Arts Fellowships to college and university teachers in the arts and sciences for a year at the Harvard Law School. Holders of these fellowships will have the title of Fellow in Law and . . . (History, Philosophy, etc., depending upon their particular discipline).

The purpose of the fellowships is to enable teachers in the social sciences or humanities to study fundamental techniques, concepts, and aims of law, so that in their teaching and research they will be better able to use legal materials and legal insights that are relevant to their own disciplines.

Fellowship holders will presumably take at least two first-year courses in law, in addition to more advanced courses, and will participate in a joint seminar. The year of study will not count toward a degree.

The fellowship grant covers tuition and health fee only, as well as provision of office space. The Chair of the Liberal Arts

Fellowships Committee will be glad to write a letter to any funding agency to which the applicant has applied describing the program and indicating the extent of the Committee's interest in inviting the applicant to be a Fellow.

Applications should include a biographical resume (including academic record and list of publications), a statement explaining what the applicant hopes to achieve through the year of study, and two letters or recommendation (mailed to the Chair directly from the referees). There is no special application form. Applications should be sent to: The Chair, Committee on Liberal Arts Fellowships, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Applications for 1986-87 should be complete by January 15, 1986, at the latest. Awards will be announced by February 15, 1986. Applications completed by December 15, 1985, will be reviewed for possible early acceptance. □

### **1986 Summer Institute for Teachers of American Government**

The American Judicature Society invites applications for its three-week summer institute for teachers of American government.

Lawrence Baum and Lynn Maher will serve as faculty covering both the theory and practice of the American judicial system. In becoming acquainted with the third branch of government, participants will have the opportunity to increase their effectiveness in teaching both state and national government courses.

The Institute is open to full-time faculty at universities and two- and four-year colleges. Participants will receive stipends. Enrollment is limited, and the application deadline is January 15, 1986. For further information and application forms contact: Frances K. Zemans, Director, Education and Research, American Judicature Society, 25 East Washington, Suite 1600, Chicago, IL 60602. □

### **Pre-Dissertation Fellowships**

The Council for European Studies will offer 12 fellowships for 1986.

The basic purpose of the Pre-Dissertation Fellowships is to enable graduate students in the social science disciplines to pursue short-term, exploratory research in Western or Southern Europe in order to determine the viability and to better define the scope of their proposed dissertation.

In keeping with the exploratory purpose of the fellowships, students who are advanced in their dissertation research or whose dissertation prospectus has received formal approval from their academic department are ineligible. Similarly, graduate students who are in Europe at the time of the competition also are precluded from applying for the fellowships.

Applicants must be enrolled in a doctoral program at an American or Canadian university and must have completed the equivalent of at least two years of full-time graduate study prior to the beginning date of their proposed research. Fellowships are restricted to citizens or permanent residents (immigrant visa holders) of the United States and citizens or landed immigrants of Canada.

Eligible disciplines are the following: anthropology (excluding archaeology), economics, history (post-1750 only), geography, political science, and sociology.

Fellowships provide \$2,000 for travel and living expenses. Fellowship recipients are required to submit a written report to the Council upon their return. In the report, students are requested to outline their research in specific archives or libraries, their contacts with European scholars in their field, any problems which they may have encountered in the course of their research and the ways in which their experience has re-shaped their dissertation project.

The application deadline is January 15, 1986. Applications must be requested by December 20, 1985. □

## Russian and East European Studies

A grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation will allow the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Michigan to offer one or more post-doctoral fellowships to support significant research projects in any area of Center for Russian and East European Studies. Preference will be given in these awards to younger scholars, although applications at all levels are invited. The fellowship stipend will be \$18,000 and may be used in lieu of salary or in conjunction with other fellowship awards or research grants. Fellows must be in residence in Ann Arbor for the major portion of their Fellowship terms, and will be expected to participate in Center activities.

Applications must be received by February 15, 1986. Awards will be announced on or around April 1, 1986. Each applicant should submit a full curriculum vitae, a statement of current research and teaching interests, and a proposal describing how these interests would be pursued under an award. Applicants should also submit three letters of recommendation, sent directly to the Center.

Applications should be sent to: William G. Rosenberg, Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan, 208 Lane Hall, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. □

## Minorities Fellowships

The CIC Minorities Fellowships Program will award more than 40 four-year fellowships in 1985 to minority students seeking doctorates in a wide variety of fields in the social sciences, humanities, and the sciences and engineering.

The fellowships provide full tuition and an annual stipend of at least \$6,500 for each of four years. Sponsored by the Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC), the consortium of the Big Ten universities and the University of Chicago, the fellowships may be used at any one of the 11 CIC universities to which recipients have been admitted.

The universities at which the fellowships may be used are the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, Indiana University, the University of Iowa, the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, the University of Minnesota, Northwestern University, The Ohio State University, Purdue University, and the University of Wisconsin.

Students from underrepresented minority groups who intend to pursue studies leading to a Ph.D. in the social sciences, humanities, and science fields covered by the program are eligible to apply. A total of 25 fellowships are available in the social sciences with about ten each awarded in the humanities and the sciences programs.

The deadline for applications for fall 1986 is January 17, but students are urged to apply as early as possible in the fall. A unique one-step application procedure combines on a single form application both for the fellowship and for admission to any of the CIC universities.

Detailed information about the program can be obtained by writing to the CIC Minorities Fellowships Program, 111 Kirkwood Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. Prospective applicants from outside Indiana may also call toll-free at (800) 457-4420 to obtain information and application forms. □

## William C. Foster Fellows

The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) has announced that it is accepting applications for visiting scholars, under the William C. Foster Fellows Program, for 1986-87. This program is designed to give specialists in the physical sciences and other disciplines relevant to ACDA's activities an opportunity to participate actively in the arms control and disarmament activities of the Agency and to give the Agency the perspective and expertise such persons can offer.

William C. Foster Fellows for 1986-87 will be appointed for 12 months beginning in the summer or early fall of 1986. They will be compensated in accordance

with the Intergovernmental Personnel Act, which allows the Agency to reimburse a university for the services of its employees. Fellows must be citizens or nationals of the U.S. and on the faculty of a recognized institution of higher learning. Prior to appointment they will be subject to a full-field background security and loyalty investigation for a top secret security clearance.

Applications should be made in the form of a letter indicating the perspective and expertise that the applicant offers accompanied by a curriculum vitae and any other materials such as letters of reference and samples of published articles that the applicant believes should be considered in the selection process. The deadline date for applications is January 31, 1986. Applications and requests for information on available assignments should be sent to: William C. Foster Fellows Program, Attention: Personnel Officer, Room 5722, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, DC 20451; telephone (202) 632-2034.

□

### **Emigre Retraining Fellowships**

The Center for Russian and East European Studies at University of Michigan is pleased to announce the establishment of the Mellon Emigre Retraining Fellowship Program for recent arrivals from East Europe or the Soviet Union. Supported by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, a one-year renewable fellowship and teaching assistance grant will be offered to an outstanding young scholar for graduate work at the University of Michigan in any discipline. The stipend will be \$6,500 plus tuition expenses.

Candidates will be expected to have had some advanced training in their area of specialization before emigrating. The fellowship is to assist in the retraining of a recipient at the University of Michigan in order to allow him or her to pursue a career in this country. Preference will be given to applicants interested in careers relating to the Soviet Union and East Europe, and in the area of social or natural sciences, but such career interests are not conditions for appointment.

Part of the Mellon Retraining Fellowship will consist of a teaching assistantship, under which the recipient will be expected to offer tutoring on a regular basis in his or her native language to graduate or undergraduate students affiliated with the Center's programs. Preference will be given to applicants willing to be resident tutors at the University of Michigan Russian House. Details of the tutorial appointment, however, will be arranged at the time the fellowship is awarded and will be structured to meet the recipient's particular abilities and needs.

Applications should be sent directly to the Center and must be received by March 1, 1986. Awards will be announced on or around April 1, 1986. Each applicant should submit a full curriculum vitae, a copy of his or her application to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan, and a brief statement of career goals and interests. If possible, applicants should also submit three letters of recommendation, sent directly to the Center, and copies of diplomas or other credentials, if any, from previous institutions. Applications should be sent to: Student Services, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan, 208 Lane Hall, Ann Arbor, MI 49109.

□

## Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers

### Calendar of Key Meetings of International, National and Regional Political Science Associations

Association	Date	Meeting Place
APSA	August 28-31, 1986	Washington Hilton Washington, DC
IPSA	August 1988	Washington, DC
Midwest	April 10-12, 1986 April 9-11, 1987	Palmer House, Chicago, IL
Northeastern	November 1986	Boston, MA
Southern	November 1986	Atlanta, GA
Southwestern	March 19-22, 1986 March 18-21, 1987	Menger Hotel Convention Center, San Antonio, TX Dallas Hilton, Dallas, TX
Western	March 20-22, 1986 March 26-28, 1987	Hilton Hotel, Eugene, OR Anaheim, CA

### Preservation Conference Planned at National Archives

The National Archives will sponsor a one-day Preservation Conference on December 10, 1985, in Washington, D.C. This is the first annual conference of its kind to be held at the National Archives and will bring together noted conservators and preservation experts.

The conference is part of an effort by the newly independent National Archives and Records Administration to encourage the growing public interest in preservation of documents, photographs, and film.

Pre-registration is required. Fee is \$25 payable to the National Archives Trust Fund (NSZ), Washington, DC 20408.

For further information, contact Alan Calmes, Preservation Officer, (202) 523-1546, or Norvell Jones, Supervisory Conservator, (202) 523-5360. □

### American Politics Group of Great Britain

The American Politics Group will hold its 1985-86 Annual Conference at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, from January 3-5, 1986.

Those interested in presenting papers or acting as a discussant should write to G. R. Peele, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford OX2 6QA, England, as soon as possible. □

### Dominant Powers and Subordinate States

A conference on dominant powers and subordinate states: the U.S. in Latin America and the USSR in Eastern Europe will take place at Stanford University,

January 30-31, 1986. Conference themes include a theoretical and historical overview of the similarities and differences between the two regional powers; influence and spheres of influence; comparing interventions; comparing defections; comparative roles of the Soviet and U.S. military in the regions; and responses to revolutionary change in the two regions.

Papers have been solicited from invited participants, both from Stanford University and other universities in the United States and abroad. The conference papers will be published in a symposium volume soon after the conference.

For more information, contact Jan F. Triska, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. □

## Study of Political Thought

The Conference for the Study of Political Thought will hold an international meeting on the topic, "Poverty, Charity, and Welfare: The Theory and Practice of the Welfare State," at Tulane University from February 14 to 16, 1986. This meeting is sponsored by the Murphy Institute of Political Economy.

Papers will be given by David Miller, "Altruism and the Welfare State"; Robert Goodin, "Reasons for Welfare"; Thomas Haskell, "Humanitarianism and the Blameworthy Self"; Paul Fideler, "Sir Frederic Eden: An Early Historian of Poor Relief Policy"; Istvan Hont, "Poverty as Exceptional Necessity: The Antinomies of Modern Natural Law Theory of Property and Markets"; Frederick Rosen, "Bentham and Mill on Liberty and Justice"; Richard Krouse and Michael MacPherson, "The Logic of Liberal Equality: J. S. Mill on Laissez-faire and the Welfare State"; Claus Offe, "The Welfare State: Critique, Defense, and Alternatives"; Stephen Holmes, "Limited Government and the Critique of the Welfare State"; and Raymond Plant, "Human Needs and Welfare Rights."

Discussants will include Benjamin Barber, John Dunn, Amy Gutmann, Tom Horne, Eric Mack, Jonathan Riley, Nancy Rosen-

blum, Timothy Tilton, and Richard Teichgraeber.

For further information, and for registration and hotel reservation forms, please contact Carroll Smith, Project Coordinator, Murphy Institute of Political Economy, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118. □

## Bicentennial of Constitution Project

"The Old Order Ends: The New American Emerges" is a three-day conference in *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, the Bicentennial of the Constitution project of The Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy. It will be held February 20-22, 1986, at Claremont, California. Thirty participants will discuss the Founders' views of the relationship between moral character and political life.

Featured speakers are Leonard W. Levy, on religion and the founding, and Don Higginbotham, on Washington as founding father and commander-in-chief. Panel topics include "The Political Heritage of the New Order," "Character and the Founding," and "The Founders' View of Military Character." Two seminars will focus on the reading of Thomas Jefferson's letter to Henry Lee on the sources of the Declaration of Independence (May 8, 1825) and *The Federalist*, number 10.

A partial list of participants includes: W. B. Allen, John Alvis, J. Jackson Barlow, Eva Brann, Lawrence Cress, Edward J. Erler, Norman Fiering, Ralph Hancock, Charles Kesler, Richard Kohn, Stanley Kutler, Donald Lutz, Dennis J. Mahoney, Robert Middlekauff, William E. Nelson, Mackubin T. Owens, Ralph Rossum, Ellis Sandoz, Thomas G. West, James Q. Wilson, and Richard Zinman.

The Claremont Institute is pleased to announce that Edward C. Banfield, Markham Professor of Government at Harvard University, was the second annual Constitutional Statesmanship Lecturer in *Novus Ordo Seclorum*. On September 26, 1985, he spoke on "Alexis de Tocqueville: The Picture Without the Frame."

Events in *Novus Ordo Seclorum* are free to the public. It is supported by a grant from the Bicentennial Office of the National Endowment for the Humanities and by the administrative assistance of the Political Science Department of Claremont McKenna College. For more information contact: Ken Masugi, Director, Bicentennial Project, The Claremont Institute, 4650 Arrow Highway, D-6, Montclair, CA 91763. Phone: (714) 621-6825. □

### **Urban Affairs Association**

The 1986 Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association will be held at the Americana Hotel in Fort Worth, Texas, March 5-8. The theme of the meeting will be "Planning for Urban Growth," which includes patterns of urban growth and change, fiscal implications of growth, and growth management.

For further information, write: John Clayton Thomas, L.P. Cookingham Institute of Public Affairs, School of Business and Public Administration, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas City, MO 64110. □

### **Philanthropy and Voluntary Action**

The 1986 Spring Research Forum on Philanthropy, Voluntary Action and the Public Good will be held March 13-14, 1986, at the Vista International Hotel, 3 World Trade Center, New York, NY. The Forum is sponsored by Independent Sector and the United Way Institute.

Preliminary registration materials will be sent out in January. To be included on the mailing list, write: Virginia A. Hodgkinson, Vice President, Research, Independent Sector, 1828 L Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. □

### **Social Philosophy and Policy Center**

On March 14 and 15, 1986, the Social Philosophy and Policy Center will sponsor

a conference on the philosophy of law. The conference will be held at the University of Michigan Law School in Ann Arbor. Participants will include Don Regan (Law, University of Michigan), Jules Coleman (Philosophy, University of Arizona), David Lyons (Philosophy, Cornell University), Richard Epstein (Law, University of Chicago), Philip Soper (Law, University of Michigan), Anthony Kronman (Law, Yale University), and Joel Feinberg (Philosophy, University of Arizona). Inquiries should be addressed to John Ahrens, Assistant Director, Social Philosophy and Policy Center, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403. □

### **Comparative Literature**

The 9th Triennial Meeting of the American Comparative Literature Association will be held March 19-22, 1986, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Address inquiries to: Stuart Y. McDougal, ACLA Triennial, University of Michigan, Program in Comparative Literature, 411 Mason Hall, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. Phone: (313) 763-9157. □

### **Small City and Regional Community**

The Seventh Conference on the Small City and Regional Community will be held March 20-21, 1986, at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point. The major theme is: "Economic Development: Sources, Issue, and Impacts." Most presentations will be published in the conference *Proceedings*. Abstracts are due November 15, 1985, and papers due March 1, 1986.

For information contact: Ed Miller, Co-Director, Center for the Small City, 451 Collins, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point, WI 54481. Phone: (715) 346-2708 or 346-3130. □



## **Western Political Science Association**

The 1986 annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association will be held March 20-22, at the Eugene Hilton, Eugene, Oregon.

Panel, paper, and discussant proposals should be sent to the appropriate section coordinators, listed below. Proposals that do not fit the listed sections should be sent to the program chair.

*Program Chair:* Judith H. Stiehm, Department of Political Science, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0011. O: (213) 743-3331; H: (213) 451-2681.

*Local Arrangements Chair:* Tom Hovet, Department of Political Science, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1202. O: (503) 686-4864; H: (503) 345-6674.

### **Deadlines**

Last date for selection of paper presenters, November 15 (planned), 1985; last date for selection of discussants, December 1, 1985; completed lists of all panels, participants, papers, etc. from section coordinators to program chair in mail, December 10, 1985; preliminary program mailing, January 15, 1986.

### **Section Coordinators**

*Comparative Politics:* Ruth Collier, Institute of International Studies, Moses Hall 215, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. O: (415) 845-1865; H: (415) 654-4986.

*International Relations:* W. Ladd Hollist, Department of Political Science, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84057. O: (801) 378-3423; H: (801) 224-9898.

*Mass Political Behavior:* Rod Kieweit, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA 91125. O: (818) 356-4156.

*Political Science as a Profession:* Gayle Binion, Department of Political Science, University of California-Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA 93106. O: (805)

961-2114; Messages: (805) 961-3431; H: (805) 961-7559.

*Executives and Legislatures:* Gary Jacobson, Department of Political Science, University of California-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093. O: (619) 452-4295; H: (619) 455-6913.

*Judicial Politics and Public Law:* John Brigham, Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Thompson Hall, Amherst, MA 01003. O: (413) 545-0406; H: (413) 549-4753.

*Political Economy/Social Choice:* Larry M. Preston, Department of Political Science, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. O: (602) 523-3163.

*Political Theory:* Gary Jones, Department of Political Science, University of Nevada-Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV 89154. O: (702) 739-3307; H: (702) 870-8124.

*Public Administration and Organizational Analysis:* Ruth Ross, Graduate School, Public Administration, 1250 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach, CA 90840. O: (213) 498-5747; H: (213) 665-6948.

*Public Policy: Issues:* Ed Greenberg, Department of Political Science, Box 333, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309. O: (303) 492-6404; H: (303) 443-8517.

*Urban, State and Intergovernmental Politics:* Larry Berg, Institute of Politics, HSS 105, University of Southern California, University Park, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0061. O: (213) 743-8964; H: (213) 662-7826.

*Public Policy: Actors and Processes:* Herman Lujan, Vice President—Minority Affairs, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195. O: (206) 543-6598.

*Race, Ethnicity and Gender:* Jane Jaquette, Department of Political Science, Occidental College, Eagle Rock, CA 90041. O: (213) 259-2780; H: (213) 452-0526.

*Other Contemporary Issues:* Judith H. Stiehm, Administration 102, University of Southern California, University Park, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0011. O: (213) 743-3331; H: (213) 451-2681. □

## Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers

### Asian Studies

The Association for Asian Studies, Inc., will hold its 1986 annual meeting at the Chicago Hilton and Towers, Chicago, IL, March 21-23.

The annual meeting coordinator is Carol Jean Johnson, Association for Asian Studies, 1 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. □

### Lifelong Learning in International Studies

The Lifelong Learning Group of the International Studies Association is sponsoring a World Conference on Lifelong Learning in International Studies at the Hilton Hotel and Towers, Anaheim, California, on March 25, 1986. The theme is "The U.N. Year of Peace: Deeper Understanding Through Lifelong Learning."

Registration forms and information can be obtained from Leann Brown, Convention Coordinator, International Studies Association, James F. Byrnes International Center, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208. □

### Holocaust Conference

Millersville University is pleased to announce its Fifth Annual Conference on the Holocaust. The theme of this year's conference, scheduled for April 6-7, 1986, is "Resistance to the Holocaust." Proposals are invited for individual papers as well as complete sessions addressing any aspect of the stated theme. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 1986. Selected papers presented at the Conference are eligible for publication in Volume IV of the *Holocaust Studies Annual*. Please address all inquiries and proposals to: Reynold S. Koppel or Jack R. Fischel, History Department, Millersville University, Millersville, PA 17551; (717) 872-3555. □

### Midwest Political Science Association

The 1986 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association will be held at the Palmer House Hotel, Chicago, April 10-12.

#### 1986 Program Committee

**Chair:** Edward A. Kolodziej, Director, Program in Arms Control Disarmament and International Security, 330 Davenport Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801. O: (217) 333-7086/3880; H: (217) 356-1734.

#### Section Heads:

*Political Attitudes, Behavior and Psychology:* Edward Carmines, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. (812) 335 1208.

*Parties and Elections:* Ruth Jones, Department of Political Science, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287. (602) 998-6551.

*Political Executives/Administrative Processes:* Bert Rockman, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. (412) 624-5501.

*Legislative Politics:* Joel Aberbach, Institute of Public Policy Studies, 1516 Rackham, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1070. (313) 764-3490.

*Judicial Process and Public Law:* Peter Nardulli, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1201 W. Nevada, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801. (217) 333-3340.

*State/Local/Urban/Intergovernmental:* Susan MacManus, College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University, 1983 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, OH 44115. (216) 687-2106.

*Gender, Race and Ethnicity:* Virginia Sapiro, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, 110 North Hall, Madison, WI 53706. (608) 263-2391.

*Political Economy:* John Freeman, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1414 Social Science, 267

19th Avenue S., Minneapolis, MN 55455. (612) 373-2651/4610.

*Public Policy:* Carl Van Horn, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, Hickman Hall, Douglass Campus, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. (201) 932-9261.

*Comparative Politics (Industrial Nations):* Ronald Francisco, Department of Political Science, 504 Blake Hall, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 60045. (913) 864-3523.

*Comparative Politics (Developing Nations):* Frank Tachau, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago, Box 4348, Chicago, IL 60680. (312) 996-3105.

*International Politics:* Manus Midlarsky, Center for International Relations, University of Colorado, 101 Hall, Campus Box 269, Boulder, CO 80309. (303) 492-5200.

*Foreign Policy and Strategic Analysis:* James Stegenga, Department of Political Science, Purdue University, Recitation Building, West Lafayette, IN 47907. (317) 494-4133.

*Normative Political Theory:* James Wiser, Department of Political Science, Loyola University, 6525 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626. (312) 508-3047.

*Analytic Theory and Methods:* Philip Schrodtt, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Scott Hall, Evanston, IL 60201. (312) 492-7450. □

## **Research on Contemporary Kenya**

Scholars doing research on contemporary Kenya are invited to propose topics that they would be interested in reporting on at an international conference on the political economy of Kenya to be held at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, DC, April 11-12, 1986. The conference is one of SAIS's annual African Country Day programs, and will lead to the publication of an edited volume on "The Political Economy of Kenya." The first day of the conference will include a

number of papers presented in full on current research on political, social, and economic topics; the second day is envisaged for the summary presentation of research findings at panels. Those interested in participating should send a topic and one-page abstract, as soon as possible but no later than January 1, 1986, to Michael G. Schatzberg, SAIS, 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. □

## **South Carolina PSA**

The South Carolina Political Science Association annual meeting will be held at the University of South Carolina's Columbia campus on April 12, 1986. The meeting provides a forum for the delivery of scholarly papers and recognition of outstanding undergraduate research papers.

The program committee invites proposals for individual papers. Proposals should be sent to Harold B. Birch, Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208. Telephone inquiries are invited. Call (803) 782-8466. □

## **Soviet Jewry in the 1980s**

A conference on Soviet Jewry in the 1980s will be held at Baltimore Hebrew College, April 20, 1986, 1 p.m.-10 p.m. Panels will address internal Soviet policy, the international politics of emigration, and emigration and resettlement.

For further information, contact Office of the Dean, Baltimore Hebrew College, 5800 Park Heights Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21215. Phone: (301) 578-6922. □

## **Western Social Science Association**

The 1986 meeting of the Western Social Science Association will be held at the MGM Grand Hotel in Reno, Nevada, April 23-26, 1986. If you are interested in organizing a panel, presenting a paper, serving as a discussant or as a panel

## Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers

chair, please contact: Michael Clarke, Department of Public Administration, California State University, San Bernardino, CA 92407. Phone: (714) 887-7704.

All participants must preregister by December 31, 1985. ☐

### Arid Lands Studies

The annual meeting of the Association for Arid Lands Studies will be held in conjunction with the Western Social Science Association on April 23-26, 1986, in Reno, Nevada, at the MGM Grand Hotel. Papers on all topics related to arid lands studies are welcome. The deadline for submitting abstracts is November 30, 1985.

Those wishing to present papers, organize special sessions, and/or serve as session chairpersons should contact: Charles R. Britton, AALS Program Chair, Department of Economics, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR 72701. ☐

### California American Studies Association

"Politics in American Culture" will be the topic of the annual conference of the California American Studies Association held April 25-27, 1986, at California State University at Long Beach. Diverse approaches and topics are welcome, including symbolism, rhetoric, ideology, identity, ritual, political fiction, and foreign perceptions.

Proposals for panels and papers should be sent by February 1, 1985, to Harlan Lewin, Political Science Department, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182. ☐

### Australian and New Zealand American Studies Association

Papers are welcome on all aspects of American history, politics, literature, culture, and society for the 12th biennial conference of the Australian and New Zealand American Studies Association. The conference will be held May 12-15, 1986, at Auckland University, New Zealand. Deadline for papers or summaries is December 20, 1985.

Contact conference coordinators: Joe Atkinson, Political Studies Department, or Michael S. Mayer, Department of History, Auckland University, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand. ☐

### New Zealand Political Science

The eighth New Zealand Political Science Conference will be held at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, May 14-16, 1986. The conference theme is "New Zealand Under Labour: The Politics of Change." Panels will examine economic and social changes, constitutional and administrative reform, party politics and electoral behavior, and foreign policy. There will also be a number of panels on broader themes: com-

## LOCATION OF FUTURE ANNUAL MEETINGS

Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association are scheduled to take place on the following dates and in the following cities:

August 28-31, 1986, Washington, D.C.

September 3-6, 1987, Chicago, Illinois

September 1-4, 1988, Washington, D.C.

August 31-September 3, 1989, Atlanta, Georgia

August 30-September 2, 1990, San Francisco, California

parative politics, political theory, international relations, etc.

Further details for those interested in attending the conference and/or presenting papers, are available from: NZPSA Conference Organizer, M. Holland, Department of Political Science, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 1, New Zealand. □

## **Comparative Study of Civilizations**

Papers are invited for the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations, on May 29-31, 1986, at the College of Santa Fe, Santa Fe, NM. Special (but not exclusive) emphasis will be given to the themes of: (1) Moral Biographies in Civilizational Perspective; (2) Transformations Within Civilizations Past and Present; (3) Intercivilizational Regions as Crucibles of Creativity; (4) Reciprocal Interactions Between Technologies and Civilizations; (5) Civilizing Processes: Western and Non-Western (Are Norbert Elias' Ideas Useful in Comparative Perspective?); (6) World History as History of Liberty Updated: Missing Elements and Suppressed Potentialities of Liberalization; (7) Contemporary Predicaments of Intellectuals in Non-Western Civilizations.

Five copies of a one-page abstract should be sent by approximately November 15, 1985, to Vytautas Kavolis, Program Chairman, ISCS 1986, Department of Sociology, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA 17013. □

## **Third World Revisited**

Two conferences on Science, Technology and International Law: The Third World Revisited are being sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of Policy, Research and Development in the Third World. The first conference will be held in Brussels, Belgium, June 5-7, 1986. Proposal deadline is April 15,

1986. The second conference, to be held at the Hyatt Palm Beach, Florida, on September 25-28, 1986, has a proposal deadline of July 20, 1986.

Roundtables include: industrial development and patent laws; copyright regulation and intellectual antitrust; technology transfer and industrial regulation; trademarks and scientific competition; taxation and Third World development; and applicable groups on Africa, Asia/Southwest Asia, Caribbean/Latin America as well as the Middle East.

Address inquiries to Mekki Mtewa, Executive Director, 201 rue Belliard, Box 14, B-1040, Brussels, Belgium. □

## **Women's Studies Association**

The National Women's Studies Association will hold its 8th Annual Convention, June 11-15, 1986, at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. The conference will address the issues of women's health and status in societies and cultures throughout the world.

The coordinators of the meeting are Paula Gray and Jeann Rice, Office of Women's Studies, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 304 Stiven House, 708 South Mathews Avenue, Urbana, IL 61801. □

## **Spanish Civil War**

Siena College is planning a conference on the 50th Anniversary of the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1986, World War II—Prelude, for June 12-13, 1986. Papers, presentations, and panels are invited. It is anticipated that participants will deal with film, art, popular culture and opinion, fascism and communism, the international brigades, women, anarchism, Franco, pacifism between the wars, and various additional topics.

Address proposals and inquiries to Program Committee, World War II, Thomas Kelly, History Department, Siena College, Loudonville, NY 12211. □

## **Political Communication Research Group**

Scholars interested in giving papers or participating as discussants on the program of the Political Communication Research Group at the XV General Assembly and Conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research, to be held in New Delhi, India, August 25-29, 1986, should write to David L. Paletz, Chairperson, Political Communication Research Group, at the Department of Political Science, 214 Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706. Paper-givers should include an outline of their proposed papers. □

## **Intelligence and Policy**

The Defense Intelligence College will sponsor a three-day conference in Washington, DC, August 26-28, 1986 in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. The theme of the conference will be Intelligence and Policy. A portion of it will be co-sponsored by the Georgetown Institute for the Study of Politics. Panel topics will include but not be limited to: Intelligence and the American Regime; Intelligence and Foreign Policy; Intelligence and Congressional Oversight; Intelligence and Response to International Crisis; Intelligence and Arms Policy. The Defense Intelligence College invites proposals for papers or panels. Please send proposals and inquiries to Richard G. Stevens, Associate Dean, Defense Intelligence College (DIC-20), Washington, DC 20301-6111. Proposals should be received before December 15, 1985. Telephone inquiries may be made to Dr. Stevens at (202) 373-3278. For those having Defense Department telephones, the AUTOVON number is 243-3278. □

## **Study of the Constitution**

The Center for the Study of the Constitution will sponsor panels at the 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, DC.

The Center is dedicated to the study of contemporary political issues in light of constitutional principles as articulated in the Founding period. It invites both paper and panel proposals; these should be submitted to Jeffrey Leigh Sedgwick, Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003 by December 31, 1985. □

## **Legislative Studies**

The Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association will accept offers until December 11, 1985, to present papers and chair panels at APSA's 1986 annual meeting. To submit proposals, contact Lawrence C. Dodd, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. □

## **U.S.-Moroccan Relations**

In 1986, Morocco and the United States will celebrate the bicentennial of treaty relations between the two countries. To commemorate the bicentennial of U.S.-Moroccan relations, Old Dominion University in Norfolk, VA and Mohammed V University in Rabat, Morocco, will co-sponsor an interdisciplinary conference on U.S.-Moroccan Relations. The conference will take place November 14-15, 1986, in Norfolk, VA.

Abstracts of proposed papers are invited from scholars and participants in Moroccan-American relations. Papers may address any topic within the theme of U.S.-Moroccan relations. Sessions are anticipated to focus on cultural, political, strategic, and economic aspects of the relationship past, present, and future. Abstracts may be presented in Arabic, English, or French.

The deadline for submission of proposals is March 1, 1986. Proposals should be submitted to: Jerome B. Bookin-Weiner, Center for International Programs, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA 23508; phone: (804) 440-4419; or, Mohamed El Mansour, Departement

d'Histoire, Universite Mohammed V,  
Rabat, Morocco. ☐

### **Advancement of Slavic Studies**

The 18th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, hosted by the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies, will be held November 20-23, 1986 at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, New Orleans.

Proposals for panels and papers should include complete addresses for all participants and must be submitted by January 1, 1986 to: Samuel H. Baron, Program Committee Co-Chair, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514; or Paul Debreczeny, Program Committee Co-Chair, Department of Slavic Languages, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

Please note: All panelists, with the exception of foreign guests and invited participants who are not in the Soviet/East European field, must be current AAASS members. ☐

### **3rd Conference on Bicentennial of the Constitution**

The Claremont Institute for the Study of

Statesmanship and Political Philosophy announces a call for papers for its third annual conference in its Bicentennial of the Constitution Project *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, "What Constitution Have I? Freedom and Immigrants Under the New Order." This conference is scheduled for February 12-14, 1987, in Claremont, California. Possible panel topics are "The Founders' Conception of Citizenship," "The Civil War Amendments Today," "Foreign Policy and Ethnic Divisions," and "From Immigrants to Citizens." The Institute is especially interested in papers that treat their subject matter with the themes of the American political tradition, constitutional law, and political thought in mind. The Institute will provide papergivers with a substantial honorarium, and room and board during the conference. A proposal of no more than

two typed, double-spaced pages and a current vita should be submitted by January 4, 1986. Program announcements will be made in early February.

*Novus Ordo Seclorum* is supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and administrative assistance from the Political Science Department of Claremont McKenna College.

For more information, contact: Ken Masugi, Director, Bicentennial Project, The Claremont Institute, 4650 Arrow Highway, Suite D-6, Montclair, CA 91763. Phone: (714) 621-6825. ☐

#### **Calendar of Events for Conferences Listed in This Issue of PS**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
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**1985**

**December**

10

National Archives Preservation Conference

**1986**

**January**

3-5

American Politics Group of Great Britain

30-31

U.S. in Latin America and USSR in Eastern Europe

**February**

14-16

Conference for the Study of Political Thought

## Upcoming Conferences and Calls for Papers

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| 20-22            | Bicentennial of the Constitution: The Old Order Ends: The New American Emerges              |
| <b>March</b>     |   |
| 5-8              | 1986 Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association  |
| 13-14            | 1986 Spring Research Forum on Philanthropy, Voluntary Action and the Public Good            |
| 14-15            | Conference on the Philosophy of Law   |
| 19-22            | 9th Triennial Meeting of the American Comparative Literature Association                    |
| 20-21            | 7th Conference on the Small City and Regional Community                                     |
| 20-22            | 1986 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association                            |
| 21-23            | 1986 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Inc.                              |
| 25               | World Conference on Lifelong Learning in International Studies                              |
| <b>April</b>     |   |
| 6-7              | 5th Annual Conference on the Holocaust  |
| 10-12            | 1986 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association                            |
| 11-12            | International Conference on the Political Economy of Kenya                                  |
| 12               | 1986 Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Political Science Association                     |
| 20               | Soviet Jewry in the 1980s   |
| 23-26            | 1986 Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association                               |
| 23-26            | 1986 Annual Meeting of the Association for Arid Lands Studies                               |
| 25-27            | 1986 Annual Conference of the California American Studies Association                       |
| <b>May</b>       |   |
| 12-15            | 12th Biennial Conference of the Australian and New Zealand American Studies Association     |
| 14-16            | 8th New Zealand Political Science Conference  |
| 29-31            | 15th Annual Meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations |
| <b>June</b>      |   |
| 5-7              | Science, Technology and International Law: The Third World Revisited                        |
| 11-15            | 8th Annual Convention of the National Women's Studies Association                           |
| 12-13            | Conference on 50th Anniversary of the Spanish Civil War                                     |
| <b>August</b>    |   |
| 25-29            | Political Communication Research Group  |
| 26-28            | Intelligence and Policy   |
| 28-31            | Center for the Study of the Constitution  |
| 28-31            | Legislative Studies Section of the APSA   |
| <b>September</b> |   |
| 25-28            | Science, Technology and International Law: The Third World Revisited (see June 5-7 listing) |
| <b>November</b>  |   |
| 14-15            | U.S.-Moroccan Relations   |
| 20-23            | 18th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies  |
| <b>1987</b>      |   |
| <b>February</b>  |   |
| 12-14            | 3rd Conference on Bicentennial of the Constitution  |



# **International Political Science**

## **Mushakoji Elected IPSA President**

Kinhide Mushakoji of the United Nations University in Japan was elected president of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) at its World Congress held in Paris July 15-20, 1985. Mushakoji succeeds Klaus von Beyme of the Federal Republic of Germany.

At his speech in the closing session of the meeting, Mushakoji said that political science has a special mission to help face world crises. He called for a "resurgence of the political in the high sense of the term" and said that we must take into account the complexity of society and not develop overly simplistic models.

The next IPSA Congress will be held in 1988 in late August in Washington, D.C.



**Kinhide Mushakoji**

As the Congress physically moves from Paris to Washington, IPSA will be engaged in an "intellectual pilgrimage" as well, according to Mushakoji. He suggested that political science in Europe is different from political science in the U.S. and said that IPSA members would be "looking for a meaningful dialogue with our colleagues in North America" whom he characterized as post-behavioralists.

The three goals for the 1988 Congress, said Mushakoji, will be to identify global issues, to become more aware of the fact that global problems require local solutions, and to stress the importance of the state, government and political institutions.

Mushakoji selected Harold Jacobson of the University of Michigan to serve as chairperson of the Programme Committee for the 1988 Congress. □

## **Forum '85 and the United Nations Decade for Women Conference**

**Victoria Schuck**

### **Two Conferences Held**

The greatest number of women ever to assemble from around the world gathered in Nairobi, Kenya, last July for two meetings to mark the conclusion of the United

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Victoria Schuck was APSA's representative at the Nairobi Forum '85. She is a former professor of political science at Mount Holyoke College, former president of Mount Vernon College, and is now a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Political Science at Stanford University. She was a member of the Tribune in Mexico and a member of the planning committee of the American follow-up, the Houston Conference.



**Victoria Schuck**

Nations Decade for Women—more than 4,000 including 2,020 delegates from 157 member governments for the official World Conference and 13,503 registered representatives from unofficial non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for Forum '85. Nearly 60 percent of the Forum came from Africa and the Third World.

### **Historical Notes**

Two preceding conferences, one in Mexico City and one in Copenhagen, had set the stage for Nairobi. The Decade 1976-1985 with the theme, "Equality, Development, Peace" had been proclaimed by the UN General Assembly following the recommendations of the World Conference on the UN Women's Year in Mexico City in 1975 represented by 133 governments. Its World Plan of Action set minimal targets for 1980 directed toward equal participation of women in world development and peace, calling for more literacy, more women in policy-determining positions, and more recognition of the economic value of women's nonpaid work. The United States refused to sign the accompanying declaration of Mexico because the U.S. opposed the Declaration's advocacy of a New International Economic Order and its condemnation of zionism.

The second, a mid-term World Conference in Copenhagen in 1980 represented by 144 governments undertook an evaluation of progress in the Mexico Plan and developed another Programme of Action for the second half of the decade emphasizing the subtheme of the Decade adopted by the General Assembly,

whose key components included employment, health and education. As this conference progressed, it became increasingly politicized and embroiled in the controversy over whether women's rights could be isolated from the political context of the UN including such divisive issues as the Middle East, South Africa, and the world economic order. Most of the Programme could have been accepted but some of the paragraphs ran counter to policies of the U.S. and three other nations, leading them to vote against the document; 22 others abstained. How to avoid such a failure in 1985 conditioned the U.S. delegation and became a pervasive concern in the Nairobi Conference despite the presence of the three distinct voting blocs—the Western, the non-aligned Group of 77 and the Eastern countries—and the contentious politics of the United Nations.

Non-governmental organizations were invited to send representatives to both the Mexico City and Copenhagen conferences, but they were to meet separately from the official delegates representing governments. In Mexico City, women from NGOs met at the Centro Medico, miles apart from the Conference, listened to speeches, attended a few panels and dared to write drafts for the World Plan of Action. They were an inexperienced group who had no prior briefings and did not know one another, and they returned to their homes full of questions about UN practice and behavior.

In Copenhagen the same conflicts and differences in perceptions of women's issues appeared in the meeting for NGO representatives as in the World Conference. Should the Forum, as the NGO gathering was called, consider issues in the larger political agenda or more narrowly defined such as health, reproductive rights, and the rights on the feminine agenda? Language of the Forum was harsher than government language. In the Forum, American Jewish women were verbally and almost physically attacked. Jewish women were traumatized dealing with Third World issues in general. As a result, the U.S. for a number of years refused to contribute to the UN fund for women to mete out punish-

ment for what had occurred at the Copenhagen Forum.

### Forum '85

On July 10, Forum '85, the NGO group in Nairobi began its 10-day meeting a week before the World Conference began. The number of participants exceeded the wildest expectations of the organizers. Attendees besides the registrants swelled the figures to 15,000. (Mexico City's NGO Tribune had 6,000 and Copenhagen's NGO Forum, 8,000.) Among them were lawyers, academics, social workers, parliamentarians, students, doctors, members of coalitions, judges, celebrities, western feminists, researchers, working-class women, religious fundamentalists, emerging politicians, village leaders from rural areas and farm women who had saved for the price of a bus ticket. Organized by an international NGO planning committee with offices in Geneva, New York, and Nairobi and having an open-ended "agenda" unencumbered by official policies of governments, the Forum was designed to afford an exchange of information ranging from the personal to the political.

At a stirring opening, 6,000 women jammed into the main hall of the Jomo Kenyatta Conference Centre to hear the welcome of Dr. Eddah Gachukia of the Kenya NGO committee and several keynote speeches. Dame Nita Barrow (Barbados), the Convenor, an international organization activist and prominent church woman, talked about her dream of "Woman-time" and "a new day" at the conclusion of the Forum. Knowing that unity would be unlikely, she pleaded for "understanding. Filipino Leticia Shahani, the Secretary-General of the Conference, reviewed the results of a survey of the Decade's achievements and failures. And Kenneth Matiba, Kenyan Minister of Culture and Social Services, speaking for his government, expressed the hope that women would come up with strategies for action. Concluding by transposing a civil rights phrase, he stated, "As I've come to think of myself being in a relevant ministry—we women of the world shall overcome."

Optimism and excitement went with the

move to the campus of the University of Nairobi for the remainder of the sessions. Panels and workshops on the themes of the decade plus "emergency situations" the world-over constituted the core of the Forum—1,305 sessions in university classrooms and in nearby buildings. Of these 1,200 had been approved by the organizing committee; the rest were generated spontaneously and authorized as space permitted. (One Forum member would remark later, "You couldn't think of an issue without someone's wanting to organize around it.") Titles of sessions varied from Women's Rights in Iran and Integration of Gender Issues in Development to Violence against Women and Nuclear Awareness. Notable was a five-day series on Women, Law and Development organized by OEF International, an American private voluntary agency, led by professionals from Third World countries. They reported on efforts to change discriminatory laws and make legal resources available to low income women, then strategized for the future.

Throughout, thousands of women checked past security gates into the university for the 100 or more workshops daily. Schedules were published, and the newspaper, *Forum*, struggled to print changes and calendars of accompanying cultural events, exhibitions, the "film-forum," displays, and rural visits.

A dozen political scientists from the U.S. contributed to panels and workshops. Those going to Paris for the International Political Science Congress had early meeting dates in the Forum. Topics covered were Women and Natural Resources, Women's Roles in the Political Arena, Designing an Electoral System for Women's Maximum Legislative Participation, Women in Higher Education, Advancing Careers in Public Service, Reconciling Conflict Images of Peace, and Worldwide Comparisons of Women in Local Public Service, a panel I led.

In our APSA-labeled workshop on local public service, participants concluded that women were at lower levels of responsibility, with less power, lower salaries and less prestige than men. In some countries women had no role at all in local government, for example, Tanzania; in others women were well repre-

## International Political Science

sented, for example, Finland, where women constitute 20 to 40 percent of local office holders. In countries where there were few women, the women felt isolated and had difficulty motivating themselves. Looking toward the future, participants mentioned three specific strategies: limited terms of office, proportional representation and strict finance rules to equalize resources among candidates.

## Political Issues and Finale

Political issues involved external, intra-forum, and World Conference relationships. As to the external, relations with the Kenya government reached crisis proportions on three occasions. In each, the Forum "overcame." Hotel room shortages led off. Eviction notices by government order went to occupants at first-class hotels to make way for incoming officials attending the World Conference. Cries that the decision exemplified the second class status of Forum women made banner headlines in the Nairobi press. Women banded together. Small enclaves of occupants negotiated by proposing to "double, triple and quadruple up" while complaining to the American Embassy and gaining support of the President of Kenya. The order was rescinded. Several American political scientists fresh from conflict-resolution study had a hand in resolving the problem.

The two later crises were resolved by Dame Barrow. When the government threatened to close down the Peace Tent over the rowdy confrontations, she said, "Close the Tent, and I will close the entire Forum." The Tent remained open. When movie censorship prevented the showing of "Laila and the Wolves," a film from Lebanon, hundreds of women were ready to march in protest. Kenya opposes demonstrations. To Barrow, censorship was out of the question. Nevertheless, if the women insisted on marching, she requested that they leave their Forum badges behind. Then Barrow offered an alternative, to be permitted to continue negotiations all night if necessary. Both sides accepted. The film was returned to her. The marchers dispersed.

Inside the Forum and drawing the large audiences, a clash occurred between Israeli and Arab women over the West Bank and Zionism. While the furor in Copenhagen between developing and developed countries was not repeated in Nairobi, American policy was regularly labeled imperialistic. Also, there were strident debates between Iranians and Iraqis over the protracted war between the two countries, along with heated exchanges between Moroccans and Polisar guerillas over an area of the Sahara. Twice the police responded to calls from NGOs. Then the blue-and-white-striped Peace Tent, in reality one large and two small tents located on the lawn of the quadrangle near the education building, furnished the ambience for discussions without interruption and the important functions of mediation and conflict-resolution. (The Peace Tent was a project of Feminist International for Peace and Food comprised of American, Western European and South American women from non-governmental organizations who had met in Geneva the year before; they had wanted "to make sure that peace would not be forgotten in Nairobi.")

Meanwhile the 1,839 Americans attending the Forum argued about questions dividing the country at home: family planning, right to life, lesbianism, and rights of minorities. People at the Forum accused the American delegation at the World Conference of "double-talk." An "alternative delegation" turned up in the form of 35 community activists and advocates of the poor funded by the Ford Foundation terming themselves the "Leadership Delegation." Upon hearing a rumor that the official delegation was going to boycott the Conference, they issued a press release that the alternates would take the Americans' place, because they did not "represent real women in the U.S. anyway." (Apparently *Pravda* alone printed the story.)

Since only representatives of the 169 NGOs having consultative status with the UN's Economic and Social Council had accreditation to the Conference and they, principally as observers, petitions from those who were not accredited became the common mode of com-

munication. A Woman's Coalition for Nairobi, a multiracial group of Americans, delivered a petition signed by 1,200 Americans urging among other things a reduced military budget, equal pay, and the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination against women.

Whatever the catalogue of disagreements and anger that often engulfed media stories, there is an almost untold story of the maturity, discipline and commitment of Forum members to a change in the status of women. An understanding of the commonality of experiences transcended culture, nationality, ideology, race, class, creed, language. Perhaps the numbers in Nairobi will constitute the critical mass in the international community needed to change the status of women and may be the greatest effect of the Conference in the long run.

A new unity and a renewed world movement seemed to appear July 19 at the

finale of the Forum in the "grand court" of the university. Crowds gathered for a cultural event with music, song, and spontaneous remarks. It took on the note of a rally to call another conference in the post UN Decade. Dr. Gachukia appeared and spoke of the Nairobi spirit of non-confrontation saying that problems of women cannot be limited to a decade. There ought to be a review and appraisal every five years to evaluate what has happened. Secretary General Shahani coming from the midpoint of the Conference caught the new vigor to remind members that "It is all up to you to complete the blueprint." She knew that they knew they were not the centers of power in their government but they had a chance to get there if they took it. □

*Editor's Note: This is the first of a two-part series on Forum '85 and the UN Decade for Women Conference.*

The International Political Science Association is providing a three-year membership category that provides a 20 percent saving over a one-year membership. Membership includes subscriptions to *International Political Science Review* and to the newsletter, *Participation*.

## INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

### Three-Year Membership Category

1986—1987—1988

*NOTE: You must join before December 31, 1985*

I wish to take a three-year membership in the International Political Science Association running from January 1, 1986, to December 31, 1988.

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*International Political Science Abstracts* \$90 US ☐

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PLEASE ENCLOSE WITH YOUR FORM

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Please return this form and your payment (before December 31, 1985) to:

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Secretariat  
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Visa ☐

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Expiry date: \_\_\_\_\_ Inter-bank #: \_\_\_\_\_

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## Fall Features

### Report of the Managing Editor of the *American Political Science Review*

July 1, 1984-June 30, 1985

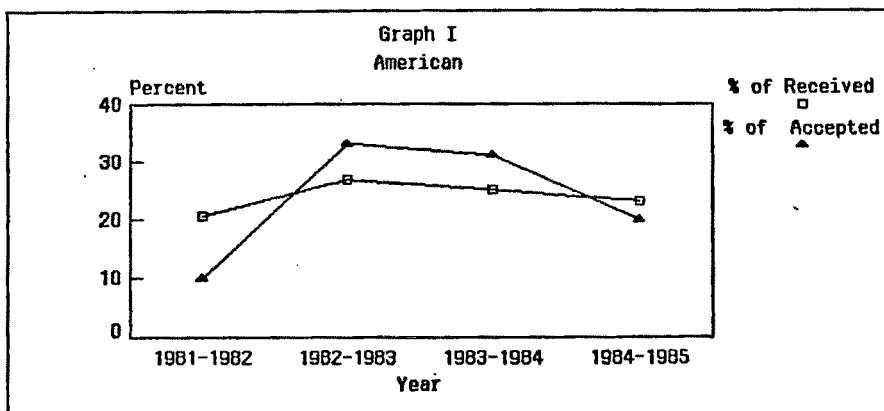
**Dina A. Zinnes**

University of Illinois at  
Urbana-Champaign

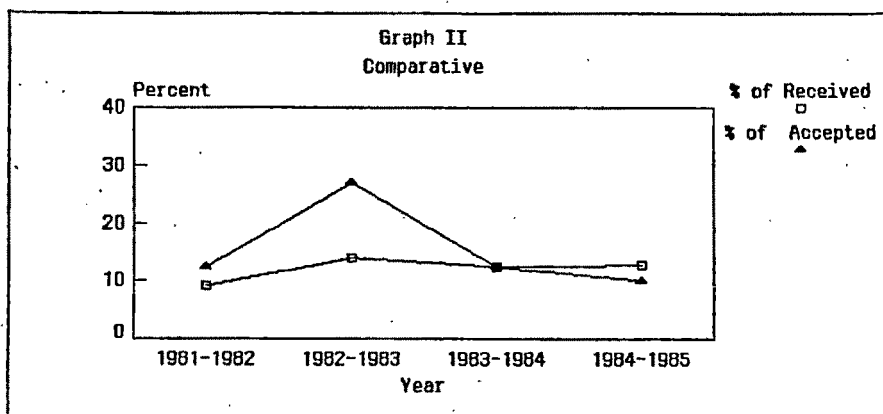
The *Review* office continued to operate smoothly over the course of the past year, following the same procedures outlined in previous reports. Merle Levy and Mary Giles continued to handle the editing of the manuscripts and book reviews. The office work was aided by three graduate student interns, Brad Gitz, Bruce Nesmith, and Brian Mount, and two undergraduate assistants, Marie Scantleberry and Eric Elder. The graduate interns were responsible for activities connected with the manuscript and book review flows, and the undergraduates had primary responsibility for data management in connection with the operation of the microcomputers. The Lisa with its 10 megabyte hard disk and added 5 mega-

byte Profile hard disk has been a wonderful aid in facilitating recordkeeping in connection with manuscripts, books, and reviewers and integrating the various functions connected with the processing of both manuscripts and books. We currently have active historical records on close to 6,000 individuals. These records include current addresses, academic training, areas of expertise, items published, and track records with respect to their activities connected with the *Review*.

This was the transition year for the move to the new managing editor, Pat Patterson at Iowa, and the new book review editor, Bob Salisbury at Washington University. These two new editors, together with Tom Mann, Micheal Giles, the new editor for the *Journal of Politics*, and Richard Ashley, one of the new editors for the *International Studies Quarterly*, made visits to the University of Illinois campus to observe the computerized system. Giles has subsequently purchased the necessary equipment to allow him to make use of the *Review's* computerized reviewer files. Pat Patterson and Bob Salisbury have been provided



## Report of the APSR Managing Editor

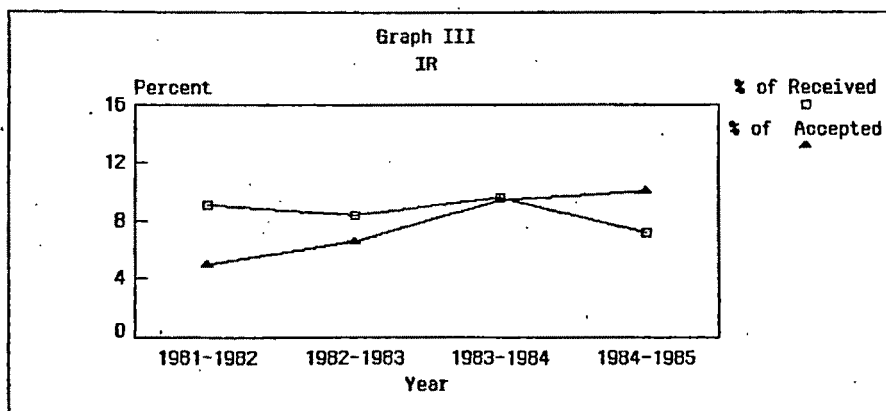


with hard copy abstracted versions of our computerized person files.

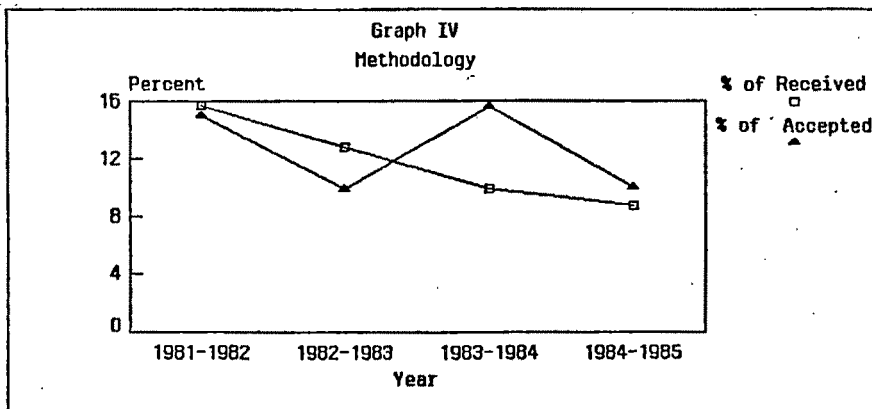
In agreement with Pat Patterson and Tom Mann, the transition began following completion of the December 1985 issue. We agreed that I would be responsible for the entire December issue and, in order to facilitate some authors who were revising articles, that I would accept up to four articles for the March 1986 issue. The remainder of the March issue is under Patterson's editorship. Consistent with the pattern of previous years, the December issue was filled by the early part of April. From that point on all new manuscripts were sent to Patterson, so that he could assign reviewers. Manuscripts that were at that juncture still under review were retained to await receipt of the outstanding reviewer reports. As these files were completed they were sent on to

Patterson. Since I had stopped assigning referees to incoming manuscripts in early April, the last set of reviewer reports were due into the Illinois office by early June. At that time we began sending Patterson all remaining manuscript files, even if they were not complete. Thus the active processing of manuscripts was completed by the middle of June. All materials concerning the manuscripts that have been received since then have been forwarded to Patterson. Old inactive files will be retained in storage at the University of Illinois until January 1, 1986, should they be needed for reference. After that time they will be destroyed.

Although the Illinois office no longer handles new manuscripts, it will continue to operate through the Political Science Department offices until January 1,





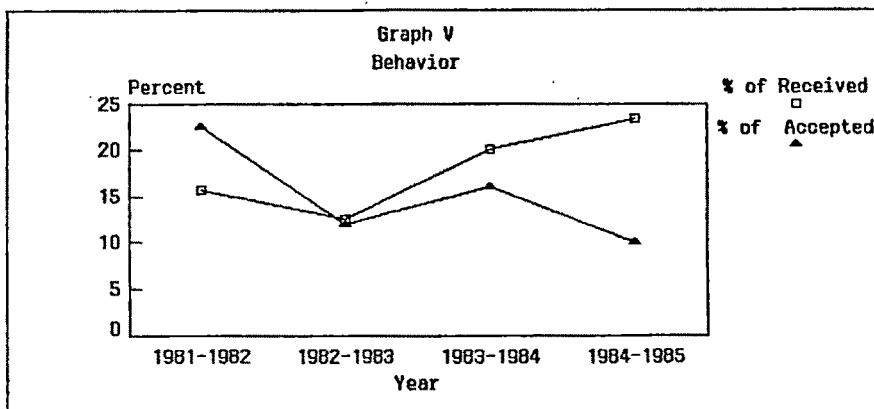


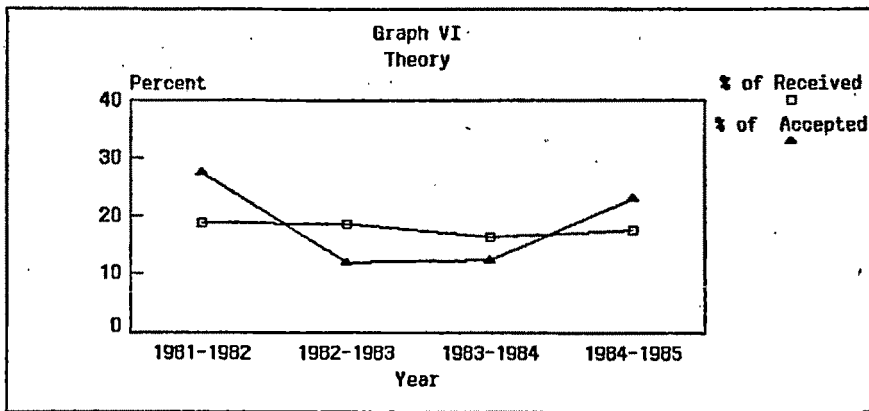
1986. This will permit the completion of a number of tasks, including the preparation of the index for the December issue, the processing of the December issue galley and page proofs, the preparation of tear sheets for publishers, publisher notification of address change, and the completion of the inquiry files. All materials received by the office, even though forwarded to one of the new editors, will continue to be entered into the computer data files so as to keep an accurate record of all items passing through our office. The Illinois office will officially close January 1, 1986.

From July 1, 1984, to early April of this year, 1985, we examined 302 new manuscripts, 42 revised manuscripts and 26 communications. Extrapolating from this roughly nine-month period to a 12-month period, for the purposes of comparison with previous years, it can be

estimated that had the Illinois office continued in full operation we would have received 371 new manuscripts, 56 revised manuscripts, and 35 communications. This represents an increase of 19 manuscripts over last year's total of 352 new manuscripts received, or a percentage increase of 5 percent. While small in percentages, this represents the first upwards trend in new manuscript submissions seen in the last half dozen years. In 1983-84 there were 28 *fewer* new submissions than in 1982-83 and in 1982-83 there were 27 *fewer* new manuscripts than in 1981-82.

To appreciate the office work load for 1984-85 it is necessary to note that for the nine-month period 129 manuscripts cycled back through the office due to reviewer cancellations. Extrapolating, this suggests that had the office been in full operation for the 12-month period it





would have handled 599 manuscript files, 371 new manuscripts, 56 revisions, 172 cancellations.

Of the 344 submitted manuscripts, 302 new manuscripts and 42 revisions, 30 were accepted, and 314 rejected. Using Jones' formula for calculating the acceptance rate we obtain:

$$\frac{\text{accepted}}{\text{accepted} + \text{rejected}} = \frac{30}{30 + 314} = 9\%$$

This is a lower acceptance rate than in previous years and is due largely to the fact that in closing down the journal I was far more conservative in accepting articles. I felt it important to minimize the backlog when handing over the journal to the next editor.

The processing procedures remained the same as in past years. Manuscripts were sent to three reviewers for evaluation. If

a third reviewer was late and there was consensus across the two reports received, a decision was usually made on the basis of two reports. In general, however, an attempt was made to get three evaluations. The reviewer return rate last year, 1984-85, was estimated at about 15 percent. In light of our calculations for this year, we now believe that figure to be incorrect. A more accurate calculation, using the new computer system, indicates that 272 reviewers canceled or refused to respond, involving a total of 129 manuscripts. This represents 35 percent of the manuscript flow. Table 1 gives a comparative breakdown by area of manuscripts received and accepted over the past four years. Since we are comparing a nine-month period this year with 12-month periods for the past three years, only percentage figures are given. As has been noted in previous years by

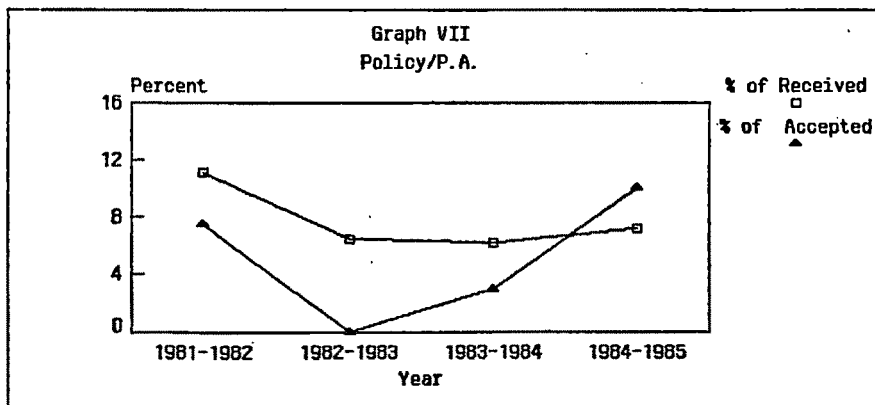


TABLE 1

	1981-82		1982-83		1983-84		1984-85	
	Recd	Accept	Recd	Accept	Recd	Accept	Recd	Accept
American	20.6	10.0	26.8	33.0	25.0	31.0	23.1	20
Comparative	9.1	12.5	13.9	27.0	12.5	12.5	12.8	10
International	9.1	5.0	8.4	6.6	9.6	9.4	7.2	10
Methodology	15.7	15.0	12.8	9.9	9.9	15.6	8.75	10
Behavior	15.7	22.5	12.6	12.0	20.1	16.0	23.4	23
Theory	18.7	27.5	18.6	12.0	16.4	12.5	17.5	17
Pol/P.A.	11.1	7.5	6.5	0	6.2	3.0	7.2	10

myself and other editors before me, these figures cannot be taken too literally. They are obviously highly sensitive to the way in which articles are coded and such coding is in many cases not clear-cut. The lines between American and behavior and between comparative and international can be very blurred. To a large extent the percentages received per category have varied within only a few percentage points. The acceptance percentages for each category exhibit greater variability, though, with the possible exception of the upward trend in acceptances of Policy/P.A. articles in the last three years and IR articles over four years, clear trends are difficult to see.

In closing I want to thank the editorial board for its exceptional service during the course of my four-year term. They have worked hard and diligently often way beyond the call of duty, providing advice, suggestions, and performing double duty in emergency cases. Their support has clearly been a key factor in making the operation possible. I also wish to thank Tom Mann and the APSA offices for their helpfulness in facilitating the operation of the journal. Thanks must also go to the members of the Association and profession for their essential contribution to the review process. These thousands of anonymous reviewers who give of their time and expertise in what is largely a thankless task are the backbone of the successful operation of a truly professional journal. Finally, I wish to thank Pat Patterson for his cooperation in making the transition smooth and most importantly for taking over the journal, making it possible once again for me to

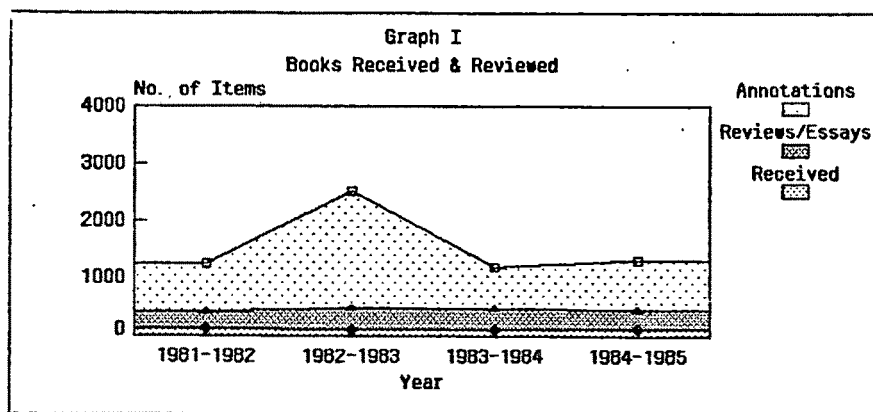
research, write, and teach without working 22 hours a day. □

### **Report of the Book Review Editor of the *American Political Science Review*, 1984-85**

**Steven Thomas Seitz**  
University of Illinois

This report concludes the book review work conducted at Illinois from 1981 through the present. During this period we have processed more than 6,000 books, obtained reviews for approximately 1,800 of these, and provided annotations on 460 more. For the last three years more than 400 different people each year have written reviews for *APSR* and far more than 500 have been invited to do so each year. Additionally, we have handled several hundred inquiries over the past four years.

During the nine-month period between July 1, 1984, and April 1, 1985, we received 993 new books, which translates into a 12-month total of about 1,325 items, an increase over the 1,200 items received during a similar period in 1983-84 but still below the abnormally high number (2,524) of items received during our second year of operation. In the first year of operation at Illinois we received 1,267 items. Graph I illustrates the relation between books received, on the one hand, and items reviewed or annotated, on the other. For each of the



past four years, 500-600 items have been reviewed or annotated. Specific figures can be found in Table 1. The average number of items reviewed in reviews or special essays over the past four years is approximately 450 per year. The average number of annotations published yearly from 1982 through 1985 was 115.

The breakdown of reviews by major category is provided in Table 2 and Graph II.

American still accounts for about one-third of the total number of items reviewed, with Comparative and IR now slightly more than a quarter, and Theory/Methodology down slightly to 16 percent. The latter change reflects several factors. First, many methodology texts were annotated. Second, the number of items received in the Empirical Theory category has dropped, reflecting the more substantive orientation (e.g., theoretical *applications* in American or IR) of

**TABLE 1**  
**Books Reviewed, 1982-85**

	March	June	Sept.	Dec.	Total
<b>Review of 1-2 Books</b>					
1982	85	72	108	112	377
1983	98	124	118	120	460
1984	108	105	110	136	459
1985	120	114	104	100	438
<b>Items in Special Essays</b>					
1982		16		8	24
1983		8		9	17
1984				9	9
1985		6		3	9
<b>Annotations</b>					
1982		50		77	127
1983		28		81	109
1984		45		59	104
1985		50		70	120
<b>Totals</b>					
1982	85	138	108	197	528
1983	98	160	118	210	586
1984	108	150	110	204	572
1985	120	170	104	173	567

**TABLE 2**  
**Reviews by Category, 1982-85**

	1982	1983	1984	1985
American	32%	25%	31%	32%
Comparative	28%	32%	32%	26%
International Relations	19%	21%	18%	26%
Theory and Methodology	21%	21%	18%	16%

items submitted for review. Third, the number of Normative Theory submissions has remained relatively constant, despite growth in the number of titles published in other areas. Additionally, collected papers of major thinkers (e.g., Locke) have been annotated rather than reviewed.

It remains to thank first my Book Review Board—Ina Jeffrey, Bill Mitchell, Larry Mohr, and Phil Shively—for their continued support and careful attention to the lengthy printouts sent to them periodically over the past several years. I have enjoyed working with them; I have benefited greatly from their counsel; and I am sure that they are as eager as I to turn the reins over to the new Book Review Editor, Bob Salisbury. I next want to thank Bob for contributing to a smooth transition from Urbana to St. Louis. Finally, I want to extend my deep personal appreciation to the thousands of people with whom I have worked or corresponded over the past four years. The professionalism and dedication of so many of these scholars, both young and

old, speaks well of the discipline and its disciples. □

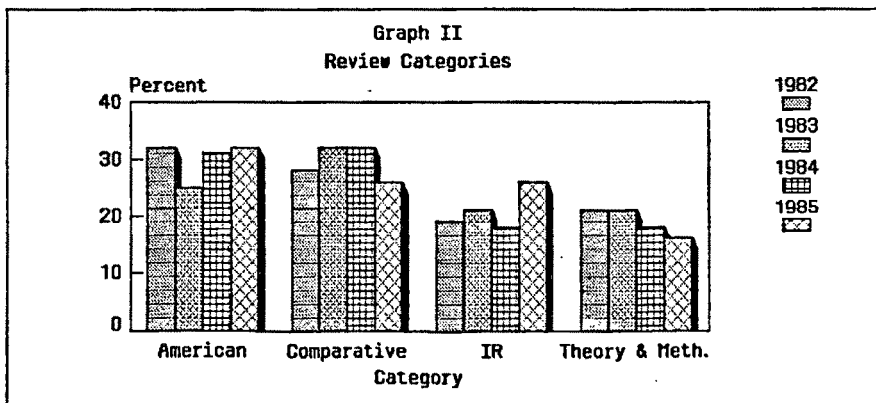
### Report of the Treasurer, 1984-85

**Susan Welch**

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

The Association continues to be in excellent financial shape. The books were closed on June 30, 1985, with a healthy surplus of nearly \$60,000. Despite no dues increases for several years, this is the fifth consecutive year we have had a substantial surplus (Table 1).

Overall, our income in 1984-85 exceeded \$1.4 million, an increase of 6.8 percent over the previous year. We spent slightly over \$1.35 million, about 8.5 percent more than in 1983-84. Over the past five years, our income has increased by 40 percent and our expenses 38 percent. Some of this reflects inflation, of course, but most represents support for



**TABLE 1**  
**APSA Budget: A 10-Year Perspective**

Year	Income	Expenditures	Surplus + Deficit -	Annual Expenditure Change
1975-76	\$ 823,204	\$ 803,759	+ 19,445	- 3.6
1976-77	832,244	834,815	- 2,571	+ 3.9
1977-78	878,751	863,736	+ 15,015	+ 3.5
1978-79	860,889	875,626	- 14,737	+ 1.4
1979-80	930,157	929,857	+ 300	+ 6.2
1980-81	1,007,675	977,328	+ 30,347	+ 5.1
1981-82	1,117,701	1,043,255	+ 74,446	+ 6.7
1982-83	1,202,078	1,094,415	+ 107,663	+ 4.9
1983-84	1,323,074	1,247,529	+ 75,545	+ 14.0
1984-85	1,413,078	1,353,339	+ 59,739	+ 8.5

many new activities and services undertaken by the Association.

**Increased Revenue. . .**

The increased activities of the Association have resulted in a diversified income base (Table 2). Individual dues, for example, comprise only a little more than one-fourth of current income; institutional dues another 18 percent. Advertising has become a sizeable portion of our income, as has interest earned on our endowments and on previous year's surpluses (interest income rose from \$33,088 in 1980-81 to \$118,840 last year).

Increased revenue between 1983-84 and 1984-85 comes from:

- some increase in members and their dues revenue;
- a large increase in grant and contract overhead generated by our Washington staff;
- an increase in departmental services program revenue primarily from the sale of the 1985 Directory of Members;
- a large increase in interest and dividends, partly generated by the final stage of liquidation of the Insurance Trust Fund (see the Treasurer's Reports printed in the Fall 1983 and Fall 1984 *PS* for more information on this);
- an increase in the revenue from the well-attended 1984 annual meeting in Washington.

**TABLE 2**  
**Income Trends, 1980-85**

	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85
Individual Membership	\$ 286,005	\$ 342,288	\$ 345,967	\$ 363,039	\$ 390,044
Institutional Membership	215,984	250,067	256,102	260,069	252,138
Grants (overhead)	35,405	31,324	67,684	87,872	94,363
Annual Meeting	64,900	67,510	53,510	71,045	83,585
Advertising	169,707	160,691	155,602	178,893	175,883
Dividends/Interest	33,088	59,985	73,614	84,790	118,840
Sales	41,473	45,001	42,569	73,292	67,102
Departmental Services	80,674	70,599	86,873	82,035	102,588
Other	80,439	90,236	120,157	122,039	128,535
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,007,675</b>	<b>\$1,117,701</b>	<b>\$1,202,078</b>	<b>\$1,323,074</b>	<b>\$1,413,078</b>

**TABLE 3**  
**Expenditure Trends, 1980-85**

	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85
Publications	\$ 227,511	\$ 207,603	\$ 217,450	\$ 249,924	\$ 276,174
Annual Meeting	60,355	66,037	68,184	77,111	85,063
Special Programs	130,175	133,516	147,680	188,414	224,360
Governing the Association	57,350	43,188	47,816	54,211	50,518
Membership, Business Office and Sales	144,044	144,178	166,901	200,897	207,926
General Operating Expenses	357,984	430,662	446,384	476,972	509,298
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 977,328</b>	<b>\$ 1,043,355</b>	<b>\$ 1,094,415</b>	<b>\$ 1,247,529</b>	<b>\$ 1,353,339</b>

On the other side of the coin, there was a small decrease in income from advertising. Partly in recognition of this, the Council at its August meeting authorized the Executive Director to hire an additional APSA staff person who would be primarily responsible for dealing with and soliciting advertisers. The new staffer would also help out with the organization of the annual meeting. The hope is that this person will be able to generate more advertising revenue, particularly in *PS*.

#### **... And Increased Spending**

Expenditure trends in major categories from 1980 to 1985 are shown in Table 3. There were several increased expenses in 1984-85 compared with the previous fiscal year. During 1984-85, a new editor was chosen for the *APSR*, and the editorial offices moved. Thus, some additional costs were incurred by the *Review*. Printing costs were also up, reflecting the larger issues published in 1984. The cost of the *Review* will be even higher in the next few years than in the past four years. This is due to less support offered by the *Review's* new host institution compared to its previous one, and the decision to appoint a book review editor from an institution different than the editor's, thus increasing some editorial expenses.

The costs of the Annual Meeting rose in 1984, though not as much as the income generated from it.

The expenses for the special programs of the APSA, except for the Departmental Services Program, stayed fairly constant. The expenses of the Departmental Services Program rose, reflecting the printing of the Membership Directory and the Directory of Undergraduate Political Science Faculty. The new small grants program for scholars from non-Ph.D. schools also increased spending in the special programs category by \$10,000.

General operating expenses increased about 8 percent due to increased costs of upkeep of the APSA building, salary raises given to APSA staff (see Table 4), increased postage, and other equipment and supply cost increases.

The cost of governing the Association, including, for example, accounting and legal fees, presidential expenses, and expenses of the Council, remained stable. The apparent decrease shown in the table was due entirely to the expenses of the *APSR* Editor Search Committee, active in 1983-84, defunct in 1984-85.

#### **The 1985-86 Budget Process**

The proposed 1985-86 budget was drafted early in 1985 by the Executive Director, in consultation with the Association's officers. This draft was based on past income and expenditures, projected costs and income of new and expanded programs, and other factors such

**TABLE 4**  
**APSA National Office Salary Scale, 1985-86**

The Association Salary Scale is based on a 12-month year. Under Council policy employees have 13 days a year sick leave and annual leave on the following scale: 1-2 years service, 15 days a year; 3-14 years, 20 days a year; and 15+ years, 30 days a year.

While Association employees fall into a particular salary category, some or all amounts of actual salary may be paid from grant funds.

Aside from his own salary, which is set by the Council, the Executive Director has discretion, within the constraints of the overall budget authorized annually by the Council, to determine individual staff salaries according to the APSA Salary Scale. The Salary Scale is fixed by the Council and printed in *PS* as the Council directs.

APSA Position	Equivalent Government Grade	Federal Salary Scale*	APSA Salary Scale	Number of Employees	
				Full-Time	Part-Time
Executive Director	17-18 (Exec. Level V)	\$71,804-84,157	\$50,182-75,272	1	0
Associate Director	15-17	52,262-81,376	37,909-54,362	1	0
Assistant Director	13-15	37,599-67,940	31,365-49,088	2	0
Staff Associate	11-14	26,381-57,759	27,616-43,129	0	1
Senior Administrative Assistant	9-10	21,804-31,211	23,098-31,875	3	1
Administrative Assistant	6-8	16,040-25,662	17,047-25,832	4	0
Secretary	4-7	12,862-23,170	13,685-24,613	4	0
Clerk, Receptionist, Maintenance	1-3	9,339-14,896	9,544-15,834	4	1
				19	3

\*In most cases, the maximum salary payable is \$68,700.

as inflation, locale of annual meeting (which affects attendance and thus revenue), and so forth. The proposed budget was reviewed formally by the Administrative Committee, which made recommendations to the Executive Council. Among the recommendations were those for a slight fee increase for institutional membership, APSA Personnel Newsletter announcements, and Departmental Services membership. A salary adjustment figure for the APSA staff was also recommended. The Council approved the budget and these recommendations at its spring meeting. Then, some fairly minor revisions in the budget were made at the fall Council meeting. These

adjustments were based on new programs adopted by the Council and on revised estimates of income and expenses made at the end of the 1983-84 fiscal year.

The approved budget is shown in Table 5. A surplus is projected, but one smaller than in the past fiscal year. Decreases are projected in revenue from the annual meeting (the New Orleans meeting was expected to be smaller than the previous one in Washington), sales of the *State of the Discipline* book, and royalties. Expenses are expected to increase for the *Review*, and for budgeted salary adjustments and the new staff person to handle



**TABLE 5**  
**Income and Expenditures, 1983-86**

	<b>Actual 1983-84</b>	<b>Budget 1984-85</b>	<b>Actual 1984-85</b>	<b>Budget 1985-86</b>
<b>INCOME</b>				
MEMBERSHIP				
Professional	321,314	330,000	345,638	355,000
Student	37,615	40,000	39,686	40,000
Family	785	1,000	795	800
Institutional	260,069	260,000	252,138	320,000
Life	3,325	2,000	3,925	3,000
<b>TOTAL MEMBERSHIP</b>	<b>623,108</b>	<b>633,000</b>	<b>642,182</b>	<b>718,800</b>
ADMINISTRATIVE	87,872	65,000	94,363	85,000
ANNUAL MEETING	71,045	80,000	83,585	70,000
ADVERTISING				
Review	78,460	80,000	68,069	80,000
PS	7,868	8,000	4,184	8,000
Program	33,277	40,000	36,474	35,000
Exhibits	56,750	65,000	66,021	60,000
News & Reprint Sales	2,538	2,000	1,135	2,000
<b>TOTAL ADVERTISING</b>	<b>178,893</b>	<b>195,000</b>	<b>175,883</b>	<b>185,000</b>
DIVIDENDS AND INTEREST	84,790	90,000	118,840	115,000
SALES				
Back Issues	3,995	4,000	2,057	3,000
Mailing Lists	23,004	25,000	21,224	22,000
Books, Monographs & Papers	15,975	18,000	15,577	16,000
Reprints	4,133	3,000	4,094	3,000
State of the Discipline Book	26,184	10,000	24,150	5,000
<b>TOTAL SALES</b>	<b>73,292</b>	<b>60,000</b>	<b>67,102</b>	<b>49,000</b>
DEPARTMENTAL SERVICES	82,035	90,000	102,588	90,000
RENT	77,206	65,000	67,035	70,000
ROYALTIES	10,592	10,000	23,387	15,000
PERSONNEL PLACEMENT SERVICE	27,595	30,000	26,507	33,000
SECTION DUES	4,669	10,000	9,705	15,000
MISCELLANEOUS & CONTRIBUTIONS	1,977	3,000	1,901	2,000
<b>TOTAL INCOME</b>	<b>1,323,074</b>	<b>1,331,000</b>	<b>1,413,078</b>	<b>1,447,800</b>
<b>EXPENSES</b>				
PUBLICATIONS				
A. REVIEW				
Printing	107,852	110,000	116,515	110,000
Postage & Mailing	16,666	18,000	16,839	20,000

# Report of the APSA Treasurer

**TABLE 5** (continued)

	<b>Actual 1983-84</b>	<b>Budget 1984-85</b>	<b>Actual 1984-85</b>	<b>Budget 1985-86</b>
Salaries	34,000	44,000	44,000	65,000
Office & Editorial Board Expenses	5,058	8,000	7,628	16,000
Transition			4,711	8,000
<b>TOTAL REVIEW</b>	<b>163,576</b>	<b>180,000</b>	<b>189,693</b>	<b>219,000</b>
<b>B. PS</b>				
Printing	46,551	50,000	49,535	50,000
Postage & Mailing	10,401	11,000	7,794	12,000
Editorial Board & Miscellaneous Expenses	3,959	2,500	837	2,000
<b>TOTAL PS</b>	<b>60,911</b>	<b>63,500</b>	<b>58,166</b>	<b>64,000</b>
<b>C. NEWS</b>	<b>13,360</b>	<b>13,000</b>	<b>16,558</b>	<b>13,000</b>
<b>D. OTHER</b>				
Discount & Foreign Exchange	12,077	12,000	11,757	12,000
<b>TOTAL PUBLICATIONS</b>	<b>249,924</b>	<b>268,500</b>	<b>276,174</b>	<b>308,000</b>
<b>ANNUAL MEETING</b>				
Printing	21,871	25,000	24,798	25,000
Program Committee	5,409	7,000	5,724	7,000
General Expenses	30,694	25,000	33,345	35,000
Salaries	15,634	15,000	15,000	30,750
Exhibits	3,503	3,500	6,196	3,000
<b>TOTAL ANNUAL MEETING</b>	<b>77,111</b>	<b>75,500</b>	<b>85,063</b>	<b>100,750</b>
<b>SPECIAL PROGRAMS</b>				
<b>A. APSA Committee—Travel &amp; Meetings</b>				
Status of Blacks	4,761	4,500	5,877	4,500
Status of Chicanos	2,928	3,000	2,667	3,000
Status of Women	1,527	3,500	3,200	3,000
Applied Political Scientists	1,730	2,000	1,289	3,000
Ad Hoc on China/International Political Science	1,869	2,000	827	3,000
Ad Hoc on USSR	0	2,000	584	0
Education	3,630	2,500	945	3,000
Ethics, Rights & Freedom	6,599	5,000	4,198	5,000
Research Support	2,210	3,000	1,355	3,000
Publications	1,472	3,000	1,867	3,000
NEH Liaison	1,393	2,000	1,285	0
<b>TOTAL APSA COMMITTEES TRAVEL &amp; MEETINGS</b>	<b>28,119</b>	<b>32,500</b>	<b>24,094</b>	<b>30,500</b>
<b>B. Placement Service**</b>				
Printing & Postage	14,542	15,000	16,852	15,000
Salaries	21,667	23,000	23,427	25,200
<b>TOTAL PLACEMENT SERVICE</b>	<b>36,209</b>	<b>38,000</b>	<b>40,279</b>	<b>40,200</b>
<b>**An additional \$8,177 in expenses is included in the Departmental Services Budget.</b>				
<b>C. BLACK FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM</b>	<b>9,823</b>	<b>15,000</b>	<b>9,870</b>	<b>15,000</b>

**TABLE 5** (continued)

	<b>Actual 1983-84</b>	<b>Budget 1984-85</b>	<b>Actual 1984-85</b>	<b>Budget 1985-86</b>
<b>D. CHICANO/LATINO FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5,000</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5,000</b>
<b>E. MEMBERSHIP IN OTHER SOCIETIES</b>				
COSSA	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000
IPSA	5,524	6,000	6,076	6,676
Others	7,101	7,500	7,101	7,500
<b>TOTAL MEMBERSHIP IN OTHER SOCIETIES</b>	<b>26,625</b>	<b>27,500</b>	<b>27,177</b>	<b>28,176</b>
<b>F. DEPARTMENTAL SERVICES PROGRAM</b>	<b>74,124</b>	<b>80,000</b>	<b>97,233</b>	<b>80,000</b>
<b>G. EDUCATION PROGRAM</b>	<b>13,514</b>	<b>14,000</b>	<b>13,436</b>	<b>14,700</b>
<b>H. SECTIONS</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5,000</b>	<b>2,271</b>	<b>5,000</b>
<b>I. SMALL GRANTS PROGRAM</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>10,000</b>	<b>10,000</b>	<b>12,000</b>
<b>TOTAL SPECIAL PROGRAMS</b>	<b>188,414</b>	<b>226,500</b>	<b>224,360</b>	<b>230,576</b>
<b>GOVERNING THE ASSOCIATION</b>				
Council	19,521	20,000	19,758	20,000
Elections	0	5,000	0	5,000
Administrative Committee	2,759	4,000	2,362	4,000
Accounting & Legal Fees	23,227	25,000	22,924	24,000
Presidential Expenses	1,850	4,000	2,529	4,000
Nominating Committee	2,365	2,500	2,945	3,000
Elections Committee	0	500	0	500
APSR Editor Search Committee	4,489	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL GOVERNING THE ASSOCIATION</b>	<b>54,211</b>	<b>61,000</b>	<b>50,518</b>	<b>60,500</b>
<b>MEMBERSHIP, BUSINESS OFFICE &amp; SALES</b>				
<b>MEMBERSHIP RECORDS</b>				
Computer Processing & Membership Recruitment	12,586	18,000	20,607	18,000
Salaries	69,342	73,000	74,760	77,700
<b>TOTAL MEMBERSHIP RECORDS</b>	<b>81,928</b>	<b>91,000</b>	<b>95,367</b>	<b>95,700</b>
<b>MEMBERSHIP, BUSINESS OFFICE &amp; SALES</b>				
Salaries	55,355	58,000	59,783	61,950
<b>TOTAL BUSINESS OFFICE</b>	<b>55,355</b>	<b>58,000</b>	<b>59,783</b>	<b>61,950</b>
<b>COST OF SALES</b>				
Printing, Fees, Publicity	17,599	16,000	14,381	16,000
Salaries	29,434	22,000	31,461	34,650
State of the Discipline Book	16,581	8,000	6,934	0
<b>TOTAL COST OF SALES</b>	<b>63,614</b>	<b>46,000</b>	<b>52,776</b>	<b>50,650</b>

# Report of the AP&A Treasurer

**TABLE 5** (continued)

	Actual 1983-84	Budget 1984-85	Actual 1984-85	Budget 1985-86
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, BUSINESS OFFICE & COST OF SALES	20,897	195,000	207,926	208,300
GENERAL OPERATING EXPENSES				
A. SALARIES	253,115	275,000	275,114	293,000
B. BUILDING				
Interest on Mortgage	786	0	13	0
Taxes	19,477	20,000	17,896	19,000
Repairs & Upkeep	12,114	15,000	16,703	15,000
Utilities	21,692	22,000	23,740	22,000
Supplies—Building	5,231	5,000	5,676	5,000
Insurance—Building	4,225	5,000	3,317	5,000
Depreciation	9,446	10,000	10,730	12,000
Custodial Salaries	22,464	24,000	24,281	25,200
TOTAL BUILDING	95,435	101,000	102,356	103,200
EQUIPMENT, SUPPLIES AND ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES				
Postage	27,519	30,000	29,546	34,000
Stationery, Printing & Xerox	10,644	12,000	10,254	11,000
Mailing Services & Storage Costs	8,481	8,500	8,755	8,500
Telephone & Telegraph	12,766	12,000	14,684	12,000
Office Supplies & Services	7,609	7,500	6,600	7,500
Staff Travel	4,669	4,000	6,655	7,000
Miscellaneous	6,262	5,500	5,723	5,500
Administrative	1,836	3,000	4,674	2,500
Insurance	4,851	6,000	5,931	5,500
Personal Property Tax	0	0	0	0
Repairs & Upkeep, Office				
Equipment/Leasing Fees	7,288	8,000	7,774	10,000
Depreciation	25,425	25,000	25,317	25,000
TOTAL EQUIPMENT, SUPPLIES & ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	117,350	121,500	125,913	128,500
TOTAL GENERAL OPERATING EXPENSES	465,900	497,500	503,383	524,700
Annual Leave Expense	11,072	0	5,915	0
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	1,247,529	1,324,500	1,353,339	1,432,826
INCOME OVER EXPENDITURES	75,545	6,500	59,739	14,974

advertising and assist with the annual meeting. The Council also authorized a \$2,000 increase in the staff travel budget to cover increased travel by staff to regional and state association meetings.

## Budget Strategies of the Council

Over the past several years the Council has been concerned with both maintaining a budget surplus and expanding and improving services offered to members.

**TABLE 6**  
**Trust and Development Fund Assets, June 30, 1985**

	<b>Total Cost</b>	<b>Total Market Value</b>	
<i>Bonds</i>			
Federal Home Loan Bank 15.35% 07-25-86	30,000	32,194	
GMAC 15.5% 03-11-87	75,000	82,313	
Home Federal CD 11.25% 11-23-87	75,000	75,000	
PEFCO 12.35% 11-01-90	41,000	42,794	
U.S. Treasury Note 11.375% 05-15-90	50,000	52,922	
U.S. Treasury Note 13.0% 11-15-90	26,813	28,031	
U.S. Treasury Note 14.625% 1-15-89	56,125	57,375	
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>353,938</b>	<b>370,628</b>	<b>26%</b>
<i>Cash Equivalents</i>			
Dreyfus Liquid Assets	50,092	50,092	
Fund for Government Investors	12,670	12,670	
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>62,762</b>	<b>62,762</b>	<b>4%</b>
<i>Common Stock Mutual Funds</i>			
Explorer	65,000	57,255	
Fidelity Equity Income	120,000	123,497	
Ivy	65,000	83,080	
Mutual Shares	90,000	156,885	
Partners	60,000	104,900	
Scudder Development	65,000	100,961	
Sequoia	65,000	131,351	
Twentieth Century Select	65,000	134,787	
Windsor	65,000	123,926	
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>660,000</b>	<b>1,016,642</b>	<b>70%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,076,699</b>	<b>1,450,032</b>	<b>100%</b>

The surpluses of a few years ago are now helping us pay for current services and operations, as investments of the surplus yield interest income. The Council has believed that continuing to budget modest surpluses will help us should adversity strike in future years. It will allow the Association to maintain and improve services while holding dues steady. This year the Council raised institutional (largely library) dues as a method of staying budgetarily in the black. While there was objection from some Council members concerned about the financial situation of many university and college

libraries, the majority felt that the modest increase would seriously harm few libraries, and that it was a relatively painless way to continue to provide funds for the Association's activities.

#### **The Trust and Development Fund**

The majority of the Association's endowments are part of the Trust and Development Fund. At the end of the fiscal year, the market value of our fund was \$1.45 million compared to its cost of \$1.1 million (Table 5). All interest and dividends from that fund go directly to the

## Report of the APSA Treasurer

operating budget, as stipulated in our by-laws. The objectives of the current Trust and Development Fund Trustees and those of the recent past have been to manage these assets to minimize risk while obtaining long-term growth and a reasonable short-term income. The trustees meet twice a year with a financial consultant to make decisions concerning investments.

The investments earned a total return (interest plus increased value) of 26 percent during the fiscal year, slightly less well than the Standard and Poor 500. However, our investment consultant calculates that our investments are substantially less risky than the Standard and Poor average. So we have traded some income possibilities for reduced risk. Over the past four years, our investments have outperformed the S&P 500 at less risk.

The Trustees of the Fund, in their spring meeting, decided to "stand pat" on pre-

vious holdings, and to buy new bonds and stocks with money transferred from the Insurance Trust Fund. The Trustees have another meeting scheduled in October. At that time, they will seek information from our consultant concerning our stock in companies doing business with South Africa. All of our common stock investments are in mutual funds, and at this time, the South African involvement of individual components of these mutual funds is unknown.

The Association also has approximately \$260,000 of endowed program funds not under the control of the Trust and Development Fund. These funds endow the various awards of the Association.

### Insurance Trust Fund

The final stage of liquidation of this Fund is complete. All funds have been transferred to the Trust and Development Fund. □

## Council Welcomes Ninth APSA Organized Section

The Presidency Research Group successfully petitioned the Council and has become the ninth Organized Section of the APSA. Guidelines approved by the Council (reprinted in the box at the end of the following table) provide the means for groups of APSA members who share an interest in a particular subfield of the discipline to organize meetings, including panels at the APSA Annual Meeting, to coordinate communications under Association auspices, and to receive logistical support from the national office in collecting dues and maintaining membership lists.

Association members may become section members by checking the appropriate box and paying the specified dues on their regular membership renewal forms.

The nine APSA Organized Sections with their present officers and dues levels are as follows:

### APSA Organized Sections

Name of Section	Contact or Officers	Annual Meeting Program Organizer	Dues
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	Chair of Executive Council: Stephen Schechter Dept. of Government Russell Sage College Troy, NY 12180 (518) 456-0157	Robert Thomas Dept. of Political Science University of Houston 447 PGH Houston, TX 77004 (713) 749-4879	\$3.00

<b>Name of Section</b>	<b>Contact or Officers</b>	<b>Annual-Meeting Program Organizer</b>	<b>Dues</b>
Law, Courts, and Judicial Process	<p>Chair: Bradley C. Canon Dept. of Political Science University of Kentucky Lexington, KY 40506 (606) 257-4895</p> <p>Secretary-Treasurer: Susette Talarico Dept. of Political Science University of Georgia Athens, GA 30602 (404) 542-2057</p>	<p>Harold Spaeth Dept. of Political Science Michigan State University East Lansing, MI 48824 (517) 355-6583</p>	\$5.00
Legislative Studies	<p>Chair: Glenn R. Parker Dept. of Political Science Florida State University Tallahassee, FL 32306 (904) 644-5727</p> <p>Secretary-Treasurer: Lawrence D. Longley Dept. of Government Lawrence University Appleton, WI 54912 (414) 735-6673</p>	<p>Lawrence C. Dodd Dept. of Political Science Indiana University Bloomington, IN 47405 (812) 336-2456</p>	\$5.00
Policy Studies	<p>President Helen Ingram Dept. of Political Science University of Arizona 3244 East Waverly Tucson, AZ 85721 (602) 621-5728</p> <p>President-Elect: Larry Wade Dept. of Political Science University of California/ Davis Davis, CA 95616 (916) 752-0966</p> <p>Executive Director and Treasurer: Stuart Nagel</p>	<p>Stuart Nagel Dept. of Political Science University of Illinois Urbana, IL 61801 (217) 333-3880</p>	\$3.00
Political Organizations and Parties	<p>President William Crotty Dept. of Political Science Northwestern University Evanston, IL 60201 (312) 491-7026</p> <p>Secretary: Alan R. Gitelson</p>	<p>Alan R. Gitelson Dept. of Political Science Loyola University of Chicago Chicago, IL 60632 (312) 508-3047</p>	\$5.00
Public Administration	<p>Chair: Laurence O'Toole Dept. of Political Science Auburn University Auburn, AL 36830 (205) 826-5370</p>	<p>Kenneth J. Meier Dept. of Political Science University of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706 (608) 264-2414</p>	\$3.00

**APSA Organized Sections**

<b>Name of Section</b>	<b>Contact or Officers</b>	<b>Annual Meeting Program Organizer</b>	<b>Dues</b>
	Chair-Elect: Kenneth J. Meier		
Conflict Processes	President: Manus I. Midlarsky Center for International Relations University of Colorado Boulder, CO 80309 (303) 492-5200	Manus I. Midlarsky	\$5.00
Representation and Electoral Systems	Chair Joseph F. Zimmerman Dept. of Political Science State University of New York at Albany Albany, NY 12222 (518) 455-6186  Executive Committee: Arend Lijphart, University of California, San Diego Lawrence Longley, Lawrence University Leon Weaver, Michigan State University Sandra Featherman, Temple University	Joseph J. Zimmerman	\$3.00
Presidency Research	President: John H. Kessel Dept. of Political Science Ohio State University Columbus, OH 43210 (614) 422-2880  Vice President/ President-Elect: Norman C. Thomas Dept. of Political Science University of Cincinnati Cincinnati, OH 45221 (513) 475-3647  Secretary-Treasurer: Michael Grossman Dept. of Political Science Towson State University Baltimore, MD 21204 (301) 321-2597	Roger B. Porter Kennedy School of Government Harvard University Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-9510	\$3.00

**GUIDELINES FOR APSA SECTIONS**

1. The Council will act on recognizing a Section upon receipt of a petition, signed by at least 100 Association members, which includes the proposed Section name, statement of purpose and procedures for governance (see item 6 below). A signature on the petition must be a commitment to become a dues-paying member.



2. All Section members must be APSA-members.
3. The APSA will solicit Section memberships and collect Section dues (in conjunction with its regular membership and renewal activities), maintain Section lists, produce Section rosters and mailing labels, permit Sections to sponsor panels at the annual meeting, and publish Section notices in *PS*. In addition, the APSA will seek to assist Sections with more ambitious activities, such as conferences and publications that require external funding.
4. A basic Section dues of \$3 will be assessed and retained by APSA to cover the costs of the specific services listed in item 3 above. Sections may set dues at a higher level and retain the balance to finance newsletters and other activities.
5. Panels sponsored by Sections will constitute Part Two of the official Annual Meeting program, Part One being composed of panels organized by the Program Committee. For the present, there is no change in the Council policy that provides meeting rooms (on a space-available basis) and courtesy listings to unaffiliated groups.
6. Sections are required to adopt procedures that provide for an elected president or chair, an elected representative council or executive committee and an elected or appointed financial officer who is responsible for submitting an annual report to APSA's executive director.
7. A Council Committee on Sections will recommend actions on petitions to establish Sections, monitor activities, advise the staff on administrative arrangements for Sections and conduct an ongoing review of Sections.

## Organizations Related to the Study of Political Science

\*Information on these organizations is from the fall 1984 *PS*.

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
ACADEMY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SCIENCE Secretariat, University of Nebraska-Omaha, 1313 Farnam-on-the- Mall, Omaha, NE 68182-0115	President: R. Paul McCauley	ACJS Today Justice Quarterly	March 17-21, 1986 Orlando Marriott Orlando, FL
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION 1703 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washing- ton, DC 20009	Executive Director: Edward J. Lehman	Special Publications Guide to Departments of Anthropology American Anthropologist, Thomas Greaves, Editor-in-Chief Anthropology Newsletter, David Howell, Editor American Ethnologist Shirley Lindenbaum, Editor Central Issues in Anthro- pology, David Harman and Bernice Kaplan, Editors Anthropology and Educa- tion Quarterly, Fred- erick Erickson, Editor	Dec. 4-8, 1985 Washington, DC

# Organizations Related to Political Science

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
		Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly, Miles Richardson, Editor Medical Anthropology Quarterly, Thomas Johnson, Editor Ethos, Robert Paul, Editor	
AMERICAN CONSORTIUM FOR INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION 1120 G St., N.W., Suite 540, Washington, DC 20005	President: Alfred M. Zuck Executive Director: John L. McGruder	"Global Network" (quarterly newsletter), Elaine Orr and John L. McGruder, Editors Special Publications	Quarterly
AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION 4321 Hartwick Rd., College Park, MD 20740	Executive Director: Anthony P. Trivisono	"On the Line" (bi-monthly newsletter), Patricia L. Millard, Editor Corrections Today (bi-monthly magazine), Patricia L. Millard, Editor Juvenile and Adult Correctional Departments, Institutions, Agencies and Paroling Authorities of the United States and Canada (annual directory) and other publications	Winter Conference Annual Congress of Correction
AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION 1313 21st Ave. South, Nashville, TN 37212	Secretary: C. Elton Hinshaw Treasurer: Rendigs Fels	American Economic Review, Orley Ashenfelter, Managing Editor Journal of Economic Literature, Moses Abramowitz, Managing Editor	
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 400 A St., S.E., Washington, DC 20003	President: William H. McNeill, University of Chicago President-elect: Carl N. Degler, Stanford University Past President: Arthur S. Link, Princeton University Executive Director: Samuel R. Gammon	American Historical Review, David L. Ransel, Editor Perspectives (newsletter) Recently Published Articles, Writings on American History, Doctoral Dissertations in History, Guide to Departments of History, Grants and Fellowships of Interest to Historians, Annual Report, Directory of Affiliated Societies, History Pamphlet Series	Held December 27-30 of every year 1985: New York 1986: Chicago
AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION 1200 17th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036	Executive Officer: Leonard Goodstein	American Psychologist Psychology Today and 18 other periodicals	93rd Annual Convention Aug. 23-27, 1985 Los Angeles, CA
AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR POLITICAL AND LEGAL PHILOSOPHY c/o M. P. Golding,	President: Louis Henkin Secretary: Martin P. Golding, Duke University	NOMOS, J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman, Editors	January 1986 (at Annual Meeting of Association of American Law Schools)

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
Philosophy Dept., Duke University, Durham, NC 27708			
AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Suite 500, 1120 G St., N.W., Washington, DC 20005	President: Naomi B. Lynn, Georgia State University Executive Director: Keith F. Mulrooney	Public Administration Review, Chester A. Newland, Editor P.A. Times, Keith F. Mulrooney, Editor	National Conference April 12-16, 1986 Anaheim, CA
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION 1722 N St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036	Executive Officer: William V. D'Antonio President: Kai Erikson, Yale University	American Sociological Review, Sheldon Stryker, Editor Contemporary Sociology, Barbara Laslett, Editor	Aug. 30-Sept. 3, 1986 New York Hilton
AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION 806 15th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20005	President: Donald W. Marquardt President-Elect: Barbara A. Bailar Executive Director: Fred C. Leone	Journal of the American Statistical Association The American Statistician Amstat News Technometrics Journal of Educational Statistics Current Index to Statistics Journal of Business & Economic Statistics	Aug. 18-21, 1986 Chicago, IL
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF POLICY, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD P.O. Box 24234, Washington, DC 20024	Executive Director: Mekki Mtewa, International Development Foundation 201 Rue Belliard, B-1040 Brussels Belgium	Science, Technology and Development (book) Perspectives in Inter- national Development (book) Program Announcements Recent Developments in International Scholarship and Development Policy (book) Science Technology and International Law (book)	6th Annual, Sept. Regional, June
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS 1710 16th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20009	President: Ronald F. Abler Vice President: George J. Demko Secretary: Alice C. Andrews Executive Director: Robert T. Aangeenbrug		May 4-7, 1986 Minneapolis, MN  April 23-26, 1987 Portland, OR
ASSOCIATION FOR COMPARATIVE ECONOMIC STUDIES c/o Prof. Roger Skurski, Dept. of Economics, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556	President: Murray Feshbach Secretary: Roger Skurski Economics	Comparative Economic Studies Journal of Comparative	December 28-30, 1985 New York, NY
* ASSOCIATION OF KOREAN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS IN NORTH AMERICA 1021 St. Clair St.,	President: Hong Nak Kim Secretary-General: Hang Yul Rhee	Political Studies Review, Hong Nak Kim, Editor AKPSNA Newsletter, Hang Yul Rhee, Editor	August 1985 Seoul, Korea Annual meeting in conjunction with APSA annual con-

## Organizations Related to Political Science

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
Hagerstown, MD 21740			vention or Association of Asian Studies annual meeting
*ASSOCIATION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE TEACHING 9131 Fletcher Parkway, #124, La Mesa, CA 92041		AICCT Journal, Jerry Baydo, Editor	Spring 1985 California
ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS AND MANAGEMENT c/o Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, Duke University, 4875 Duke Station, Durham, NC 27706	President: Donald Stokes President-elect: Laurence E. Lynn, Jr. Vice Presidents: Mary Jo Bane, Robert D. Reischauer Treasurer: Robert Behn Secretary: Charles E. Phelps	Journal of Policy Analysis and Management	
ASSOCIATION FOR POLITICS AND THE LIFE SCIENCES Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115	Executive Director: Thomas C. Wiegale	Politics and the Life Sciences, Thomas C. Wiegale, Northern Illinois University, Editor; Carol Barner-Barry, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, Book Review Editor	In conjunction with APSA annual meeting
CAUCUS ON FAITH AND POLITICS c/o Professor Hubert Morken, Dept. of Political Science and History, Oral Roberts University, Tulsa, OK 74171	Program Coordinator: Hubert Morken	annual APSA	In conjunction with meetings
THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTION P.O. Box 987, Carlisle, PA 17013	Executive Director: Eugene W. Hickok, Jr., Dickinson College Director: Gary L. McDowell, Tulane University (on leave for govt. service) Director of Special Programs: Jeffrey Leigh Sedgwick, University of Massachusetts	Occasional	In conjunction with the APSA annual meeting
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FEDERALISM Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122	Director: Daniel J. Elazar Fellows: Robert B. Hawkins, Chairman, ACIR; Ellis Katz, Temple University; John Kincaid, North Texas State University; Donald Lutz, University of Houston; Stephen Schechter, Russell Sage College; Robert Thomas, University of Houston	PUBLIUS: The Journal of Federalism CSF Notebook Covenant Letter	Conference for Federal Studies, in conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting  Conferences and Seminars
*CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF	Co-Directors: Jeremy Rabkin, William Kristol	Occasional	In conjunction with the APSA Annual

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
JUDICIAL POWER Program on Courts and Public Policy, McGraw Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853			Meeting
*CITIZENS' RESEARCH FOUNDATION University of Southern California, Research Annex, 3716 S. Hope St., Los Angeles, CA 90007	Director: Herbert E. Alexander	Occasional	Occasional
THE CLAREMONT INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF STATESMANSHIP AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY 4650 Arrow Hwy., Suite D6, Mont- clair, CA 91763	President: Peter W. Schramm Vice President: Christopher Flannery Secretary: L. P. Arnn Director, Bicentennial Project: Ken Masugi	Claremont Review of Books, Ken Masugi, Editor Occasional Papers Series Bicentennial Essays	Panels at APSA Annual Meetings, and Bicentennial of the Constitution confer- ence scheduled in Claremont for Febru- ary 20-22, 1986 (The American Character)
*COMMITTEE ON HEALTH POLITICS Health Administration Program, 7080 Haley Center, Auburn Uni- versity, Auburn, AL 36849	Executive Secretary: Mark Burns, Auburn University	Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law, Theodore Marmor, Editor	At the APSA Annual Meeting and with the American Public Health Association and the American Society for Public Administration
COMMITTEE FOR PARTY RENEWAL Gerald Pomper, Eagle- ton Institute, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901	Co-Chairmen: Cong. Bill Frenzel, Gerald Pomper Executive Director: Jerome Mileur	Party Line (bi-monthly newsletter)	Annual business meeting at APSA convention
CONFERENCE GROUP ON CULTURAL POLICY AND THE ARTS Dept. of Political Science, Johns Hop- kins University, Baltimore, MD 21218	President: Milton C. Cummings Executive Director: Richard S. Katz		In conjunction with the APSA Annual Meetings
CONFERENCE FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT c/o Prof. Robert A. Fenn, Dept. of Political Science, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1A1	Chair: J. G. A. Pocock, Johns Hopkins University Secretary-Treasurer: Anthony Parel, Uni- versity of Calgary	Newsletter, Conference for the Study of Political Thought, Thomas Horne, University of Tulsa, Editor	Feb. 3, 1986 Tulane University
*COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY IN KOREA P.O. Box 3657, Arlington, VA 22203	Chairperson: Tonghwan S. Moon Executive Director: Sung-Il Choi Secretary: Edwin H. Gragert	Monthly Review of Korean Affairs	
FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY Dept. of Political	Chairman, 1985: George J. Graham, Jr., Vanderbilt University		In conjunction with APSA annual meeting

## Organizations Related to Political Science

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
Science, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37235	Co-Chairmen, 1986: Robert Grafstein, Edward Portis		
GUATEMALA SCHOLARS NETWORK Milton H. Jamail Dept. of Political Science, Texas Lutheran College, Seguin, TX 78155	Political Science Discipline Chairperson: Milton H. Jamail		In conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting
INDIAN POLICY NETWORK Barry University, 11300 N.E. 2nd Ave., Miami, FL 33161	Coordinator: Michael E. Melody	Newsletter (four times each year), Michael Melody, Editor	In conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting and the Western Social Science Annual Meeting
INTERNATIONAL PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION 1617 Duke St., Alexandria, VA 22314	Executive Director: Donald K. Tichenor	Public Personnel Management IPMA News Agency Issues	Annual International Conference
*INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION c/o University of Ottawa, Ottawa, K1N 6N5 Canada	President: Klaus von Beyme Secretary-General: John E. Trent Administrator: Liette Boucher	Participation, John E. Trent and Liette Boucher, Co-Editors Information Supplement International Political Science Review, John Meisel, Editor International Political Science Abstracts, Serge Hurtig, Editor Advances in Political Science: An International Series of Books, Richard L. Merritt	August 1988 Washington, D.C.
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION William A. Welsh, Executive Director, Byrnes International Center, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208	President: J. David Singer, University of Michigan President-elect: Kal J. Holsti, University of British Columbia	Newsletter ISA Notes New Dimensions in International Studies Annual ISQ, Arizona State University	27th Annual Convention March 25-29, 1986 Anaheim, CA
INTER-UNIVERSITY SEMINAR ON ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY IUS Secretariat, Social Science Bldg., Box 46, University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637	Founding Chairman: Morris Janowitz Chairman: Sam Sarkesian Executive Director: John Allen Williams	Armed Forces and Society Newsletter	
THE LAW AND SOCIETY ASSOCIATION University of Denver, College of Law, 1900 Olive St., Denver,	President: Stewart Macaulay, University of Wisconsin Secretary: Jonathan D. Casper, University of Illinois	Law and Society Review, Robert Kidder, Temple University, Editor	June 1986 Chicago, IL

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
CO 80220	Executive Officer, Joyce S. Sterling, University of Denver		
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND ADMINISTRATION Suite 520, 1120 G St., N.W., Washington, DC 20005	President: Robert E. Cleary, American University Vice President: Astrid E. Merget, George Washington University Executive Director: Alfred M. Zuck	Directory of Programs in Public Affairs and Administration Report of NASPAA Member Institutions Biannual Newsletter	Annual Meeting Oct. 9-11, 1986 Kansas City, MO
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK POLITICAL SCIENTISTS	President: Michael B. Preston, Dept. of Political Science, 361 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois-Urbana, Urbana, IL 61801		April 2-5, 1986 Chicago, IL
NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY Political Science Division, Georgia Southern College, Landrum Box 8101, Statesboro, GA 30460-8101	Co-Chairs: David M. Speak, Jonathan Galloway	The Journal of Social Philosophy (quarterly)	In conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting and also World Congress of Philosophy
PI SIGMA ALPHA 4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, DC 20016	President: Charles O. Jones President-elect: William C. Havard Executive Director: Howard Penniman	Newsletter of Pi Sigma (quarterly) Information Quarterly	In conjunction with the APSA Annual Meetings
POLITICS OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATION c/o Jay D. Scribner, Temple University, College of Education Ritter Hall, Philadelphia, PA 19122	President: Jay D. Scribner, Temple University Secretary: Rick Ginsberg	Politics of Education Bulletin, Charles Kershner, Editor Newsletter	April 16-20, 1986 San Francisco, CA
THE PUBLIC CHOICE SOCIETY Dept. of Economics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742	President: Dennis C. Mueller	Public Choice (quarterly)	March 21-23, 1986 Baltimore Plaza Hotel Baltimore, MD
*RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL FINANCE AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION University of Southern California, Research Annex, 3716 S. Hope St., Los Angeles, CA 90007	Secretary: Herbert E. Alexander	Newsletter	IPSA conferences and roundtables at midterm
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF SOCIAL	President: Joseph E. McGrath	Journal of Social Issues, George Levinger, University of Massachu-	

## Organizations Related to Political Science

Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
ISSUES Lynda Fuerstnau, Administrative Associate, P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1248		setts, General Editor	
*THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS HB208, State Univer- sity College, 1300 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo, NY 14222	Executive Officer: Herbert A. Aurbach President: Joan Moore, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee President-elect: Rodolfo Alvarez, University of California, Los Angeles	Social Problems, James Orcutt, Florida State University	
STATELESS (SUBMERGED) NATIONS COLLOQUIA AND SYMPOSIA AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN P.O. Box 285, Brookfield, WI 53005	Board Members: Joseph Abramovich, Vatro Murvar, Roland Stromberg	Submerged Nations: An Invitation to Theory and Bibliography on One Major Case Study Program Flyers Newsletter	In conjunction with the annual APSA, AS(ociological)A meetings and during the academic year Periodic colloquia at the University
THE TAFT INSTITUTE FOR TWO-PARTY GOVERNMENT 420 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10170	President: Marilyn Chelstrom Chairman: Prescott Bush Vice-Chairmen: Hon. Clark MacGregor; William F. May; Gerald L. Olson; Hon. Frank Pace, Jr.	Practical Politics Series Newsletter for Teachers	25-30 Annual Taft Seminars
TRANSNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION John C. Di Pierro, Managing Director, University of Central Florida, P.O. Box 25000, Orlando, FL 32816	Managing Director: J. C. Di Pierro Secretary-Treasurer: M. F. B. Garcia	Global Perspectives: An Interdisciplinary Journal of International Relations The TSA Report	Irregular roundtables and workshops Annual Meeting and International Conference Fall 1986 Orlando, FL
*THE WALTER BAGEHOT RESEARCH COUNCIL ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY 166-25 Powells Cove Blvd., Beechhurst, NY 11357	President and Editor-in- Chief: Henry Paolucci Vice President: Richard Charles Clark Executive Director and Publications Coordinator: Frank D. Grande, City College of New York Program Director: Frank Paul Le Veness, St. John's University	State of the Nation Review of National Literatures Quarterly World Report Occasional papers	In conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting, in conjunc- tion with NY State Political Science Association and Northeastern Political Science Association meetings. Meetings at campus centers.
WEBER (MAX) COLLOQUIA AND SYMPOSIA AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN P.O. Box 285, Brookfield, WI 53005	Coordinator: V. Murvar, University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee	Max Weber Today: A Living Legacy and Selected Bibliography Program Flyers Newsletter	In conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting. AS(ociological) Association meetings and during the academic year. Colloquia at the University of Wisconsin
WESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE	President: Maxine Baca Zinn, University of,	The Social Science Journal, Robert Regoli	



Organization	Officers	Publications	Meetings
ASSOCIATION W. W. Ray, Executive Director, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX 76129	Michigan-Flint Vice President: Patricia MacCorquodale, University of Arizona President-elect: Glen Atkinson, University of Nevada-Reno	and Ray Cuzzort, Univer- sity of Colorado, Boulder, Editors WSSA Newsletter, Margaret Patoski, Texas Wesleyan College, and Fred Erisman, Texas Christian University, Editors	Annual Last week of April
*WINSTON S. CHURCHILL ASSOCIATION 549 Baughman Ave., Claremont, CA 91711	President: Harry V. Jaffa	Studies in Statesmanship (published in association with the Claremont Institute)	Occasional
*WOMEN'S CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE Political Science Dept., University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19711	President: Diane Fowlkes, Georgia State University President-elect: Rita Mae Kelly, Arizona State University Secretary: Barbara J. Nelson, University of Minnesota Treasurer: Kathryn Newcomer, George Washington University		At APSA annual meetings

## Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science, 1985 in Universities of the United States

Compiled by **Jon Cummings**  
American Political Science Association

## Dissertations in Preparation

### Additions, changes, deletions since 1984 listing

#### AMERICAN GOVERNMENT Additions

Terry Allar, Representation in the American  
States, UCSB.

Thomas Andres, Politics of Scientific Re-  
search Grants, UCSB.

Josiah Auspitz, Trust, Reason and Purpose:  
The Organizing Concepts of Politics and Praxi-  
ology. Harvard.

Julie Davis Bell, Changing Motives of Political  
Party Activists: Effects on the Political Party  
Organization. California, Davis.

Mary Borrelli, Mediation and the Ethical Dilem-  
mas of the Mediator. Harvard.

Cheryl Boyer, Politics of Taxation. Stanford.

Eileen Burgin, Congressional Motives in U.S.  
Foreign Policy-Making. Harvard.

Donna Childers, Article V. UCSB.

Carolyn Cooke, Staff Organizations in the  
United States: A Study of Congressional,  
Campaign and Political Consultant Staffs,  
Among United States House of Representa-  
tive Members. Indiana.

Gary Corbin, Agenda-Setting and Acid Rain.  
Indiana.

Michael Cornfield, American Political Journal-  
ism. Harvard.

Dario Caloss, Internal and External Exegesis,  
the Welfare State and National Security: A  
Turning Point for American Foreign Policy.  
UCSB.

Michael Dawson, Modelling Changes in Afro-  
American Political Attitudes 1960-1984.  
Harvard.

Christine A. DeGregorio, Professional Staff  
Members in the House of Representatives: A  
Committee Perspective Rochester.

## Doctoral Dissertations

John Dilulio, *American Maximum Security Prisons: Philosophy, Politics and Administration*. Harvard.

Julie S. Drucker, *Congressional Leadership: A Longitudinal Approach*. Wisconsin (Madison).

C. Lawrence Evans, *Committee Decision Making in the U.S. Senate*. Rochester.

Kenneth Finegold, *The Politicization of Progressivism: Reform and Electoral Change in City, State and Nation*. Harvard.

Christopher Froke, *The State of Public Opinion Research*. UCSB.

Thomas Garrison, *Democracy and Non-Violence*. UCSB.

Kathlyn T. Gaubatz, *Politics and Punishment in the Reagan Era: What Twenty-Four Americans Think*. Princeton.

Paul Gehman, *Perception and Timing in the Design of Legislation*. Rochester.

Howard Gold, *Political Change in the United States: The Rise of Electoral Conservatism*. Yale.

Mark Graber, *World War One, Free Speech and the American Community*. Yale.

Elizabeth Jo Greenberg, *The Politics of Coalition Building: A Study of the Interaction of Labor Unions and Feminist Organizations*. California (Berkeley).

William F. Grover, *Presidential Superpower in an Era of Declining U.S. Hegemony: The Carter and Reagan Years*. Massachusetts.

Paul-Henri Gurian, *Resource Allocation Strategies in Presidential Nomination Campaigns*. North Carolina.

Thomas Haffner, *An Historical Reexamination of the Watergate Era*. Denver.

John Patrick Hagan, *Policy Activism in State Supreme Courts: Individualistic and Innovative Judicial Behavior in the Context of Political Change*. North Carolina.

Richard Hall, *Participation in Congressional Committees*. North Carolina.

Dale Hathaway, *The Politics of Deindustrialization: Workers' Response to the Destruction of the American Steel Industry*. Cornell.

Richard Herrera, *Senatorial Campaign Committees and the Transformation of American Political Parties*. UCSB.

Paul S. Herrnsen, *Do Parties Make a Difference? The Role of Party Organizations in Congressional Elections*. Wisconsin (Madison).

Allen D. Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington*. Wisconsin (Madison).

Phillip Hufford, *Technology, Ethnicity and Neurolinguistic Programming: A Media Analysis of the Hawaiian Family Study of Cognition*. Denver.

Richard Alan Keiser, *Amicability or Polarization: The Politics of the Transition to a Black Mayor*. California (Berkeley).

William W. Keller, *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover: Domestic Security Policy in the 1950s and 1960s*. Cornell.

Edwin Koc, *The Politics of Redevelopment Policy: The Problems of Building a Strategic Consensus*. Pennsylvania.

Stephanie G. Larson, *The Impact of Manipulated Media Messages and Information on Public Perceptions of Congress and Congressmen: A Social Experiment*. Florida State.

David Lasyer, *Community Control: The Devolution of Public Authority at the Neighborhood Level*. UCSB.

Chung Hee Lee, *A Behavioral Analysis of Foreign Lobbyists' Activities in the United States*. Missouri-Columbia.

Yoon-shik Lee, *The Tennessee Child Restraint Law: An Impact Analysis and an Explanation of Program Evaluation Using Multiple Time Series*. Michigan.

Stan Luger, *Private Power, Public Policy and the U.S. Automobile Industry*. City University of New York.

Bernard Mabire, *Nationalism in Mexico and in the United States during World War II*. Harvard.

James Malachowski, *Campaign Spending and State Legislative Outcomes in Ten States*. Kentucky.

Suzanne Marilley, *From Woman's Rights to Woman Suffrage: The Formation of the Woman Suffrage Movement*. Harvard.

Ann M. Martino, *The Deregulation of the Occupational Safety and Health State Program: Policy, Politics and Implementation*. Maryland.

Hartley Martyn, *The Effects of the Changing Role of Parties on Realignment in American National Politics*. Maryland.

David Meyer, *The Nuclear Disarmament Movement in the United States, 1979-1984*. Boston.

Roy Meyers, *Microbudgeting Strategies and Outcomes in the U.S. Congress*. Michigan.

Penny M. Miller, *Motivations and Continuity of Support of Political Activists in Gubernatorial Primaries*. Kentucky.

Vernon Mogensen, *A Study of the Private*

Powers and Public Concerns Involved in Making Safety and Health Policy for White Collar Video Display Terminal Workers. City University of New York.

Mary Musca, *The Bureaucratization of Congress: The Growth of the Congressional Staff*. Harvard.

Saul Newman, *The Politicization of Social Identifications and Its Effect Upon the Successes and Failures of New Parties*. Princeton.

Diana M. Owen, *Media Messages and Their Differential Uses and Influence in Presidential Elections*. Wisconsin (Madison).

Suzanne L. Parker, *The Dynamics of Changing Trust Levels in the United States*. Florida State.

Sheree Queen-Bryant, *Power, Democracy and the State: Images of Urban Politics in America 1945-Present*. Harvard.

Daniel M. Russell, *Alternatives in American Politics: A Study of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now*. Massachusetts.

Sue Ann Sandusky, *Explaining the Political Action of Interest Groups: An Exchange Model Analysis of the National Rifle Association*. Columbia.

Kurt A. Schwarz, *White Collar: The Politics of a New American Class*. Princeton.

Edward C. Sembor, *Bureaucratic Dimensions of Privacy: Personal Information in Public Organizations*. Fordham.

Peter Skerry, *Mexican-American Politics in Los Angeles and San Antonio*. Harvard.

Thomas Skladony, *The House at Work: Select and Standing Committees in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1818-1978*. Pennsylvania.

June Sager Speakman, *Congress and the American Role in the World: The Cases of Angola, Panama, and Lebanon*. City University of New York.

Randall Strahan, *The Problem of Integration in the Reformed House: The Case of Tax Policy*. Virginia.

Elaine Swift, *The Rise of the U.S. Senate, 1789-1837*. Harvard.

William A. Syers, *The Legislative Presidency of Gerald R. Ford: The Impact of the Minority Leadership Experience in the House Upon a President's Relationship with the Congress*. Oklahoma.

Lina Viviano, *The Politics and Administration of U.S. Immigration Policy*. Harvard.

Clyde Weed, *The Evolution of Republican*

*Electoral and Congressional Strategies During the New Deal Period, 1930-1938*. Columbia.

Robert Wigton, *Federal Judicial Intervention on Behalf of Individual Rights: Section 1983 and Its Implications for American Federalism*. SUNY/Buffalo.

Laura R. Woliver, *Sputtering Interests: Ad Hoc, Grass Roots Interest Groups in the United States*. Wisconsin (Madison).

Emily L. Woodruff, *National Security Affairs Interest Groups*. Wisconsin (Madison).

Alissa Pollitz Worden, *The Structure of Local Legal Culture: A Study of Decision Processes in North Carolina's Criminal Courts*. North Carolina.

## **AMERICAN GOVERNMENT Deletions**

Justin Halpern, *Spending in the American States: A Longitudinal Analysis*. Stanford.

Frank J. Smist, Jr., *Congress: The Achilles Heel of U.S. Intelligence*. Oklahoma.

## **COMPARATIVE POLITICS— AREA STUDIES Additions**

Abdul-Hamid Abdulghani, *OPEC*. UCSB.

Duada Abubakar, *Oil, the State, and Power Politics: The Political Economy of Nigeria's Foreign Policy*. Wisconsin (Madison).

Ayo Akingbemi, *Why Do Programs Succeed or Fail in the Third World?* Claremont Graduate School.

Jeffrey Anderson, *Regional Industrial Policies in Britain and West Germany: The Politics of Subnational Decline*. Yale.

Leslie Anderson, *The Effect of Land Based Population Growth and Repression on Political Participation and Revolution: Costa Rica and Nicaragua*. Michigan.

Richard Davis Anderson, Jr., *Explaining Soviet Decisions: Intervention in Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan and Poland*. California (Berkeley).

Darabshah Aram, *The Political Influence of the Iranian Military, 1941-1953*. Wisconsin (Madison).

Jennifer Bailey, *Dependent Revolution*. Denver.

Zola Barrio, *Isolation and Soviet Foreign Policy in 1923-27*. Princeton.

Mohammad Bazaei, *Islam and Politics in Contemporary Iran*. UCSB.

David Belasco, *Measuring the Effects of Per-*

## Doctoral Dissertations

- ceptions Upon the Adaptive Rate of Protected Water in Some Egyptian Villages. Denver.
- Elizabeth Mary Boles, *Out of the Woodwork: Challenges to U.S. Foreign Policy—Iran, South Africa, and the Philippines*. California (Berkeley).
- Robert M. Brown, *Public Opinion on Security: A Comparative Study in the West German and British Populations*. Florida State.
- Ponlapat Buracom, *State and Economic Development in Thailand: Study on the Limits of State Autonomy*. Northwestern.
- Jorge Castro, *Setting the Terms of the Lasting Bargain, U.S.-Mexican Relations, 1936-1948*. Harvard.
- Kiren Chaudhry, *State Building and Social Stratification in Rentier Economies: Labor Remittances and Oil Rent in Saudi Arabia, The Yemen*. Harvard.
- Linda Chen, *Labor Unions and Regime Transition in Argentina*. Massachusetts.
- Graham Allen Chisholm, *The West German Green Party: From Social Movement to Political Party*. California (Berkeley).
- Cynthia Cindric, *Mexico's Use of Petroleum as a Foreign Policy Tool*. Pennsylvania.
- Carol Cloues, *Environmental Policy in Chile, 1964 to the Present*. Denver.
- Alice Cooper, *West German Peace Movement*. Harvard.
- Michael Coppedge, *The Internal Politics of Accion Democratica During a Time of Austerity*. Yale.
- Cindy Courville, *The Origins of the Zimbabwe Independence Movement*. Denver.
- Jacobus Delwaide, *West European Security Issues*. Harvard.
- Richard Frederick Doner, *Dilemmas of External Reliance: The Evolution of the Southeast Asian Automobile Industries*. California (Berkeley).
- Vicki Dow, *The Impact of Collective Social Organizations on Labor Productivity in Chinese Agriculture*. Denver.
- Patricia Dressler, *State Preferences and Their Effect on National Development*. Pennsylvania.
- Ela Dutt-Luithui, *Rise of Women's Collective Action in India: The Organizational Question*. Columbia.
- Mustafa H. El-Kurbu, *Public Policy and Regional Development in France*. Missouri-Columbia.
- Wilma Ennenga, *On Political Participation in Hungary: The Role of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in Agricultural Policymaking*. Indiana.
- Susan Pauline Erickson, *States and Economies: Hungary, Taiwan and the Pursuit of the Industrial Grail*. California (Berkeley).
- Kingsley Esedo, *Higher Education and National Development Orientations in a Modernizing State: A Study of Nigerian University Students*. Boston.
- Gregory Freeland, *Politicizing of Religious Elites*. UCSB.
- Noboru Fujii, *Politics of Agenda-Setting: Making of the U.S.-Japanese Trade Frictions*. Harvard.
- Eduardo Gamarra, *The Role of the Bolivian National Congress in the Institutionalization of Democracy*. Pittsburgh.
- Maureen Garelick, *The Impact of Factions on the Labor Party (UK) and the Democratic Party (U.S.)*. UCSB.
- Joseph Gitari, *The Politics of Stability and (Under) Development in Africa: A Case Study of Political Repression in Kenya, 1963 to 1978*. Denver.
- Kathie S. Golden, *Political Communications and Communist States: Crisis Coverage in East European Media*. Kentucky.
- Etel Goldman, *The Political Economy of Technical Change—A Study of the Brazilian Nuclear Program*. California (Los Angeles).
- Luis Gonzalez, *The Uruguayan General Election of 1984: Return to Democracy?* Yale.
- John Goodman, *The Politics of Monetary Policy in France, Italy, and Germany: 1973-1985*. Harvard.
- Steven J. Green, *Political Communication in the Soviet Media: An Analysis of Channels and Patterns of Political Communications in Soviet Journals*. Michigan State.
- Vladimir Gurfinkel, *Concept of Nuclear War and Soviet Mass Media*. Princeton.
- Jorge Luis Gutierrez, *Puerto Rico: A Nation in Search of a State. Part II*. Northwestern.
- Dwight Richard F. Hahn, *Political Implications of Agrarian Land Reform in the Cochamba Valley of Bolivia*. California (Riverside).
- Frances Susan Hall, *The Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern Africa*. California (Berkeley).
- Laura Hall, *Government Policies on Contract Labor Remittances: A Comparative Study of Pakistan and the Philippines*. Boston.
- Bessie House-Midamba, *Class Development Among Urban Women in Kenya and the Role of Women in Society*. Denver.

- Hidenori Ijiri, *China's Current Modernization and Its Relationship with Japan: A Study in Asymmetric Perceptions*. California (Berkeley).
- Jill Irvine, *Representatives in Socialist Politics: The Yugoslav Delegate System, 1973-1983*. Harvard.
- Craig Johnson, *Data Resources and Development*. California (Los Angeles).
- Jimmy D. Kandeh, *Dynamics of State, Class and Political Ethnicity: A Comparative Study of State-Society Relations in Colonial and Post-Colonial Sierra Leone, 1896-1984*. Wisconsin (Madison).
- Adel Karaki, *Local Administration in Jordan*. Claremont Graduate School.
- Taek Kee Kim, *Rise of the Modern Authoritarian Regime in South Korea, 1961-1983: Impact of Socioeconomic Structural Change on Its Political System*. Missouri-Columbia.
- Joseph L. Klesner, *Electoral Politics and Political Change in Mexico's Authoritarian Regime*. MIT.
- Robert Ladrech, *Ideology Transformation of the Parti Socialiste: The Role of Ideology—French Party Politics*. UCSB.
- SheiPei Lai, *A Survey of Attitudes on the Issue of Chinese Reunification of Los Angeles Chinese in the Academic Community and Those Listed in Telephone Books*.
- Merouane Lakehalayat, *The Leading Sector Approach to Economic Development: The Case of Algeria, 1967-1982*. Denver.
- Ellen F. Lee, *A Comparative Study of Public Participant Campaigns in Republican China, the People's Republic of China, and Singapore*. Columbia.
- Stephen Lemson, *The Role of the State in Yugoslavia*. Harvard.
- Garth LePere, *Local Government, Co-optation and Community Conflict in South Africa: The Case of Soweto*. Yale.
- Peter Lewis, *Party Politics in Nigeria*. Princeton.
- Juan Lindau, *The Role of Technocrats in Mexico*. Harvard.
- Dinah Louda, *Franco-German Rapprochement in the Present Decade*. Harvard.
- Ilija Luciak, *Political Participation and Basic Human Needs Under a Revolutionary Regime: The Case of Nicaragua*. Iowa.
- Scott Elwood MacDougall, *Multinational Corporation/Host Country Relationships: An Examination of Strong and Weak States*. California (Berkeley).
- Diarmuid Maguire, *Party-Movement-Relations in Western Europe: The British and Italian Peace Movements*. Cornell.
- Russell J. Mardon, *The Role of the State in Facilitating Economic Development and the Pattern of Distribution: A Case Study of the Republic of Korea*. Michigan State.
- Gerard Michael Mare, *Economic Reforms and the Chinese Cadre Corps in the Post-Mao Era*. California (Berkeley).
- James William McGuire, *Peronist Unions and Non-Peronist Governments: Political Crisis in Argentina Since 1955*. California (Berkeley).
- H. Kevin McNeelege, *Polarized Development Policy in the People's Republic of China*. Johns Hopkins.
- Helen Milner, *Economic Depression of National Trade Policy Responses: A Comparison of U.S. and French Trade Policy in the 1920s and '70s*. Harvard.
- Laurie Mylroie, *Saudi-Arabian Foreign Policy, 1945-1975*. Harvard.
- Maridi Nahas, *Hegemonic Constraints and State Autonomy: A Comparative Analysis of the Developmental Experiences of 19th Century Egypt, Spain and Italy*. California (Los Angeles).
- Denis Protus Neba, *The Legal Regime for the Management of the Area Under UNCLOS III*. Denver.
- Gregory Noble, *The Politics of Economic Policy-making in Japan and Taiwan*. Harvard.
- Kofi Nyawuto, *Political Economy of Development: Africa 2000*. UCSB.
- Rina Ojeda, *Intergovernmental Relations and Oil; A Comparative Analysis of Mexico and Indonesia*. Boston.
- Everest Onuoha, *Nuclear Weapons Free Zone: An Empirical Study of the Problems and Possibilities of the African Nuclear Weapons Free Zone*. Boston.
- Ebere Onwudiwe, *Nigeria: An Extra-Societal Model of Public Policy*. Florida State.
- Benson Chinedu Onyeji, *The Postcolonial State and Industrialization: The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation and the Crisis in the Oil Industry*. Denver.
- Stephen W. Orvis, *Peasant Decision-Making and Agricultural Development in Western Kenya*. Wisconsin (Madison).
- Bertha Zimba Osei-Hwedie, *Zambian Decisionmaking in Transportation: The Case of the Tanzanian-Zambian Railway*. Brandeis.
- Benjamin C. Ostrov, *The Science and Technology Commission for National Defense of*

## Doctoral Dissertations

the PLA: A Case Study in Organizational Growth. Chicago.

Philip Oxhorn, The Re-establishment of Political Activity Under Authoritarian Regimes: Popular Organizations in the Chilean Poblaciones. Harvard.

Hyo-Chong Park, Development and State Autonomy: South Korea During 1961-1979. Indiana.

Mustapha Kamal Pasha, The Class Structure of Pakistan: A Study of Colonial Impact on Tahsil Pind Dadan Khan. Denver.

Spyros Philippas, The Leftist Forces in Greece: Socialism and Communism in a Mediterranean Perspective. George Washington.

John A. Rapp, On the Autonomy of the Chinese State under Socialism: A Critique of Chinese Marxist Debates among Ruling Group Publicists, Party Dissenters, and Extra-party Intellectuals. Wisconsin (Madison).

Simon Reich, The Effects of Fascism on the Industrial Divide in the Bonn Republic. Cornell.

Victoria Elizabeth Rodriguez, The Politics of Decentralization in Mexico: The Case of Desarrollo Integral de la Familia (DIF). California (Berkeley).

Tom Rogers, Politics and Literature, Or Leftist Catholicism in Latin America. UCSB.

Laura Roper, The Politics of Family Planning: The Implementation of Policy in Columbia. Pennsylvania.

Jeffrey Rubin, Radicalism and Democratization: Leftist Electoral Participation in Juchitan (Mexico). Harvard.

Sunil Kumar Sahu, Technology Transfer, Dependence and Self-Reliant Development in the Third World: The Case of Machine Tools and Pharmaceutical Industry in India. Chicago.

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Gabriel Schoenfeld, The Influence of the French Revolution on Bolshevism. Harvard.

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vakia: A Case of Communist Subversion or a Domestic Revolution? California (Los Angeles).

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Daniel Didier Verdier, The United States

Response to the Industrial Challenge. California (Berkeley).

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Andrew H. Ziegler, European Foreign Policy. Florida.

J. Ziegler, Technological Change and the Nicholas State: Strategies for Industrial Competition in France and the Federal Republic of Germany 1965-85. Harvard.

## **COMPARATIVE POLITICS/ AREA STUDIES Changes**

David Ayon, Dependent Development and Mexican Foreign Policy. Stanford.

Terrie Ralph Groth, State, Class, and Crisis in Brazil, 1974-1982. California (Riverside).

Kristen Grim Hughes, Closed Camps: Hong Kong's Vietnamese Refugee Policy. California (Berkeley).

Marshall Y. Shen, Human Rights in People's China: A Developmental Strategy, 1945-1969. California (Riverside).

## **COMPARATIVE POLITICS/ AREA STUDIES Deletions**

Peter Lawrence Crabtree, The Political Economy of State Investment in Mexico: Social Reform and Economic Crisis during the Echeverria Administration. California (Riverside).

Richard Joel Spielman, The Political Incorporation of Professionals Who Are Party Activists into the Political Structure of Poland. California (Berkeley).

## **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS Additions**

Jawdat Ahed Abu-El-Haj, Articulation of Modes of Production to Northeast Brazil and the Transition to Capitalism: The Case of State and Multinational Intervention. California (Riverside).

Linda Adams, U.S.-Egyptian Relations 1972-1981: Continuity or Change. South Carolina.

Sami Al-Adwan, The Arab League After 1979: Its Activities, Effectiveness and Future. Claremont Graduate School.

Aboud Al-Anzi, Gulf Cooperation Council. Claremont Graduate School.

Javier Alcalde, Evolution of Anglo-American Concern for Economic Progress in Backward Nations: An Exploration into the Making of Development Ideology. Virginia.

Boussetta Allouche, Small Power and International Mediation: The Case of Algeria. Maryland.

Giuseppi Ammendola, The 1984 Legislation Repealing the 30 Percent Withholding Tax on Foreign Bondholders: Political Pressures and Economic Effects. City University of New York.

Leighton Armitage, Consensus and Conflict

## Doctoral Dissertations

Resolution: The Japanese Experience. UCSB.  
Vincent Auger, U.S. Policy Towards Nuclear Weapons in Europe. Harvard.

Saeed Badeeb, The Saudi-Egyptian Conflict Over North Yemen, 1962-1970. George Washington.

Donna Beltz, The Persian Gulf Between the Superpowers: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Arc of Crisis. California (Los Angeles).

Yoav Ben-Horin, Limited War in the Middle East. Harvard.

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Donald Bennett, ANZUS Defense Treaty. UCSB.

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Pamela DeLargy, The Politics of Forced Migration: Ethiopian Refugees in the Sudan. North Carolina.

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Tegengework Gettu, Conflict and Accommodation in Ethio-Sudanese Relations. Columbia.

Mostafa Ghaleh-gol, The Politics of Nonalignment. Mississippi.

Larry P. Goodson, The Role of Refugee Camps in Insurgency. North Carolina.

Bruce Gordon, Economic Sanctions in American Foreign Policy: The Domestic Politics of International Coercion. Oklahoma.

Paul A. Gottschalk, Protracted Social Cooperation in the Context of Protracted Social Conflict. Maryland.

Ian Graig, Forty Years of Protest: The American Disarmament Movement, 1944-1984. Virginia.

Ronald Eric Gutfleish, Industry Structure and the Politics of Protection. California (Berkeley).

Dariusz Haghighat, United States Foreign Policy Towards the Nationalization of Oil Industry in Iran. California (Riverside).

Alexander Hanke, U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Germany 1944-1947: A Cybernetic



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- John Hogan, *Arms Control and American Strategic Force Decisions: A Critical Analysis of Decision Making in the MX Missile Program, 1969-1981*. Duke.
- Michael Horn, *Arms Expenditures: An Expected Utility Approach*. Rochester.
- Sarbjit Johal, *National Power and Regional Corporation: Indo-Pakistan Relations 1947-1984*. UCSB.
- Nukhet Kardam, *Policy Process in International Organization: The Case of Women in Development Policy in the World Bank and FAO*. Michigan State.
- Joseph P. Keddell, Jr., *The Politics of National Security: The Rise of a Domestic Defense Establishment in Japan*. Wisconsin (Madison).
- Yuen Khong, *From Rotten Apples to Falling Dominos to Munich: The Problem of Reasoning by Analogy about Vietnam*. Harvard.
- Jeong Kil, *The Development of Authoritarian Capitalism: Studies in South Korean Political Economy*. Yale.
- Kyu-Ryoon Kim, *Asian-Pacific Regionalism: A Simulation Approach*. Northwestern.
- Sung Joo Kim, *The Great Power Triangle and Southeast Asian Security since 1975*. SUNY/ Buffalo.
- Yong-Ho Kim, *The Rise of Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regime in South Korea, 1963-1975*. Pennsylvania.
- Ira Klein, *Soviet Strategic Culture and the Postwar Formation of Doctrine for Europe*. Harvard.
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- Vicki Kraft, *Terminating the Taiwan Treaty: A Study of the Constitution, Separation of Powers and Foreign Policy Making*. SUNY/ Buffalo.
- David Lalman, *Conflict, Reason and Peace*. Rochester.
- George Lambrakis, *From Sideshow to Center Stage: U.S. Relations with Lebanon 1943-1983*. George Washington.
- Azzedine Layachi, *United States Foreign Policy Toward Algeria and Morocco: Operationalization of Image Theory and Beyond*. New York.
- Thomas T. M. Lee, *The Sino-British Agreement on the Question of Hong Kong: Political and Legal Issues*. Oklahoma.
- Wei-Chin Lee, *Sovereignty and the Law of the Sea: A Comparison Between United States and the People's Republic of China*. Oregon.
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## Doctoral Dissertations

- Scott C. Monje, *Soviet-Cuban Alliance Politics: Cooperation and Competition in the Third World*. Columbia.
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- Maqsd Nuri, *The Soviet-Cuban Military Cooperation in Africa: A Case of Proxy or Partner Relationship*. South Carolina.
- John J. Nutter, *Inter-Nation Simulation 1985*. Northwestern.
- Ernest J. Oliveri, Jr., *The Latin American Debt Crisis: The Function of Complex Interdependence*. New York.
- Maria Papadakis, *Territory Does Not Make a Nation—On the Question of Size, Smallness, and Power in International Relations*. Indiana.
- Hong-suk Park, *Politics of Protection: Trade Barriers*. UCSB.
- Afeworki Paulos, *The Case of U.S.-Ethiopian Relations Since 1945*. George Washington.
- Davor Pisk, *The International Economy of Western Europe*. UCSB.
- Yury Polsky, *The Soviet Policy towards the Settlement of the Arab Israeli Conflict*. Michigan.
- Mitchell Pote, *America's ICBM Policy: The Scowcroft Commission Report*. North Carolina.
- Luba Racanska, *The Trends and Opportunities in Soviet Foreign Policy Following the Succession Process*. North Carolina.
- Linda Racioppi, *Soviet Models of Development: The Policy-Theory Interface*. Maryland.
- Lucia Rawls, *Associated Dependent Development: A Case Study of ARAMCO's Involvement in the Development of Saudi Arabia*. South Carolina.
- Louise Richardson, *Interest vs. Sentiment in the Anglo-American Special Relationship*. Harvard.
- Raymond Richart, *International Political Economy of Development*. UCSB.
- Carlos Rico, *Typology of Issue Areas in U.S. Foreign Policymaking Toward Latin America*. Harvard.
- Barry Riggsbee, *The Impact of Presidential Electoral Politics on Foreign Policy*. South Carolina.
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- Saeed Shafqat, *Military Hegemony Versus Party Dominance: The Politics of Reform, Resistance and Conflict—A Case Study of Pakistan Under Bhutto, 1971-1977*. Pennsylvania.
- Graham Sibery, *Britain, Ireland, and the European Monetary System*. South Carolina.
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- Joel Sokolsky, *The Cold War at Sea: NATO Maritime Policy 1949-1960*. Harvard.
- Loizos Soroniatis, *The Significance of the Second Enlargement of the External Relations of the European Communities*. Massachusetts.
- James Sperling, *Coin of the Realm: The Political Economy of the Post-War International Monetary Order*.
- David Spiro, *Policy Coordination in the International Political Economy: The Politics of Recycling Petrodollars*. Princeton.

Alfred Earle Spry, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt: Strategy, Diplomacy, and National Interests in the Prewar Years. Virginia.

Michael G. Stathis, Non-Western Aspects of International Law: Failures in the Settlement of the Shat-al-Arab Dispute. Utah.

Paul Stockton, The MX: A Case History in Weapons Procurement. Harvard.

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Keith Yundt, Latin American States and Political Refugees: An Analysis of State Practice, 1945-1985. Kent State.

## **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **Changes**

Mwesiga Baregu, Bitter Sweetener: The Politico-Economic History of Cane Sugar in

the Capitalist World Economy. Stanford.

Julie Strickland, War Making and State Building: The Dynamics of American Institutional Development 1910-1924. Stanford.

Mohamed M. Wader, Class Ideology and Political Economy as Domestic Sources of Nigerian Foreign Policy. California (Riverside).

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Additions**

Bradley Lowell Palmquist, The Socialist Party in the United States, 1901-1920: An Electoral Study. California (Berkeley).

## **POLITICAL THEORY**

### **Additions**

Paul Basinski, Winston S. Churchill India and Empire. SUNY/Buffalo.

Seth B. Benjamin, Authority and Structure: John Adams' Influence on the Development of the American Political System. New York.

David Bezotte, Hannah Arendt on the Classical Conception of Politics. UCSB.

Robert Bonser, The Role of Socrates in the Thought of Soren Kierkegaard. UCSB.

Frank H. Brooks, Events Are the True Schoolmasters: An Intellectual Biography of Dyer D. Lum. Cornell.

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Charles R. Davis, Democracy, Efficiency, and Self-Development in Public Organizational Theory: Toward a Critical Model. Kentucky.

Monoutchehr Eskandari, The Young Hegelians: Theory and Praxis. UCSB.

Philip J. Frankenfeld, Ethics and Public Policies for Making Technologically Complex Physical Hazards Comprehensible, Monitorable, and Controllable by the Public. Chicago.

Daniel Neal Graham, Green and Red Politics: The Interaction of Ecological and Egalitarian Perspectives. North Carolina.

Kenneth L. Grasso, The Emergence of the Liberal Doctrine of Toleration in the Thought of John Locke. Fordham.

M. Ellen Grigsby, Literature, Politics, and the Gastonia Strike. North Carolina.

Charlotte Hafer-Burgan, Politics, Rationalism and the Rituals of Death. Maryland.

## Doctoral Dissertations

Scott Hammond, *Consciousness and Community*. Claremont Graduate School.

John Harper, *Machiavelli's "Classical" Republicanism*. Harvard.

Alan Houston, *Public Opinion and Political Theory*. Harvard.

Shozo Iijima, *An Interpretation of Spinoza's Ethics: Order, Reason and Freedom*. Chicago.

Joy A. James, *The Reconstruction of Power as Communication: Hannah Arendt on Power and Community*. Fordham.

Ronald Jepperson, *States and Social Knowledge: Historical and Structural Sources of Political Culture*. Yale.

Lawrence Jones, *The Transformation of British Liberalism in the 19th Century*. California (Los Angeles).

Christopher R. Kelly, *The Politics of the Global Village: The Influence of Media Culture on Political Theory*. Virginia.

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Esther Kuo, *The Power and Personality of Mao Tse-tung: Youth and Old Age as Seen in His Ideology, Political Style and Personality*. Oregon.

David Leibowitz, *Plato's "Georgias"*. Harvard.

Charles Malone, *Love and Political Arrangements*. City University of New York.

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Frank James Rohmer III, *Liberty and the Family in the Political Philosophy of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Tocqueville*. Chicago.

Joseph Schwartz, *The Permanence of the Political: A Democratic Critique of the Radical Thrust to Transcend Politics*. Harvard.

Hossein Seifzadeh, *Political Leadership of Islam*. UCSB.

Barry Shain, *A Nation of Peasant Communities, The Changing Nature of Communalism and Liberty, 1740-1790*. Yale.

Wade D. Sikorski, *The Political Ecology of Technique*. Massachusetts.

Charles M. Silver, *The Facilitation of Strategic Interaction: A Game-Theoretic Analysis of Morality and Law*. Chicago.

David Steiner, *The Failure of Non-Grounded Political Theory*. Harvard.

James Stoner, *Sovereign Judging: Theoretical Foundations of American Constitutionalism*. Harvard.

David H. Tyner, *The Moral Case for Capitalism*. North Carolina.

Karen J. Vogel, *Ideology, Art and the State: Understanding the Emergence of Official Culture*. Oregon.

Donna T. Waller, *The Republican Tradition of American Politics*. Florida.

## PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Additions

Yaqub Al-Rafai, *Administrative Leadership in Kuwait's Public Sector*. Claremont Graduate School.

Ellen M. Beidler, *Administration in a "New" Federal System: The Implementation of the Material and Child Health Block Grant in Florida*. Florida.

Dean Birch, *Policy Study on Water Management in Northern Sierra Counties*. UCSB.

Melinda Cain, *The Policy Environment of Small Scale Enterprise: A Rural and Urban Comparison*. Denver.

Kathleen Callanan, *Prepaid Funeral Arrangements: A Case Study in Regulatory Practice*. Claremont Graduate School.

Suzan Cheek, *The Accomplishments of Governors: Innovation and the Political Executive*. North Carolina.

Christine Cherie Demchak, *Technological Change, Organizational Complexity, and the Army*. California (Berkeley).

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Bruce Hoffacker, Dependency and Organizational Change: Reagan's Impact on Neighborhood Organizations. City University of New York.

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Eun Lee, Cutback Management in the City of Alhambra. Claremont Graduate School.

Lynn Lehle, Organizational Impact of Computer and Information Technology Resources on the Distribution of Decision Making Power in State Legislatures. Michigan State.

Diana Clark Lubick, Recent Trends in Historic Preservation in the Rocky Mountain West. Northern Arizona.

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Jacob Olatunji, Evaluation of Ozo North Agricultural Development (Upland Rice) Project in Ozo State of Nigeria. UCSB.

Mittie Renae Olion, Section 810 Urban Homesteading: Local Discretion in the Implementation of a Categorical Program. Wayne State.

William J. Pammer, Jr., Cutback Management in American Cities: An Analysis of Administrative and Political Response to Fiscal Stress. Oklahoma.

Margaret F. Reid, A Comparative Analysis of Decision Making in Complex Organizational Systems: Municipal Planning Agencies in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Oklahoma.

Harvey White, Regionalism—An Example of Plural Decision-Making in America. North Carolina.

Patricia M. Wigfall, Determinants of Local

School Expenditure in the Public School. North Carolina.

Robert Worden, Bureaucratic Accountability in Urban Politics: Governmental Structure and Police Behavior. North Carolina.

Albert H. Wurth, Policy Analysis as Organizing: Public Goods, Information, and Organization. North Carolina.

#### **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Changes**

John Paul McIver, The Effectiveness of Street-Level Bureaucrats: Patrol Officers and the Delivery of Services in Urban Areas. Indiana.

#### **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Deletions**

Martin Richard Meier, Police-Community Relations: A Communication Model. California (Riverside).

#### **PUBLIC LAW/JUDICIAL Additions**

Kenyon Bunch, Explaining the Upsurge of Civil Litigation in the Federal District Courts: A Time-Series Analysis. Missouri-Columbia.

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Mary Hendrickson, Judicial Lobbying in Four States. Minnesota.

Benjamin Szu-Yin Ho, A Demographic Analysis of Taiwan's Legislative Yuan Since 1968. UCSB.

Sally J. Kenney, Reproductive Hazards in the Workplace: A Comparative Study of Law and Policy in Britain and the United States. Princeton.

Stephen Kilholm, Law and Efficiency. UCSB.

Stephen J. Macedo, Citizenship, Virtue and the American Constitutional Community. Princeton.

Otis Madison, Race, Class and Violence in Post-Reconstruction South, 1880-1929: A Theory of Political and Judicial Sanction. UCSB.

## Doctoral Dissertations

Gregory Markko, Social Choice Theory and the Politics of the Supreme Court. Iowa.

Nancy Maveety, Communities of Interest and the Democratic Process: Supreme Court Supervision of Political Representation. Johns Hopkins.

Priscilla Slocum, An Organizational Analysis of the Exclusionary Rule. California (Los Angeles).

Martha Swannsteele, Organization and Administration in State Courts. Mississippi.

David Sweetser, Judicial Activism: The Recurring Questions in Perspective. UCSB.

Jennifer Warden-Adebanjo, The Supreme Court and the Politics of Uncertainty: A Comparison of the Warren Court and the Burger Court. Vanderbilt.

Gwyneth I. Williams, The Politics of Joint Custody Law. Princeton.

Mary Zalzkah, Listening to the Deaf: An In-Depth Case Study and Policy Analysis of *Board of Education v. Rowley*. Maryland.

## PUBLIC POLICY Additions

Margery M. Ambrosius, The Causes and Consequences of State Economic Development Policies. Nebraska, Lincoln.

Tajudeen Animashuan, Public Policy and Technology Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Government Policies Towards Technology Development in Nigeria and Selected Developing Countries. Boston.

Anne R. Davis, The Implications of the New Medicare Prospective Payment Plan for Home Health Care Patients and Providers. Maryland.

Keith Fitzgerald, Immigration Policy in the United States and Britain: A Cross-National Comparative Study. Indiana.

Joel H. Garner, The Effects of Local and National Policy-making on Case Processing Times in Federal District Courts. George Washington.

David Lanoue, Understanding Presidential Popularity in the United States: Partisanship and Prosperity. SUNY at Stony Brook.

Laura Manning, The Impact of Adjudication on Interest Group Conflict of Bureaucratic Administration of the Endangered Species Act. UCSB.

Douglas C. Telling, Science and Politics: The Case of DNA and Genetic Engineering, Massachusetts.

Heather Anne Thiessen, State Structure, Social Organization and the Role of the State

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Ronald K. Vogel, Community Power and Policy: A Case Study of Growth. Florida.

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Lois Duke, Cultural Redefinition of News: Racial Issues in South Carolina 1954-1984. South Carolina.

Judy Giulliams-Tapia, Political Democracy and Health Policy in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis. Wayne State.

Elizabeth M. Gunn, State Implementation of the Public Utilities Regulatory Policy Act. Oklahoma.

Shun-Shien Lin, Hospital Regulations and Its Effectiveness in the United States. SUNY at Stony Brook.

Juan F. Tapia-Videla, The Condition of the Elderly and Its Policy Implications in a Less Developed Democratic Welfare State: An Appraisal of the Costa Rican Case. Wayne State.

## Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

### COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT/ AREA STUDIES

Diego Abente Brun: Licenciado en Sociologia, Catholic University of Asuncion, 1978; M.A., Ohio, 1980; Ph.D., New Mexico, 1984. A Comparative Analysis of Economic Policy-Making in Venezuela. New Mexico.

Michael Adams: B.A., Tougaloo College, 1976; M.A., Atlanta, 1978; Ph.D., Ibid., 1984. Black Political Life and the Politics of Race in the Urban South: Jackson, Mississippi, as a Case Study 1944-1981. Atlanta.

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Robert Charles Angel: B.A., Columbia College, 1971; M.A., Columbia, 1975; Ph.D., Ibid.,

1985. *Japan's Foreign Economic Policy-making Process: Response to the 1971 International Monetary Crisis*. Columbia.
- Keith A. Archer: B.A., Windsor (Canada), 1979; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1980; Ph.D., Duke, 1985. *Canadian Labor and the NDP: The Failure of Collective Action*. Duke.
- Benjamin Chinweze A. Arinze: B.A., Central Arkansas, 1978; M.A., Arkansas, 1980; Ph.D., Oklahoma, 1985. *Nation-Building in Nigeria: The New Federalism*. Oklahoma.
- Gehad Auda: B.A., Cairo University, 1975; M.A., SUNY/Buffalo, 1982; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. *An Inquiry into the Dynamics of Sadat's Political Order*. SUNY/Buffalo.
- Henri Jack Barkey: B.Sc., City University of London, 1975; M.Sc., University of London, 1976; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1984. *The Political Economy of Industrialization: A Case Study of Turkey, 1960-80*. Pennsylvania.
- Judith Marie Barsalou: B.A., California, Berkeley, 1976; M.A., Columbia, 1979; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *Foreign Labor in Sa'udi Arabia: The Creation of a Plural Society*. Columbia.
- Amrita Basu: B.A., Cornell, 1975; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1977; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *Contrasting Modes of Agrarian Protest in India: The Significance of Gender, Ethnicity and Class*. Columbia.
- Kirk Beattie: B.A., Kalamazoo, 1973; A.M., Michigan, 1979; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *Egypt: The Struggle for Hegemony, 1952-1981*. Michigan.
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- Andrea R. Bonime-Blanc: B.A., Baruch College, 1979; M.A., Columbia, 1980; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *The Politics of Constitution-Making: Spain's Transition to Democracy*. Columbia.
- Paul Gerard Buchanan: A.B., St. Michael's College, 1976; M.A., Georgetown, 1978; Ph.D., Chicago, 1985. *Regime Change and State Development in Postwar Argentina*. Chicago.
- Susan Dee Coronis: B.A., Ohio Wesleyan, 1974; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1976; M.A., Northwestern, 1978; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *The Impact of Trade Unions on Policy Making in Egypt, 1952-1984*. Northwestern.
- John Wright Daschke, B.A., American, 1970; M.A., Indiana, 1972; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *Nationalism, Communism and Federalism: The Politics of Ethnic Development in Czechoslovakia*. Indiana.
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- Isabel R. O. Gomez de Souza: B.A., Catholic University-Rio (Brazil), 1970; M.A., University Research Institute (Brazil), 1974; Ph.D., Wisconsin (Madison), 1985. *Labor and Politics: An Analysis of the "New Unionism" in Brazil*. Wisconsin (Madison).
- Carlene Edie: A.B., California (Los Angeles), 1977; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1979; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. *Dual Dependency: Patron-Clientelist Relations in Jamaica*. California (Los Angeles).
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- (Riverside), 1982; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. The Transformation of the Spanish State: From Dictatorship to Democracy. California (Riverside).
- Martha MacIver: A.B., Michigan State, 1977; A.M., Michigan, 1982; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. Militant Protestant Political Ideology: Ian Paisley and the Reformation Tradition. Michigan.
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- Pamela Adams Malerba: B.A., California (San Diego), 1978; M.A., Yale, 1982; M.Phil., *Ibid.*, 1982; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. Government-Industry Relations in Italy: The Case of Industrial Policy. Yale.
- Pearl Alice Marsh: A.B., California State (Sacramento), 1970; M.P.H., California (Berkeley), 1972; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. The Failures of Apartheid Industrial Decentralization Policies and the Rise of the Independent (African) Trade Union Movement in South Africa: 1968-1982. California (Berkeley).
- Robert E. Martinez: A.B., Columbia College, 1977; M.A., Yale, 1979; M.Phil., *Ibid.*, 1981; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. Business Elites in Democratic Spain. Yale.
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- Richard P. Miller: B.A., Bluffton College, 1972; M.A., Northwestern, 1978; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. Peasant Autonomy and Irrigation: Innovation in the Senegal River Basin. Northwestern.
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- Mohammad A. Mivechi: B.S., Florida State, 1978; M.S., *Ibid.*, 1979; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. Political Attitudes and Behavior of Iranian Students. Florida State.
- Ibrahim Abuaof Mohamed: B.S., University of Khartoum, 1972; M.A., Claremont-Graduate School, 1983; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. Public Corporations in the Sudan: Relationship between Successful Performance and the Structure and Quality of the Board of Directors. Claremont Graduate School.
- Alexander J. Motyl: B.A., Columbia College, 1975; M.I.A., Columbia, 1979; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. The Ethnic Stability of the Soviet Multi-national State: Conceptualization, Interpretation, Case Study. Columbia.
- Robert Titus Mushota: A.B., Zambia, 1972; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1973; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. Economic Nationalism, Redistribution and the Crisis of Equity in Zambia. California (Berkeley).
- Muhammad Yousef Muslih: B.A., American University of Beirut, 1972; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1974; Ph.D., Columbia, 1985. Urban Notables, Ottomanism, Arabism, and the Rise of Palestinian Nationalism, 1856-1920. Columbia.
- Muhammad Muhammad Hussein Mustafa: B.A., Cairo University, 1976; M.A., Northeastern, 1981; Ph.D., Boston, 1985. Role of Cognitive Perceptions: Nasser and Sadat. Boston.
- Edson de Oliveira Nunes: Grad., Federal University of Fluminense, 1970; Grad., Institute of Pesquisas of Rio de Janeiro, 1977; Ph.D., California (Berkeley), 1984. Bureaucratic Insulation and Clientelism in Contemporary Brazil: Uneven State-Building and the Taming of Modernity. California (Berkeley).
- Imari A. Obadele: A.B., Temple, 1981; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1982; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. New African State Building in North America: A Study of Reaction Under the Stress of Conquest. Temple.
- Jeremy Tim Paltiel: A.B., Toronto, 1974; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1979; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. De-Stalinization and De-Maoization: Leadership and Succession in Institutionalizing Leninist Regimes. California (Berkeley).
- Yota P. Papageorge: B.S., Athens (Greece), 1974; M.A., Missouri, 1979; Ph.D., Florida State, 1985. Political Attitudes and Behavior of Greek Women: A Statistical Analysis of Socio-Economic Relationships. Florida State.
- Franco Pavoncello: B.A., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975; A.M., Michigan, 1978; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. The Roots of Discontent: The Nature and Dynamics of Disaffection in Italy. Michigan.
- Dennis Patrick Quinn: B.A., Columbia College, 1977; M.A., Columbia, 1978; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. Restructuring the Automobile Industry: Government Policy Congruence in the United States and Great Britain. Columbia.

## Doctoral Dissertations

- John Gary Rader: B.A., Missouri, 1977; M.A., Pittsburgh State, 1979; Ph.D., Kansas, 1985. *The Political Effects of Post-industrialism Upon Elite Attitudes in the German Democratic Republic.* Kansas.
- Niyom Rathamarit: B.A., Thammasat, Thailand, 1967; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1972; M.A., Pittsburgh, 1981; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. *Military Governments in Thailand: Policies Toward Political Parties 1977-1983.* Pittsburgh.
- Ahmed A. Rehman: B.A., University of Dacca, 1974; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1975; M.A., Australian National University, 1980; Ph.D., MIT, 1985. *Interpreting Moslem Political Behavior: An Analytical Framework and a Comparative Case Study of the Leadership Styles of Kemal Ataturk and Anwar El-Sadat.* MIT.
- Norton Augustus Richard: A.B., Miami, 1974; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1974; Ph.D., Chicago, 1984. *Harakat Amal and the Political Mobilization of the Shi'a of Lebanon.* Chicago.
- Diane S. Rubenstein: B.A., Wisconsin (Madison), 1974; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1975; M.Phil., Yale, 1978; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *What's Left? The Ens and the Right.* Yale.
- Laurence Neil Rubin: A.B., Occidental College, 1970; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1972; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *Alienation or Advancement? Claremont Graduate School.*
- Yahya M. Sadowski: A.B., California (Los Angeles), 1975; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1979; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. *Political Power and Economic Organization in Syria: The Course of State Intervention, 1946-1958.* California (Los Angeles).
- Barbara C. Samuels: B.A., Sarah Lawrence, 1976; S.M., MIT, 1981; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *Multinational Policies as Levers for Change: Differing Responses to Developing Country Demands.* MIT.
- Salvador A. Sandoval: A.B., Texas at El Paso, 1969; A.M., Michigan, 1973; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. *Strikes in Brazil, 1945-80.* Michigan.
- Prakash C. Sarangi: B.A., Ravenshaw, 1973; M.A., Delhi, 1975; Ph.D., Rochester, 1984. *A Political Theory of Redistribution with Verification by Cross National Data.* Rochester.
- Gregory Don Schmidt: B.A., Texas, Austin, 1975; M.A., Cornell, 1980; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1984. *State, Society, and the Policy Processes: Planning, Decentralization, and Public Investment in Peru, 1956-1980.* Cornell.
- Christine Susanne Schoefer: A.B., Minnesota (Minneapolis), 1975; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1976; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1985. *A Public Voice: Literature and Politics in the German Democratic Republic.* California (Berkeley).
- Irwin Steven Selnick: B.A., SUNY at Oneonta, 1970; M.A., Hunter College, 1976; Ph.D., Columbia, 1984. *The Ethnic and Political Determinants of Elite Recruitment in the Soviet National Republics: The Uzbek Soviet Elite, 1952-1981.* Columbia.
- David M. Shafer: B.A., Yale, 1976; Ph.D., Harvard, 1984. *When Clubs Seem Trumps: American Foreign Policy Makers' Understanding of Insurgency.* Harvard.
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## AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

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# PS Appendix

## APSA Style Manual

Prepared by the  
Committee on Publications  
American Political Science Association  
1985

*Editor's Note: This manual was prepared by APSA's Committee on Publications in consultation with editors throughout the discipline and was approved by APSA's Council on August 29. It is the hope of the Publications Committee and the Council that this style manual will gain widespread acceptance in the discipline as the standard for political science journal manuscripts.*

### Introduction

The review of a manuscript is greatly expedited if its author properly prepares it for peer review. This involves including the author's name and affiliation only on the title page. Delete any references in the text or notes by which referees could identify you as the author.

Manuscripts should not be submitted simultaneously to more than one journal.

### Title

Titles should be descriptive and short (12 to 15 words maximum, preferably fewer). Long or overly catchy titles lose readers, who want to get to the point quickly.

### Abstract

Include with the manuscript an abstract of no more than 150 words, typed on a separate page. The abstract should describe succinctly what research problem you investigated, how you tackled the problem and what findings or conclusions you presented. The abstract should summarize, not introduce your article.

### Length of Articles

Write concisely. Many journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, cannot

consider a manuscript that exceeds 50 double-spaced pages, including title page, abstract, notes, references, figures, tables, and captions. Papers published in political science are usually 20 to 30 manuscript pages.

### Form and Number of Copies

Submit four copies of your manuscript, double-spaced on one side of the page only, allowing 1 1/2" margins on all sides. Most journals do not return rejected manuscripts; so authors should retain their own file copies.

### Order and Contents of the Manuscript

Various "parts" of the manuscript should appear in the following order, on sequentially numbered pages:

- Title page, with author's name and affiliation;
- Abstract, on a separate page from the text;
- Text, observing the style described in these guidelines;
- Appendix, if necessary;
- Notes, if necessary, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page from the last page of the text;
- References, observing the APSA's style, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page from the notes;
- Tables, observing the APSA's style, double-spaced, labeled, each on a separate page; and
- Figures, labeled, each on a separate page.

### Headings

Use three orders of headings, in both upper- and lower-case letters. For example:

Major Heading

Primary Subheading

*Secondary subheading.* Text follows immediately. . . .

Center major headings; place subheadings flush left; underline secondary subheadings (seldom necessary in journal articles) after a paragraph indentation with only the first word capitalized and followed with a period.

## Spelling and Word Division

### Sources

*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam) is the authority for spelling; where two spellings are given, use the first. For words not found in this volume, consult *Webster's New Third International Dictionary*.

For other matters of style, *A Manual of Style*, 13th ed., published by the University of Chicago Press, is widely recognized as authoritative. *The Elements of Style*, 3rd ed., by Wm. Strunk and E. B. White (MacMillan), offers good hints. In addition, *The Careful Writer: A Modern Guide to English Usage* by Theodore M. Bernstein and published by Atheneum is helpful for points of style, as is the *Harbrace College Handbook* published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., for questions about grammar.

### Hyphenation

In general, avoid hyphens.

**Prefixes.** Words formed with the most common prefixes should be "closed," without hyphens. Some examples:

bipartisan	midterm
reelection	semiactive
postelection	counterproductive
nonmonetary	underestimated
coefficient	multilateral
crossnational	

Break this rule when the prefix precedes a numeral (mid-1960s) or a capital letter (anti-Zionist) or when the prefix would create a string of three identical letters (cross-section). Compounds with "self" are always hyphenated (self-interest, self-determination).

**Compound Words.** When a compound acts as an adjective it is hyphenated:

long-term behavior  
well-developed consensus  
one-party dominance  
life-cycle hypothesis

When the compound adjective follows its noun or stands alone, it is spelled "open" without hyphens:

policy was ill advised  
consensus was well developed

Adverbs (most of which end "ly") never need

hyphens. For definitive answers to hyphenation questions, see *A Manual of Style*, 13th ed., University of Chicago Press, Table 6-1, pp. 176-181.

### Italics

Do not use italics merely for the sake of emphasis. A well-constructed sentence creates natural emphasis syntactically.

Common expressions derived from foreign languages are not italicized:

Cooper et al.  
per capita income  
vis-a-vis

However, unusual words should be italicized: Italian *leggine*.

*Underlining* indicates italics to the typesetter.

### Sentence Construction

Pay careful attention to changes in tense, to subject-verb agreement, and to word choice. Try not to split infinitives. Avoid rigid adherence to these rules if the resulting sentence sounds stilted.

### Gender Neutral Language

Unnecessarily gender-specific language should be avoided, including gender-specific terms for groups of people and the characterization of such groups as male.

### Quoting from Other Sources

When you quote from another work, reproduce the original text word for word and letter for letter, including original italics, spelling, punctuation, and other usage—whether these are in APSA's style or not. Quotations exceeding 150 words should be indented and double-spaced, without quotation marks. Indicate omissions by three dots, by four dots if the omission is at the end of a sentence, or by a blank line if the omission is a paragraph or more. Use brackets to enclose words not in the cited material.

### Abbreviations, Acronyms, and Contractions

Avoid contractions such as "can't" for "cannot." Standard abbreviations are acceptable, for example, "U.S." for "United States" or "Dept." for "Department." Acronyms should be in parentheses at the first reference, after the spelled-out full forms. In later references, the letters are sufficient. For example, "National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)" the first time, but then "NASA."



Using acronyms to designate variables, as in computer work, can be ungainly in the text of an article. When explaining the results of multivariate analyses, authors should avoid writing in computer acronyms. Rather, variables should be cited in common words (e.g., "party competition" instead of "PART-COMP84").

## Numbers

### Symbols and Equations

Each equation should be typed on a line separate from the rest of the text. If several equations appear in an article, each should be numbered flush right. Ambiguous symbols should be identified in the margin (e.g., to distinguish between the capital letter *x* and Greek *chi*). Circle any explanatory material that is not to be typeset.

### Words or Numerals?

Cardinal numbers from zero to nine are spelled out in the text:

- seven-point scale
- a value approaching zero
- two quantitative variables
- three branches

Those over nine are indicated as numerals:

- 99 interest groups
- 10 states
- 8,790 Democratic delegates
- 100 legislators

Ordinal numbers are spelled out:

- seventh and eighth deciles
- the nineteenth century
- top tenth of the population
- hundreds of times

Exception: ordinals referring to legislative sessions use numerals:

- 99th Congress
- 9th Knesset

Decades are indicated by numerals and an "s" without apostrophe:

- in the early 1800s
- persistent inflations of the 1970s and 1980s
- during the mid-1960s

Dates always use numbers:

- November 22, 1963.

Fractions are spelled out and hyphenated:

- three-fourths voting
- one-seventh of the survey

Percentages are always expressed as

numerals followed by the "%" symbol, even if the numeral is less than 10:

- Studies found 70% . . .
- Fewer than 1% responded

Exception: When a percentage begins a sentence, the words should be spelled out: Seventy percent said that . . .

## Tables

Tables are useful, but they should economize space. Often two tables sharing the same row or column headings can be combined. The same information should never be repeated in text, tables, and figures.

Tables or figures should stand on their own. They should be understandable to the reader who has not yet consulted the text. All columns and rows should be clearly labeled; abbreviations or acronyms should not be used as primary labels. The meanings of numbers should always be clear. Under most circumstances, numbers should not be given beyond two decimal places.

A table or figure in the text of an article illustrates a trend, finding, or relationship. Tables merely providing information or data—"storage tables"—should be included in an appendix if they must be included.

Each table should be labeled, assigned an arabic numeral, double-spaced on a single sheet of papers, and inserted in sequence at the end of the manuscript. (Long tables are easier to read than wide ones.)

Include all the information the reader will need to understand your data either in the table itself or in a note (using superscript lower-case letters). If data are drawn from an established source, the reference should be cited at the bottom of the table:

Source: *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.*, 1980, pp. 24-28.

Supply headings for all columns, and make clear whether the data are frequencies, percentages, or specified other statistics. Indicate the number of cases upon which percentages are calculated and whether you are using column, row, or table percentages.

Use only horizontal rules, placed below the title, below the headings, and at the foot of the table.

## Figures

Titles and sources for figures should follow the same format as for tables. Each figure should appear on a separate page, and copies (not originals) of all figures should accompany the manuscript. Figures should be clearly

## PS Appendix

drawn in black ink on good quality paper, to ensure the highest resolution when reproduced. The type on figures should be right-side-up and large enough to be legible. Make sure the parts of the figure are labeled clearly.

Editors may, for the sake of uniformity of style and quality, acquire professionally drawn figures from a graphics service. When this is required, authors may be billed for the cost of drafting.

### Placement of Tables and Figures

For the typesetter's convenience, authors should indicate in the text the approximate placement of each table:

(Table 1 about here)

Because the exact placement of tables and figures cannot be determined until journal pages are composed, it is impossible to predict where they will appear in final form. Therefore in the text, tables should be referenced by number, not by expressions like "the table below" or "the figure on the opposite page."

### Citations

Citations are brief notes on sources, appearing parenthetically in the text. They are designed to satisfy the reader's immediate curiosity without interrupting the flow of argument.

Works are cited where their findings or conceptual definitions arise. The citation usually includes only the last name of the author(s) and the year of publication in parentheses. When there are two different authors who have the same name, a first initial should be used to distinguish between them.

... the increased role of amateurs (Wilson, 1962).

... reported in several studies (C. Hermann, 1978; M. Hermann, 1980).

- If the author's name is used in the text itself, follow it with the year of publication in parentheses:

Page (1978) links these findings . . .

Aldrich and McGinnis (1983) provide an extension . . .

- For two authors, use both names each time:

(Jones and Smith, 1984)

- For three or more authors, cite all names the first time and the first author followed by "et al." later:

... rooted in the psychology of groups

(Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, 1960, chs. 6 and 7)

... major social upheavals such as those of the New Deal (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 150) . . .

Note, in the last example, the method for citing chapters and pages within a work; these should appear in the citations rather than the references. (Wherever possible, citations should include specific chapters or pages.)

- If more than one work is cited in a pair of parentheses, separate with semicolons.

(Durkheim, 1966; Trubek, 1972; Weber, 1947)

- To cite two works by the same author, separate the years of publication with commas:

(Black, 1973, 1975)

- To distinguish works by the same author published in the same year, assign letters after the dates of publication and use the letters also in the reference section:

(Jackson, 1975a)

(Jackson, 1957a, b; 1983)

### Historical Citations

The reference section should refer the reader to the current source for a historical work:

(Freud, 1961, ch. 2)

(Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, 1960)

Citations to classical authors such as Thucydides, Aristotle, and Plato may use standard forms identified in an opening note:

I cite Thucydides according to the standard form: book, paragraph and, when necessary, sentence (e.g., 3.46.2); unless otherwise noted, all the translations are my own.

I cite Plato according to the standard Stephanus pagination; I have used Bloom's translation, Plato (1968).

### Government Documents

Details on government documents should be in the reference section. For citations in the text, the name of the source, date, and page number in parentheses suffice:

(*Congressional Record*, September 20, 1977, p. H6)

(Senate Foreign Relations Committee Print, January 10, 1980, p. 24)

(*Papers of President Ronald Reagan*, February 23, 1981, p. 10)

Citations to all other public documents may use the standard form identified in an opening note. For further information, see the *Chicago Manual of Style*, pp. 470-481.

### Legal Citations

Legal citations include the case name, year, and page number if warranted:

(*Baker v. Carr*, 1962, p. 190)

More complete citations belong in the reference section. (If possible, use the *U.S. Reports* for Supreme Court decisions; this source is preferable to the *Lawyers' Edition* or *Supreme Court Reporter*.)

### Repeated Citations

Repeat citation each time it is necessary. Avoid "ibid.," "op. cit.," or "supra."

Be sure that every cited work is included in the reference section and that the spellings of the authors' names and dates of publications are accurate in both citations and references.

## References

Citations direct attention to the more detailed references, which provide complete source information to aid further research.

The following examples show proper forms for common kinds of references. Note that references are listed alphabetically by author. All lines are double-spaced, and all after the first in an entry are indented. When several works by the same author are listed, they should appear in chronological order, with the earliest publication first. Titles of articles and papers are not enclosed in quotation marks. Issue number and month of publication are omitted unless indispensable for identification. Use first names rather than initials in references.

### Books

#### One author:

Bernstein, Theodore. 1980. *The Careful Writer: A Modern Guide to English Usage*. New York: Atheneum.

Note that no parentheses are necessary. The author's name and the date—the bits of information in the citations—appear first, followed by the book title, place, and publisher. Chapter and page numbers should be in the citation, not the reference.

#### Two authors, new edition:

Strunk, William Jr., and E. B. White. 1979. *The Elements of Style*, 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan.

The last name comes first for the initial author only.

#### Edited book:

Dodd, Lawrence C., and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., 1981. *Congress Reconsidered*, 2nd ed. Washington: CQ Press.

#### Article in an edited book:

Jones, Charles O. 1968. Inter-Party Competition for Congressional Seats. In Samuel C. Patterson, ed., *American Legislative Behavior*. Princeton: Van Nostrand.

The state of publication is specified only if the city is not well known or may be confused with another place, e.g., Cambridge or Columbus. Use postal abbreviations: MA, OH, NJ, DC.

### Journal Articles

#### One author:

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1983. Radicalism or Reformism: The Sources of Working-Class Politics. *American Political Science Review*, 77:1-18.

The volume number follows the title and is followed by a colon and the appropriate page numbers.

#### Two or more authors:

Stevens, Arthur, Arthur Miller, and Thomas Mann. 1974. Mobilization of Liberal Strength in the House, 1955-1970. *American Political Science Review*, 68:667-681.

#### Article in press:

Niemi, Richard G. Forthcoming. The Problem of Strategic Behavior Under Approval Voting. *American Political Science Review*.

### Newspaper and Magazine Articles

#### Authored article:

Wicker, Tom. March 4, 1975. Energy Plan in Sight. *New York Times*.

#### Anonymous author:

Why Vote at All? June 20, 1980. *Time*, pp. 14-15.

The reference section supplies inclusive page

## PS Appendix

numbers for periodicals. The citation, with an anonymous author, is like:

(Why Vote at All? 1980, p. 14)

### Historical References

Madison, James. 1961. Federalist 10. In Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*. Clinton Rossiter, ed. New York: New American Library. (Original work published in 1788.)

The original publication date is given in parentheses when possible. The recent edition, however, is the one researchers will be able to consult most readily.

### English Translations

Freud, Sigmund. 1961. The Ego and the Id. In John Strachey, ed. and trans. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. 19. London: Hogarth Press. (Original work published in 1923.)

### Sources in Foreign Languages

Translate titles of books and long articles (in brackets, not underlined); do not translate the names of well-known periodicals. Romanized or foreign language words after the first work (except for proper names and for nouns in German) ordinarily begin with small letters.

### Government Documents

The method of referring to government documents varies, but these forms should prove adequate.

U.S. Congress, House. June 5, 1983. *Congressional Record*. 98th Cong., 1st sess. p. H21. Washington: Government Printing Office.

U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. April 1984. *Report on Covert Aid to Central America*. 98th Cong., 2nd sess. p. 12. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Reagan, Ronald. 1981. *Papers of President Ronald Reagan*. P. 210. Washington: Government Printing Office.

United Kingdom. 1879. *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*. 3rd ser., vol. 249.

The "author" and date come first, followed by the title (underlined) and the term, session, page number, place of publication, and publisher.

### Legal References

Use the standard form for legal references (cases):

Baker v. Carr, 369 U.S. 186 (1962).

Early in the Supreme Court's history, cases were identified by the recording clerk's name rather than by volume number. The correct reference would be:

Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch 137 (1803).

Lower federal court cases follow the same form:

Smith v. Jones, 385 4th Circ. 101 (1975).

### Unpublished Papers Delivered at Meetings

Cooper, Joseph, and David W. Brady. 1973. Organization Theory and Congressional Structure. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, La.

### Unpublished Manuscript

Smith, Barbara A. 1984. Financial Accounting in Government Chartered Corporations. Unpublished manuscript.

### Television and Radio Programs

Occasionally, material presented in news broadcasts or documentaries is quoted in articles. The relevant information should appear in the reference section as follows:

CBS News. November 18, 1984. *Sixty Minutes*.

National Public Radio. September 10, 1984. *All Things Considered*.

### Checking References

Authors must crosscheck their references; there should be a reference for each citation and vice versa. If you are asked to revise your article and you add or delete citations, be sure that the citations and references are consistent.

### Notes

Notes are used to present explanatory material and should be used sparingly if at all.

All notes should be typed (double-spaced) consecutively at the end of the article. Superscript numbers in the text direct the reader to the corresponding note.

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An acknowledgment note, without an asterisk or number, may be placed ahead of the first numbered note.

### **Some Reminders**

### **Appendix**

If your article draws on data not documented in standard sources or in the text of the article, an appendix describing these data may be necessary. For example, with respect to survey data:

- A description of the sample, including a definition of the geographical area and details about how the sample was drawn, sufficient to permit replication;
  - Response rate (for quota designs, the number of refusals); and
  - Exact wording of questions.
- Submit four copies and keep another for yourself.
  - Observe the conventions described in these guidelines for style and format.
  - Prepare a 150-word abstract stating the purpose, data, methods, and principal findings of the study.
  - Make sure that every work cited in the text is listed in the reference section.
  - Make sure the references are accurate and complete.
  - Double-space the entire manuscript with 1 ½" margins.
  - Do not justify right margins.
  - Enclose copies of all figures and tables.
  - Delete any references in the text that may identify the author to reviewers.

## IA Awards Presented at the 1985 Annual Meeting

### Dissertation Awards

(Each award includes a cash prize of \$250.)

**Gabriel A. Almond Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 or 1984 in the field of comparative politics.

**Recipient:** **David Pion-Berlin**, Ohio State University. "Ideas as Predictors: A Comparative Study of Coercion in Peru and Argentina," submitted by the University of Denver.

**Selection Committee:** Robert H. Bates, California Institute of Technology, Chair; Ellen Comisso, University of California, San Diego; Goldie Shabad, Ohio State University.

**Dissertation Chair:** **John F. McCamant**.

**Citation:** Pion-Berlin's dissertation focuses on the interaction between economics and politics in third-world countries. It concentrates on the impact of macro-economic policies upon political liberties in general and participation by the working classes in particular. In so doing, it studies a topic of great interest both to policymakers and students of comparative politics.

As an alternative to class-based explanations, or ones drawing on the differences between civilian and military regimes, Pion-Berlin attributes a causal role to economic doctrines and the policy prescriptions that they contain. In so doing, he provocatively underscores the political significance of what is often offered as "technical" advice.

Particularly given the state of the economies of third-world nations, Pion-Berlin's work stands as a timely and significant contribution to comparative politics.

**William Anderson Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 and 1984 in the field of inter-governmental relations.

**Recipient:** No award given this year.

**Selection Committee:** Patricia S. Florestano, University of Maryland, Chair; J. Theodore Anagnoson, California State University, Los Angeles; Joseph F. Zimmerman, SUNY at Albany.

**Edward S. Corwin Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 or 1984 in the field of public law.

**Recipient:** **Kim Lane Scheppele**, University of Michigan. "Legal Secrets: Common-Law

Rules and the Social Distribution of Knowledge," submitted by the University of Chicago.

**Selection Committee:** Gayle Binion, University of California, Santa Barbara, Chair; Donald W. Jackson, Texas Christian University; Lettie M. Wenner, University of Illinois, Chicago.

**Dissertation Chair:** **James Coleman**.

**Citation:** The Edward S. Corwin Award Committee has selected Professor Kim Lane Scheppele as the 1985 recipient. Her dissertation, entitled, "Legal Secrets: Common Law Rules and the Social Distribution of Knowledge," is, in the judgment of its nominator, "remarkable." The Corwin Award Committee shares this judgment.

Professor Scheppele's thesis explores the treatment of privacy in the American common law. She does an impressive job of challenging and, in a sense, refuting, the view that economic efficiency determines the assignment of rights. Her analysis of the case law on privacy demonstrates the importance that the courts have placed on principles of equity in the resolution of disputes. The thesis is informed by both traditional legal analysis and sociology of law. The two approaches are subtly and effectively integrated.

This dissertation has made a substantial contribution to knowledge. It demonstrates all of the virtues of fine scholarship: originality, depth, comprehensiveness, and intellectual integrity. It truly deserves the recognition that it has received.

**Harold D. Lasswell Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 or 1984 in the field of policy studies.

**Recipient:** **Bruce W. Jentleson**, University of California, Davis. "Pipeline Politics: The Alliance and Domestic Politics of American Economic Coercion Against the Soviet Union," submitted by Cornell University.

**Selection Committee:** James E. Anderson, University of Houston, Chair; Michael Lipsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Anne Permaloff, Auburn University at Montgomery.

**Dissertation Chair:** **Peter Katzenstein**.

**Citation:** Bruce Jentleson's dissertation deals with profound and important issues that deserve the careful illumination that he accords them. He convincingly argues for the need to link international and domestic levels of policy analysis and then moves on to present a careful over-time analysis of American economic policy toward the Soviet Union. The differing viewpoints on the application of

economic coercion are clearly and dispassionately presented.

Essentially, what we encounter in the dissertation is a series of case studies, analytical in style, and adeptly employed to illustrate and substantiate his theoretical perspective. Although it was not his purpose, he demonstrates the usefulness of the case method, carefully employed, for rigorous political analysis.

Jentleson's dissertation is written in a clear, straightforward manner that makes it accessible to a wide range of people. It is then, with pleasure, that Professors Permaloff, Lipsky, and I make the Lasswell Award to Bruce Jentleson for the best doctoral dissertation in the area of policy studies.

**Helen Dwight Reid Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 or 1984 in the field of international relations, law and politics.

*Recipient:* **Wayne A. Edisis**, "The Hidden Agenda: Negotiations for the Generalized System of Preferences," submitted by Brandeis University.

*Selection Committee:* Charles Kegley, University of South Carolina, Chair; Condoleezza Rice, Stanford University; Edward Weisband, SUNY at Binghamton.

*Dissertation Chair:* **Robert O. Keohane**.

*Citation:* The Helen Dwight Reid Committee unanimously recommends Wayne A. Edisis, *The Hidden Agenda: Negotiations for the Generalized System of Preferences* for the 1985 Reid award. This dissertation, which examines the historic negotiations leading to the establishment of the Generalized System of Preferences, combines rich descriptive detail with original analytical insight, thus contributing significantly to understanding of one of the most complex but major recent developments in world political economy. The conceptual framework introduced by Mr. Edisis, moreover, illuminates several bodies of literature within this study of world politics and political economy including those relevant to regime formation, structuralism, negotiation theory, terms of trade, coalition behavior and development. Mr. Edisis thus succeeds where so many others fail. His pioneer effort not only adds a wealth of information regarding relations between advanced and developing societies, but also to theoretical analysis attempting to assess fundamental relations and causal linkages between continuity and change in world society.

**E. E. Schattschneider Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted

during 1983 or 1984 in the field of American government.

*Recipient:* **John Zaller**, Princeton University. "The Role of Elites in Shaping Public Opinion," submitted by the University of California, Berkeley.

*Selection Committee:* Marjorie R. Hershey, Indiana University, Chair; R. Douglas Arnold, Princeton University; George C. Edwards III, Texas A&M University.

*Dissertation Chair:* **Nelson W. Polsby**.

*Citation:* In his APSA presidential address last year, Herbert Simon stressed that "the question of where political ideas come from is not only highly deserving of study, but also within the competence of our contemporary research techniques." John R. Zaller's dissertation, "The Role of Elites in Shaping Public Opinion," is a very ambitious and productive effort to address that question.

Zaller's argument is that new political attitudes originate and come to gain public support in a top-down process. New issues and challenges to existing norms develop within the nation's scientific and policy elite subcultures, which place high value on innovation through systematic analysis. These new attitudes are first disseminated by professional politicians and the media, whose own subcultural norms lead them to defer to scientific and policy elites as to which ideas will receive serious public attention. Ultimately, the new attitudes diffuse among members of the public depending upon each individual's level of political knowledge, sophistication, and ideological distance from the attitude—in short, the individual's level of exposure to the new attitude and acceptance of it. The dissertation examines these arguments in relation to three issues on which major attitudinal shift occurred: school desegregation in the 1950s, the Vietnam war in the 1960s, and gay rights in the 1970s. Using data from several National Election Studies and the 1978 McClosky study of Civil Liberties in America, Zaller develops a formal model of attitude formation and change, first assuming elite unanimity on the issue and then incorporating the circumstance in which there are competing elite messages on the same issue.

This is an exceptional dissertation in a number of ways. First, its scope is remarkable. Zaller's work encompasses several major areas of literature—on the nature of leadership, elite subcultures, the role of the press, the development of public opinion—and dares to link them in an original theory that teaches us about agenda-setting in American politics. In doing so, he enriches our understanding of each of these fields; his work on occupational

sub-cultures, for example, is a very fruitful approach to the study of elite politics. His general model of attitude change helps to set in context various efforts to develop "domain-specific" models of attitude formation and change. The data analysis is entirely appropriate, careful, and sophisticated. And the dissertation is an excellent example of effective argumentation.

John Zaller takes the great risk in this dissertation of raising important questions about the nature of political issues and orientations, rather than simply attempting to "fill a lacuna" somewhere in the literature. In the process he offers us a new way of thinking about politics. It is the committee's great pleasure to recognize that contribution by presenting him with the E. E. Schattschneider Award.

**Leo Strauss Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 or 1984 in the field of political philosophy.

**Recipients:** **Ruth Grant**, University of Chicago. "John Locke's Liberalism," submitted by the University of Chicago. **Ian Shapiro**, Yale University. "Individual Rights in Modern Liberal Thought: A Realist Account," submitted by Yale University.

**Selection Committee:** Amy Gutmann, Princeton University, Chair; Tracy B. Strong, University of California, San Diego; Catherine H. Zuckert, Carleton College.

**Dissertation Chairs:** **Joseph Cropsey** for Ruth Grant. **Douglas W. Rae** for Ian Shapiro.

**Citation:** The 1985 Leo Strauss Award is presented to two doctoral dissertations: "John Locke's Liberalism," by Ruth Grant, and "Individual Rights in Modern Liberal Thought: A Realist Account," by Ian Shapiro.

In "John Locke's Liberalism," Ruth Grant defends Lockean liberalism against two persistent criticisms. In response to the criticism that liberalism puts legalistic process above moral substance, Grant shows that Locke's argument on behalf of limited government does not blind him to the need for substantive judgment in particular cases. In response to the criticism of liberalism for its emphasis on the primacy of the individual over the common good, Grant shows how Locke succeeded in defending individual liberty (including the individual's right to resist) without defending possessive individualism, which would be incompatible with moral community.

"Strange as it may seem," Grant writes, "the claim that Locke's work can be read as an orderly demonstration, carefully written, with a coherence that is present on the surface of

the text as well as at its deeper layers of meaning is probably the single most unusual claim of the thesis." Grant supports this unconventional claim with an admirable degree of analytical rigor by showing, among other things, that Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and his *Two Treatises on Civil Government* do not serve separate and distinct purposes, and that, more generally, Locke's writings form a theoretically and politically consistent whole. Her arguments are models of theoretical clarity and consistency.

In "Individual Rights in Modern Liberal Thought," Ian Shapiro presents what he calls a "realist" account of modern liberal theories of individual rights. He traces the liberal defense of individual rights through four historical phases: innovative, classical, neo-classical, and Keynesian. Although he makes no claim to historical comprehensiveness, Shapiro's discussion is about as comprehensive as one can imagine a doctoral dissertation being—even one of 492 pages. Each chapter analyzes liberal theories on their own terms and also situates them in an evolving ideological tradition. Shapiro provides an original reading of that tradition, as four analytically distinct but historically related ways of using political theory to aid in the reproduction of the modern social world.

"Individual Rights in Modern Liberal Thought" ends with a critique of the deontological turn in contemporary liberal theory. Like his analysis of liberalism, Shapiro's critique is original. "We must recognize," he concludes, "... that morality is inevitably in part teleological, and that substantive conceptions of the good cannot be avoided in arguments of right and justice. But ... we must [also] acknowledge that a theory of the good is inevitably in significant part empirical. This entails a more general injunction to come off the terrain of 'ideal' theory and get soiled by the nitty-gritty of factual arguments about the causal structure of the social world which is, after all, where problems of social justice arise." Shapiro poses a challenge worthy of the consideration of contemporary theorists.

**Leonard D. White Award**, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1983 or 1984 in the field of public administration, including broadly related problems of policy formation and administrative theory.

**Recipient:** **Donald W. Chisholm**, University of California, Berkeley. "Informal Organization and the Problem of Coordination," submitted by the University of California, Berkeley.

**Selection Committee:** Earl M. Lewis, Trinity



University, San Antonio, Chair; Gary Miller, Michigan State University; Kathryn Newcomer, George Washington University.

**Dissertation Chair: Martin Landau.**

**Citation:** The 1985 Leonard D. White Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of public administration is awarded to Donald W. Chisholm of the University of California, Berkeley, for his dissertation "Informal Organization and the Problem of Coordination." Chisholm's study confirms the capacity of informal organization to coordinate agencies in a multiorganization system that lacks centralized authority. His focus of analysis is the San Francisco Bay Area public transit system, which consists of six operating, autonomous, and interdependent organizations. He documents multiple instances of informal interaction through which officials from different elements of that system coordinated important facets of the work of their organizations. Interdependence and recurring uncertainty were crucial stimuli of informal organization and the coordination it achieved.

That coordination had at least two distinguishing features: its singular interest in responding to the needs of organizations, and its impressive effectiveness in coordinating the work of autonomous agencies with high levels of bilateral interdependency. These important and understudied functions of informal organization have potential for "practical application" in a variety of contexts. They of course deserve further study.

## Book and Paper Awards

**Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award** (\$250) for the best paper presented at the 1984 Annual Meeting.

**Recipients:** **Jack L. Walker**, University of Michigan, "Three Modes of Political Mobilization." **Michael Wallerstein**, University of California, Los Angeles, "The Micro-Foundations of Corporatism: Formal Theory and Comparative Analysis."

**Selection Committee:** Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University, Chair; David R. Cameron, Yale University; Karen A. Feste, University of Denver.

**Citation:** Owing to the equally outstanding papers by Professors Jack Walker and Michael Wallerstein, the Committee wishes to make two awards this year.

Professor Walker's paper, "Three Modes of Political Mobilization," deals with a question of fundamental importance to democratic governance—why are some social groups better represented in the American political

process than others? In devising an answer to this question, he goes beyond the conventional response that the existence and level of interest group activity is a perfect reflection of the discontent felt by different social groups. Differential rates of political mobilization among social groups, he argues, cannot be adequately explained by reference to the cultural or psychological characteristics of individual citizens themselves. Instead, Walker argues that the level of political mobilization in the society at any time is largely the result of public policy. More specifically, as he states, "it is determined mainly by the political and administrative policies toward political activity in force at the time, the presence and accessibility of willing patrons of political activity, and the patterns of conflict and social cleavage in the society." Effective political participation is much more likely if social groups can rely on established institutions to sustain their political activity rather than depending exclusively on individual citizens.

Walker points to three sources of institutional support available to social groups. Groups in the profit-making sector can rely on commercial and occupational organizations to represent their interests. Those social groups operating in the non-profit realm must depend on two much more fragile sources of support—the mobilization that emerges from the enthusiasm and energy of social movements and the institutional support provided by permanent agencies of the government itself. But these latter sources of institutional support—especially that instigated, financed, and encouraged by governmental agencies—are available only in highly consensual policy areas. Where conflict is high, governmental support wanes. According to Walker, this creates a major dilemma in American politics because it means that social and economic discontent will not necessarily lead to political mobilization due to a lack of institutional support. "The reason why some of the most deprived elements of American society are either ignored or represented in the legislative process only by small non-member organizations," he declares, "is not because they are essentially satisfied with their status and have no interest in political activity. It is because there is no institutional foundation from which a successful effort at mobilization can be launched."

Walker's paper is an insightful, well-argued essay that raises a crucial issue about the nature of American politics. It will undoubtedly stimulate a great deal of research and discussion by both defenders and critics of the American political system. Professor Wallerstein's paper, "The Micro-Foundations of Corporatism: Formal Theory and Comparative

Analysis," develops a formal model to account for national differences in union centralization. He argues that the obstacles and inducements to centralize are essentially political rather than economic in character, and that this leads to marked variation in the degree to which unions in capitalist democracies are centralized. Unions seeking to increase their income have recourse to two quite different types of public policies: protectionist measures and welfare provisions. The former pit sector against sector while the latter pit class against class. According to Wallerstein's model, union centralization is inconsistent with protectionism because of the political conflict it generates. As a consequence, unions will only choose to centralize where protectionist policies are ineffective and disadvantageous: namely, in those countries that are small in size and rely heavily on non-agricultural exports. In these countries protectionist policies are foreclosed because of the small domestic markets and the threat of retaliation and loss of foreign markets. In this situation, as Wallerstein concludes, "welfare policies are the only political means available to unions . . . to increase the income and security of their members." And the centralization of unions strengthens their hand in the political struggle to increase welfare provisions. Wallerstein's model leads to a paradoxical conclusion: unions achieve their greatest political strength where they are most vulnerable to the international market.

Wallerstein's paper clearly illustrates how formal, rigorous models can clarify and illuminate complex political realities. It is a fine example of analytical political economy.

**Ralph J. Bunche Award** (\$500), for the best scholarly work in political science published in 1983 or 1984 which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism.

**Recipients:** **Rufus P. Browning**, San Francisco State University; **Dale Rogers Marshall**, University of California, Davis; and **David H. Tabb**, San Francisco State University. *Protest Is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics*, University of California Press.

**Selection Committee:** William E. Nelson, Jr., Ohio State University, Chair; Amy Bridges, Harvard University; Herman D. Lujan, University of Washington.

**Citation:** After a careful examination of the books sent to us, and thorough consultation between us, the members of the Bunche Book Awards Committee for 1985 have selected the volume *Protest Is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics* by Rufus P. Browning, Dale

Rogers Marshall and David H. Tabb, to receive the Bunche Award at the 1985 annual convention of the American Political Science Association in New Orleans. The judgment of the Committee was unanimous and enthusiastic. We all agreed that the Browning et al. study was a well-researched, balanced account of a significant issue in the field of ethnic politics. While the regional scope of the data used in the book is narrow, the study nevertheless provides convincing evidence that a sharp distinction must be made by both professional analysts and activists between protest politics and the politics of policy implementation (i.e., governance). This book calls attention to the continuing need to forge multiracial coalitions, and to link the dynamics of protest politics with the process of electoral mobilization in order to achieve meaningful minority advancement in the realm of urban politics.

The assertions made above, of course, are not new. What is valuable about the Browning book is the vast array of data assembled to document and validate the accuracy of these broad assumptions. The breadth and incisiveness of the analysis makes the Browning et al. book a major contribution to the field of ethnic politics. We are pleased to recommend this path-breaking volume for the Bunche Award this year.

**Gladys M. Kammerer Award** (\$1,000), for the best political science publication in 1984 in the field of U.S. national policy.

**Recipients:** **Rufus P. Browning**, San Francisco State University; **Dale Rogers Marshall**, University of California, Davis; and **David H. Tabb**, San Francisco State University. *Protest Is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics*, University of California Press.

**Selection Committee:** Charles S. Bullock, III, University of Georgia, Chair; Joel D. Aberbach, University of Michigan; and Kay L. Schlozman, Boston College.

**Citation:** The behavior of minorities and the response evoked among the majority have been a continuing issue of the American political experiment. In this outstanding study of the political activities of America's two largest contemporary minority groups, Browning, Marshall, and Tabb not only shed light on the conditions associated with successful integration into the political mainstream, they have produced significant hypotheses useful in understanding the emergence of past and future minority groups as important political actors on the national and local scene. This work combines the meticulous attention to detail characteristic of case studies with

multivariate techniques to provide a longitudinal analysis of the conditions under which minority groups are likely to obtain their policy objectives. Ten California cities were studied over a 20-year period. *Protest Is Not Enough* sorts out the conditions under which minorities have succeeded in winning public office and in influencing the distribution of public goods in accord with their agendas. This study is further enhanced by the presence of two minorities—blacks who under some conditions have enjoyed great success—and Hispanics who have been consistently less successful than blacks in gaining an influential role in the governing coalitions of the ten cities.

Much of the recent work on minorities has focused on the acquisition of public offices. In parts of the country, particularly the South, the growth in office-holding has been attributable to federal initiatives designed to protect the political rights of minorities. Browning, Marshall, and Tabb undertake a comprehensive analysis. They consider both the effects of office-holding by blacks and Hispanics and the preconditions for achieving public office. In assessing the impact of minorities in public office the authors examine federal programs, such as model cities and community development block grants, and local items such as public employment.

The peaceful and violent protests of the 1960s attracted much scholarly attention and debate over whether these strategies sufficed to promote the policy goals of blacks. As their title states, Browning, Marshall, and Tabb conclude that while protest may be useful, it alone will not produce the redistribution of power and greater governmental responsiveness necessary to address minorities' grievances. Rather it is essential that minorities be politically mobilized and, most importantly, that they become part of the coalition that controls the city council. The conclusions of *Protest Is Not Enough* emphasize the importance of political factors, particularly electoral efforts, thereby shifting a focus that in recent years has often concentrated on bureaucratic routines to explain policy decisions.

**Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award** (\$2,000), for the best book published in the U.S. during 1984 on government, politics or international affairs.

**Recipient:** **Barry R. Posen**, Princeton University. *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*, Cornell University Press.

**Selection Committee:** Barbara Hinckley, University of Wisconsin, Chair; Douglas E. Ash-

ford, University of Pittsburgh; and Joyce K. Kallgren, University of California, Davis.

**Citation:** *The Sources of Military Doctrine* represents an original departure from earlier military studies, both in its breadth of theory and rigor of method. It links the study of military doctrine and strategy to larger questions of international politics, security theory, and the role of leadership in policymaking, while at the same time it illuminates a period of history, between the two world wars, with which many would consider themselves quite familiar. Its use of historical data in relation to well-formulated hypotheses is an important methodological contribution, and can serve as a model for future studies of this kind. Rigorously comparative in analysis, written with great clarity and balance, the book offers innovative political science grounded in solid historical research.

We are pleased to offer this year's Woodrow Wilson award to an author who has substantially expanded the enterprise of political research—not only in the field of defense policy, but with implications for the study of international relations, policy analysis, and the combining of systematic historical evidence with political science techniques.

**Benjamin E. Lippincott Award** (\$1,500), for a work of exceptional quality by a living political theorist that is still considered significant after a time span of at least 15 years since the original publication.

**Recipient:** **Sheldon Wolin**, Princeton University. *Politics and Vision*.

**Selection Committee:** Fred R. Dallmayr, University of Notre Dame, Chair; George J. Graham, Jr., Vanderbilt University; and Susan Moller Okin, Brandeis University.

**Citation:** According to its governing guidelines the Benjamin E. Lippincott Award was established to recognize a work of exceptional quality by a living political theorist that is "still considered significant after a time span of at least fifteen years since the original date of publication." The Award Committee this year was composed of Professors George J. Graham of Vanderbilt University, Susan Moller Okin of Brandeis University, and myself as chair. After reviewing a dozen or more authors and their publications, the Award Committee almost spontaneously reached a unanimous decision, a decision predicated on the outstanding scholarship, depth of insight, and profound pedagogical influence of the chosen recipient: Professor Sheldon Wolin of Princeton University. The work singled out for purposes of the Award is his book *Politics and Vision*, first published in 1960 and now in the process of being republished. However, while

focusing on this book, the Committee placed the study in the context of the author's broader publication record and of his widely recognized standing as a leading political theorist in our time.

Written during the heyday of positivism, *Politics and Vision* was a summons to a reorientation of political theory and of the discipline as a whole. "In many intellectual circles today," Wolin wrote in his Preface, "there exists a marked hostility towards, and even contempt for, political philosophy in its traditional form. My hope is that this volume, if it does not give pause to those who are eager to jettison what remains of the tradition of political philosophy, may at least succeed in making clear what it is we shall have discarded." This statement has lost none of its pertinence today—at a time when our discipline is precariously veering toward applied science and policy research while philosophical speculation seems enamored with a kind of intellectual "deconstruction" of the past which fails to weigh innovative "destruction" against the constantly needed "reconstruction" of traditional modes of thought. Professor Wolin's study—and in fact his entire opus—is marked by the judicious effort to balance innovation and tradition, radicalism and civility. As the title already indicates, *Politics and Vision* made a strong plea for the role of imaginative vision in political thought—but without abandoning the parameters of a shared discourse. "Imagination has involved far more than the construction of models," the opening chapter stated. "It has been the medium for expressing the fundamental values of the theorist, the means by which the political theorist has sought to transcend history. . . . An architectonic vision is one wherein the political imagination attempts to mould the totality of political phenomena to accord with some vision of the Good that lies outside the political order."

By emphasizing vision and future possibilities, the study gave hope to a generation of political theorists beleaguered by political apathy as well as widespread "hostility" towards political reflection. Placed in the broader frame of the "battle between ancients and moderns," *Politics and Vision* offered a beacon of light to students of politics disaffected with the scientism of modernity, yet unwilling or unable to abandon modern aspirations in favor of a celebration of antiquity. Viewed from this angle, Wolin emerges himself as an "epical" theorist of our age—a title he once assigned to leading representatives of the tradition of political thought. On behalf of the American Political Science Association, and expressing the gratitude of a generation of political scientists, it is a distinct honor for me to bestow on Professor Sheldon Wolin the

Benjamin Evans Lippincott Award for 1985.

## Career Awards

**Charles E. Merriam Award** (\$500), presented to the person whose published work and career represents a significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research.

**Recipient:** James L. Sundquist, The Brookings Institution.

**Selection Committee:** Virginia Gray, University of Minnesota, Chair; David W. Rohde, Michigan State University; and Sidney Verba, Harvard University.

**Citation:** James L. Sundquist exemplifies the hope of Charles Merriam that we combine the scientific study of politics with a prudent concern for public policy and the practice of democratic government. Sundquist's contributions to scientific scholarship have come from the six books and numerous articles written during his two decades at the Brookings Institution. Two books have won national prizes: *The Decline and Resurgence of Congress* and *Making Federalism Work*. His books provide us with insights into the workings of our national institutions, and they make sensible suggestions for improvement. It is fitting that his last Brookings book, *Effective Government and Constitutional Reform*, analyzes the problem of "divided government" and offers possible remedies. This book, like its predecessors, examines a significant question about the functioning of our democratic system.

Prior to coming to Brookings, Jim Sundquist had three other careers, all of which demonstrated his concern with the art of government. His first career was as a newspaper reporter in Utah; his second was as a civil servant in Washington during the postwar years; and his third career was as a political speechwriter, researcher, and ultimately political appointee in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. As Deputy Under Secretary of Agriculture in the early 1960s, Sundquist helped to develop key elements of the rural phase of the War on Poverty. In these careers then, before turning full-time to scholarship, Sundquist made lasting contributions to the substance of public policy.

Finally, Sundquist has increased the impact of social science research on government through his leadership at the Brookings Institution and his own reputation within the Washington community. His scholarship is taken seriously by policymakers as well as by the discipline of political science. Few of us achieve this balance in our work.

For all these reasons we believe James Sundquist truly represents the qualities Charles Merriam valued. On behalf of the American Political Science Association and my committee members David Rohde and Sidney Verba, I am honored to present this award to such a distinguished recipient.

**Carey McWilliams Award** (\$500), presented each year to honor a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics.

*Recipients:* **Jim Lehrer** and **Robert MacNeil**, *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*.

*Selection Committee:* Michael J. Malbin, American Enterprise Institute, Chair; L. Sandy Maisel, Colby College; Jean Torcom, California State University, Sacramento.

*Citation:* The American Political Science Association's Carey McWilliams award is presented each year to honor "a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics." This year the award is being given jointly to Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer.

The award is a kind of a tenth anniversary present: the MacNeil/Lehrer Report first appeared on the air locally in New York City in October 1975. Over the past decade, MacNeil and Lehrer have transformed our ideas about what good journalism can do, enriching all of our understanding of the political world around us. Other television producers have tried to copy the format. But MacNeil and Lehrer got there first and— together with their excellent on and off camera team—they still do it the best.

Anyone who is seriously interested in current events has to be impressed both with MacNeil's and Lehrer's conception of a news show and with the way they and their colleagues succeed in bringing that conception to life. Their show seems to be based on three underlying premises: (1) that people's ideas matter, especially the ideas held by people who are in a position to make, influence or analyze government and politics; (2) that the audience deserves to hear those ideas directly, instead of filtered and predigested through an intermediary; and (3) that the audience will sit still for serious analysis, discussion or debate. Because MacNeil and Lehrer have had this faith in their audience, viewers all around the country have had a chance to experience something that used to be open only to people with press passes: a direct and unbiased access to the people and ideas in the news.

Political scientists have a special reason for appreciating the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour. For us, watching the show is like taking a daily field trip. We use the show actively, to keep us informed so we can do our work. The

amazing thing is that we did not even know we needed the show until we started watching it. Of course, it is flattering that MacNeil and Lehrer like to invite political scientists to appear as guests. But that is only a symbol of what counts. What we really appreciate is that MacNeil and Lehrer care about questions we believe are worth asking.

For ten years now, MacNeil and Lehrer have honored us, in our capacity as political scientists, by taking politics and policy seriously. They have also honored us, along with everyone else in their audience, with their assumptions about what the audience wants to know. We are delighted, therefore, to turn around and honor them by presenting them with the 1985 Carey McWilliams Award.

**Hubert H. Humphrey Award** (\$500), presented each year in recognition of notable public service by a political scientist.

*Recipient:* **Robert C. Wood**, Wesleyan University.

*Selection Committee:* Alan Rosenthal, Rutgers University, Chair; Kathleen A. Frankovic, CBS News; and Sidney Waldman, Haverford College.

*Citation:* This is the third time the Association has presented the Hubert H. Humphrey Award honoring "notable public service by a political scientist." The first presentation in 1983 was to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who distinguished himself in the U.S. Senate. The second presentation in 1984 was to John Brademas, who distinguished himself in the U.S. House.

This year we are especially delighted to present the Hubert H. Humphrey Award to Robert C. Wood. Not only does Robert Wood richly deserve this award, but his career serves as an example for all of us. It demonstrates that we do not have to serve in Congress in order to achieve distinction in public service. We do not have to be elected U.S. senator or congressman in order to receive recognition from the APSA. Wood's career shows that it is possible as political scientists to distinguish ourselves in appointive as well as elective office. All we have to do is hold top leadership positions at national, state, and local levels, meet the most demanding political and administrative challenges, and put ourselves constantly on the line.

No one has more effectively bridged the academic and political worlds than has Robert Wood, moving back and forth over a career span of 35 years. He combines in beautiful balance the strains of political scientist and political practitioner.

As political practitioner, Robert Wood is proof

that our system of federalism is alive and well. He started off at the Florida Legislative Reference Bureau. From Tallahassee he travelled to Washington, D.C. and a stint with the Bureau of the Budget. Then to academia. After fifteen years at Harvard and M.I.T., he returned to Washington as Undersecretary, and briefly as Secretary, of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development. He went from HUD back to the states, where he served seven years in another intense political environment—as President of the University of Massachusetts. Finally, he took on his toughest job of all, at the local level as Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools.

As political scientist, Robert Wood is proof that research, writing, teaching, and public service can be enjoyable and complementary pursuits. His publications include books on the politics of suburbia, on metropolitan government, and on the urban crisis, and he is now writing on management and public policy. For the past two years he has been teaching at Wesleyan University, where he is proving that experience is indeed the best teacher—at least as he reflects on it, conceptualizes it, and communicates it to students.

As a discipline, we have not had an easy time defining what the “public interest” is, but as citizens we define it by our practice. Robert Wood has a keen sense of what it is and a real feeling for what it requires. In his career of public service in both the university and in government, he has committed himself to advancing the public interest. For living on the basis of that commitment, he has earned the award that we present to him today. It is with great pride that we honor Robert Wood, our colleague.

## **APSA Council Minutes**

The Council met in the Marlborough Room of the New Orleans Hilton Hotel, New Orleans, Louisiana, on August 28, 1985 at 9:30 a.m. *Present:* Charles W. Anderson, Robert Axelrod, Brian Barry, Joseph Cooper, Richard F. Fenno, Jr. (presiding), F. Chris Garcia, Robert G. Gilpin, Jr., Matthew P. Holden, Jr., Samuel P. Huntington, Helen Ingram, Nannerl Keohane, Thomas E. Mann, J. Donald Moon, Victor A. Olorunsola, Norman J. Ornstein, Benjamin I. Page, Samuel C. Patterson, Michael B. Preston, Bruce M. Russett, Arlene Saxonhouse, Steven Seitz, Donna E. Shalala, W. Phillips Shively, Susan Welch, Aaron Wildavsky, Gerald Wright, Dina A. Zinnes. Staff: R. Hauck, S. Mann, C. Rudder, J. Walen, M. Woodard.

President Fenno opened the meeting by

reporting on the August 27 meeting of the Administrative Committee. He pointed out that two items were disposed of by the Administrative Committee: (1) The proposal that the Executive Director be given a discretionary fund was rejected on the grounds that in the judgment of the Executive Director, present budgetary arrangements afforded sufficient flexibility. (2) A proposal from the Research Support Committee to publish a fifth issue of the *APSR* containing selected papers from the annual meeting and additional essays commissioned by the President was tabled on the grounds that the need was being filled by other Association publications (*PS*, *NEWS*) and that it might interfere with plans of the new *APSR* editors. The Council took no exception to the actions of the Administrative Committee.

### **Council Minutes**

The Council reviewed the minutes of the April 12, 1985 meeting of the Council.

*Council Action:* The Council minutes were approved.

### **President-Elect Wildavsky's Committee Appointments**

The Council reviewed the appointments to 31 committees submitted by President-Elect Aaron Wildavsky.

*Council Action:* The Council approved the appointments with the stipulation that Wildavsky is authorized to make substitutions if necessary.

### **Appointments to Committee on International Political Science**

The Council noted the appointments made by President Fenno and President-Elect Wildavsky to serve on the new Committee on International Political Science: Harold Jacobson, University of Michigan, chair; Jerry Hough, Duke University; David Mayhew, Yale University; Robert Putnam, Harvard University; and Susan L. Shirk, University of California, San Diego.

### **Report of the Treasurer**

Treasurer Susan Welch reported that the overall financial condition of the Association remains healthy. A surplus of almost \$60,000 was recorded in the 1985-86 fiscal year. (Welch's detailed report will be printed in the Fall 1985 *PS*.) T. Mann reviewed the Report on Financial Statements, Year Ended June 30, 1984, prepared by Garner, Bloom & Klein, Chartered, the Association's auditing

firm, and the Performance Measurement Reports on the Association's Trust and Development Fund, prepared by Loren Ross. Several Council members asked about the Association's mutual fund holdings in companies that do business in South Africa. After considerable discussion revealed a consensus, Fenno asked Huntington, Keohane and Shalala to draft a resolution directed to the Board of Trustees of the Trust and Development Fund.

The following resolution was drafted and presented to the Council:

The APSA Council deplores the *apart-heid* policies of the government of South Africa, and requests the Board of Trustees of the Trust and Development Fund as a matter of urgency to review the investment policies of our currently held mutual funds.

In light of the long-standing APSA policy concerning the Sullivan Principles we recommend that this review be carried forward with an eye towards moving out of any fund that includes in its portfolio companies that do not adhere to these Principles, or firms that do business directly with the government of South Africa. We urge the Board to seek out alternative high-performance funds that meet these criteria.

**Council Action:** The resolution on South Africa was approved unanimously.

### Program Budget

In response to a request by the Council at its last meeting, Mann presented some estimates of income and expenditures (direct and indirect) for the *APSR*, annual meeting, and *PS*. Mann discussed the difficulty in allocating staff time and general operating expenses to specific activities and publications. Council comments indicated that they recognized these difficulties, but found this informal exercise helpful in thinking about the Association's finances.

### FY 1985-86 Budget Revisions

The Administrative Committee recommended to the Council that an additional \$15,000 in FY 1985-86 be approved for annual meeting salaries, permitting another staff member to be hired with responsibility for the annual meeting and advertising. Mann discussed the particularly urgent need for more staffing for the annual meeting.

**Council Action:** The motion to authorize an

additional \$15,000 in annual meeting salaries was approved unanimously.

The Administrative Committee recommended to the Council that staff travel for FY 1985-86 be increased from \$5,000 to \$7,000 to enable staff to attend regional and state association meetings.

**Council Action:** The motion to authorize an additional \$2,000 for staff travel was approved unanimously.

Since two previous outlays in expenses would be balanced by anticipated increases in revenues, the Administrative Committee recommended the following revised income estimates for the FY 1985-86 budget:

Professional membership	+ \$ 5,000
Institutional membership	- 10,000
Administrative income	+ 10,000
Dividends and interest	+ 10,000
Royalties	+ 5,000
	<hr/>
	+ \$20,000

**Council Action:** The FY 1985-86 budget revisions were approved unanimously.

### Style Manual

The Administrative Committee recommended that the Council adopt the APSA Style Manual as revised by the Publications Committee (with the addition of an example of gender neutral language, e.g., Members of Congress, not Congressmen) and print it as soon as possible.

**Council:** The Style Manual was adopted unanimously.

The Style Manual will be printed in the Fall issue of *PS* and offprints will be distributed free-of-charge; Patterson will do some minor last-minute editing.

### Reports of the *APSR* Managing Editors and Book Review Editors

Dina Zinnes, outgoing Managing Editor of the *Review*, and Steven Seitz, outgoing Book Review Editor, submitted their final reports as editors; the *Review* office in Urbana, Illinois, will stay open until near the end of 1985 to process the December, 1985 issue.

Samuel C. Patterson, the new Managing Editor of the *Review*, reported on his activities and those of Robert Salisbury, the new Book Review Editor. Patterson informed the Council that the Iowa office was in full operation and that his first issue, the March, 1986 *APSR* would embody changes in format and design.

**Annual Meeting**

Program Chair Joseph C. Cooper reported on the 1985 annual meeting, noting the substantial increase in official and unofficial panels and participants. He thanked his section chairs for the tremendous efforts they had made into putting the program together. He noted the difficulty in obtaining name speakers for the plenary sessions when the meeting was held outside of Washington and there were no funds available to reimburse them for expenses; he asked that the Council consider this problem in the future.

Mann reported that pre-registration reached an all-time high this year—2195. He reported that the New Orleans Hilton had filled all of their 1500 rooms and that the overflow was being sent to the International and Crowne Plaza Hotels. He noted that only 5% of the participants had been deleted from the Final Program for failing to meet the pre-registration requirement.

The Council reviewed the APSA award winners. The complete list of winners and citations will be printed in the Fall *PS*.

The Council reviewed the agenda for the annual business meeting on Saturday, August 31, which is to include: (1) nomination of officers by the APSA Nominating Committee; (2) certification of nominees by the Election Committee; (3) election of officers; and (4) report of the Treasurer.

**Council Action:** The business meeting agenda was approved unanimously.

Matthew Holden, Jr. reported on the 1986 annual meeting, whose theme will be "The Organization of Power." Detailed plans for the program and its 23 sections was printed in the Summer issue of *PS*.

**Proposed Book Series on  
"Major Scholarly Controversies  
in Political Science"**

The Council reviewed the Administrative Committee's recommendation that "the proposal for a series of books on Major Scholarly Controversies in Political Science should be sent back to the Publications Committee on the grounds that no compelling case has been made for the initiation of such a series by the Association," and that "the Publications Committee should be asked to rethink the rationale for the series, develop a set of guidelines for the development of the series, specify what subsequent volumes in the series might look like, and develop a general policy elaborating the conditions under which the Association should publish books or monographs." The Council agreed that the

proposal lacked a clear rationale and that the Association should avoid competing with commercial publishers. The Council was reluctant, however, to ask the Publications Committee to develop guidelines for a book series that seemed unlikely to be adopted.

**Council Action:** The Council unanimously agreed to send the proposal back to the Publications Committee on the grounds that no compelling case has been made for the initiation of such a series by the Association.

**Ford Foundation Fellowships on the  
Making of U.S. Foreign Policy**

The Council considered the Administrative Committee's recommendation that the Executive Director be authorized to submit a proposal to the Ford Foundation in response to the foundation's request for proposals to administer a new program of research fellowships on U.S. foreign policy-making processes. The Council agreed with the Committee stipulation that the proposal should specify that the Association will select the individuals to serve on the selection committee and will insure that no inappropriate standards (e.g., policy views) are used in that selection.

**Council Action:** The Council unanimously approved a motion authorizing the executive director to submit a proposal to administer the new Ford fellowship program.

**International Political Science**

Fenno and Mann reported on the 1985 IPSA Congress in Paris and noted that about 500 of the 1800 attendees were Americans.

Plans for the 1988 World Congress in Washington, D.C. were discussed. The tentative schedule calls for one day of overlap between the IPSA meeting and the APSA meeting, possibly featuring a number of jointly-sponsored sessions. The IPSA would meet from Sunday evening, August 28 to Thursday, September 1 (at the Sheraton Washington) and APSA would meet from Thursday, September 1 to Sunday noon, September 4 (at the Washington Hilton).

IPSA President Kinhide Mushakoji has appointed Harold Jacobson, University of Michigan, the Program Chair for the 1988 Congress, with Asher Arian, Israel, and Jerzy Wiatr, Poland, as vice-chairs. President Mushakoji, Jacobson, and IPSA and APSA officials will have a preliminary planning committee in New Orleans.

Discussions have begun with IPSA officials regarding combined registration fees, book exhibits, and plenary sessions, the distribution of responsibilities between IPSA and APSA,



and the budget for the Congress. The new committee on International Political Science will discuss these and related issues at its first meeting in the fall.

The report of the APSA delegation to China in May was noted; China will send a delegation to the U.S. to attend the 1986 annual meeting and to visit several universities.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Political Science in the USSR has proposed a General Political Science Colloquium Series with the Soviet Union through IREX (International Research and Exchange Board). No formal response has been received.

The Council considered the Administrative Committee's recommendation that the Council approve the proposal from Richard Hoder-Williams that the Association sponsor, seek funds for, and administer a program of research support for British scholars studying American politics in Washington, D.C. It was suggested that host institutions, such as Hoder-Williams' suggestion of AEI and Brookings, should be identified. It was also suggested that the possibility of identifying the program with the late Philip Williams should be explored.

**Council Action:** The Council unanimously approved the proposal to seek funds for a program of research support for British scholars studying American politics in Washington, D.C.

### **Organized Sections**

W. Phillips Shively, chair of the Council committee on Organized Sections, reported on the current status of the nine Organized Sections. Council members discussed the role of the Association in stimulating the formation of new sections in such areas as political theory and comparative politics.

### **Project '87**

Project Director Sheila Mann reported that the Federal Bicentennial Commission had been appointed. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger is the Commission Chairman and Mark Cannon, a political scientist, is executive director. Project '87 will continue to publish *this Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle*, to develop instructional films and programs for teachers, and to coordinate presentations by scholars in local communities. A book of 60 *Lessons on the Constitution* was published in 1985 to be used as supplements in high school courses in American history, American government and civics.

### **Small Research Grant Program**

The Council reviewed the Administrative Committee's recommendation that the Council should approve the request of the Research Support Committee that the maximum award in the Small Grant Program be reduced from \$1,500 to \$1,000. The Administrative Committee also recommended that the budget for the Small Grant Program be increased from \$10,000 to \$12,000, and that the size of the Research Support Committee be increased by one to include a representative of a small college. (Wildavsky announced that he would appoint Huey Perry of Southern University to the Committee if the Council approved the expansion.) Council discussion centered on the fact that the Committee had discretion to make smaller awards and on the wisdom of altering the terms of a new program after only one year of experience.

**Council Action:** Shalala moved that the Research Support Committee's request that the maximum award be reduced from \$1,500 to \$1,000 be rejected, but that the budget for the Small Grant Program be increased from \$10,000 to \$12,000, that the size of the Committee be increased by one, and that a letter be sent to the recipient's president and department chair. The motion was approved unanimously.

Fenno remarked that in the future it would be helpful if committee chairs appeared before the Council to explain and defend their proposals.

### **Congressional Fellowship Program**

Catherine Rudder, director of the Congressional Fellowship Program, reported on the effort being made to secure long-term support through the establishment of two fellowships, the Joan Shorenstein Barone Congressional Fellowship and the William A. Steiger Congressional Fellowship.

### **Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession**

Michael Preston reported on the activities of the Committee during the past year, which included: (1) the Black Fellowship Program; no APSA funds will be expended during the next academic year since two of the funded Fellows were awarded fellowships by departments and the third has delayed his admission to graduate school; (2) special panels were held at regional meetings to discuss how to deal with the declining number of blacks entering the profession; (3) plans being developed for a Conference on Black Politics at the University of Virginia; (4) a summer institute

## **PS Appendix**

for black undergraduates, co-sponsored by the APSA, Southern University and LSU, at Baton Rouge in 1986. Funds will be sought from the Ford Foundation to help finance the institute, the Conference, and recruitment visits by black political scientists to predominantly black colleges.

Shalala suggested that the Association encourage attendance by minority undergraduates at the annual meeting by helping with their travel expenses and by planning a session for them.

### **Taylor Cole Resolution**

*Council Action:* The Council unanimously approved a resolution honoring R. Taylor Cole on his 80th birthday at a dinner Friday night.

(The text of the resolution is printed in the Fall, 1985 *PS*.)

### **Committee Reports**

The Council reviewed the following reports:

Applied Political Scientists Committee

Departmental Services Program  
Education Committee  
Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedom  
Committee  
Status of Chicanos Committee  
Status of Women Committee  
ACLS delegate  
Executive Director

### **Wildavsky Projects**

President-Elect Wildavsky presented ideas for three projects he wishes to pursue during his presidency and asked for assistance and suggestions: (1) improved opportunities for retired political scientists; (2) long-term fundraising for the Association through bequests from individual members; and (3) narrowing the gulf between public administration and political science.

President Fenno thanked the Council for its constructive deliberations. He praised the Association's staff for its competence and its spirit. A round of appreciative applause for the staff followed.

The meeting adjourned at 4 p.m.

# APSA Publications List

## PERIODICALS

**The American Political Science Review.** Quarterly journal of scholarly articles and book reviews in political science. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$20 per copy; \$80 per volume.

**PS.** Quarterly journal of Association news and articles of professional concern. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$5 per copy; \$20 per volume. (\$6 for the spring issue containing the preliminary program.)

**The NEWS for Teachers of Political Science.** Quarterly newspaper on education and the curriculum. Included in APSA membership. \$7 annual subscription fee for non-APSA members.

**this Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle.** Quarterly magazine with articles and information on the Bicentennial. The magazine is supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and is a joint publication of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association. \$8 subscription for APSA members.

## DIRECTORIES

**APSA Membership Directory, 1985.** Alphabetical listing of current members, their training, affiliations and areas of specializations. Index includes list of women members, black members, and hispanic members, members by fields of interest and geography. \$15 for members and \$20 for non-members.

**Directory of Undergraduate Political Science Faculty, 1984.** Lists nearly 500 separate departments of political science with name, address, phone number, and names and specializations of faculty members. \$8, APSA members; \$12, nonmembers.

**Annual APSA Directory of Department Chairpersons.** Names and addresses of chairpersons in departments offering political science at four-year institutions. \$20 each. Annual, October.

## INDEXES

**Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review.\*** 1906-1968, \$6.50.

**Cumulative Index to the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting.\*** Key word index to all papers included in proceedings of Annual

Meetings for 1904-1912, 1956-1970. \$18.50.

## INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

**Congress: We the People** is a telecourse produced by WETA and APSA with support from the Annenberg/CPB Project. For more information or to order the video cassettes, contact Annenberg/CPB Project, 1213 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, IL 60091. Or call 1-800-LEARNER (532-7637); in Illinois call (312) 256-3200.

APSA distributes a *Study Guide* for students enrolled in a course on Congress that uses the program. The *Study Guide* price is \$12.95; there is a 20 percent discount on each copy for bookstores. For colleges licensing the entire telecourse for distant learners, APSA provides free of charge a desk copy of the *Study Guide* for faculty and a *Faculty/Administrative Guide*.

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**Research Support for Political Scientists. A**

monograph containing detailed listings of public and private agencies that fund research fellowships, grants, and contracts. Includes section on strategic thinking about funding research and a guide to preparing research proposals. \$6 each. 2nd edition, 1981.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

**Political Science: The State of the Discipline.** Edited by Ada W. Finifter. Includes 19 chapters by many of the country's leading political scientists reviewing the present state and future directions of research in the subfields of the discipline. 1983. Paper: \$15 for APSA members and classroom adoptions placed through bookstores; \$25 for non-members. Cloth: \$35. Include \$2 for postage and handling. Bulk rate for bookstores \$12 (10 or more copies) 20% discount.

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**Guide to Publication in Political Science.** Co-sponsored by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women and the Women's Caucus for Political Science. \$2. Fall 1975.

**Political Science Journal Information** by Fenton Martin and Robert Goehrlert. A definitive listing of scholarly journals available to political scientists and the specific review and publication procedures followed by these journals. \$6 for members, \$12 for non-members. Revised 1984.

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# **APSA Research Grant Program**

**The Council of the American Political Science Association  
announces the 1986 small grant program to  
support research in all fields of Political Science.**

## ***Scope of Award***

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Projects must address a significant problem in political science. Funds may be used for such research activities as: travel to archives; travel to conduct interviews; administration and coding of survey instruments; and purchase of data sets. This list is merely illustrative, but specifically excluded from funding are: travel to professional meetings; secretarial costs except for the preparation of final manuscripts for publication; and salary support for the principal investigator.

## ***Eligibility***

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Applicants must be APSA members. In addition, the principal investigator must be one of the following:

- (a) a political science faculty member at a college or university that does not award a PhD in political science;
- (b) a political scientist not affiliated with an academic institution.

## ***Funding***

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Grants will be awarded annually by the Committee on Research Support. The Council has made \$12,000 available for 1986 research grants. Individual grants will not exceed \$1,500 and are not renewable.

The awards will be paid directly to the principal investigator. At the end of the project, a financial report must be submitted to the Association, and any unexpended funds returned to the APSA. In addition, grantees will be expected to submit a brief summary of their research accomplishments.

## ***Format***

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Proposals should be no more than three pages (single-spaced) with a budget and curriculum vitae attached.

Proposals should describe the project and indicate the precise purposes for which the requested funds will be used. Any financial support the principal investigator is already receiving or anticipates receiving should be specified in the proposal.

Eight (8) copies of the proposal with accompanying budget and curriculum vitae should be submitted to:

### **APSA Research Grants**

American Political Science Association  
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